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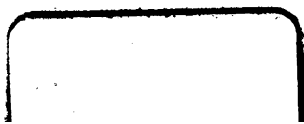
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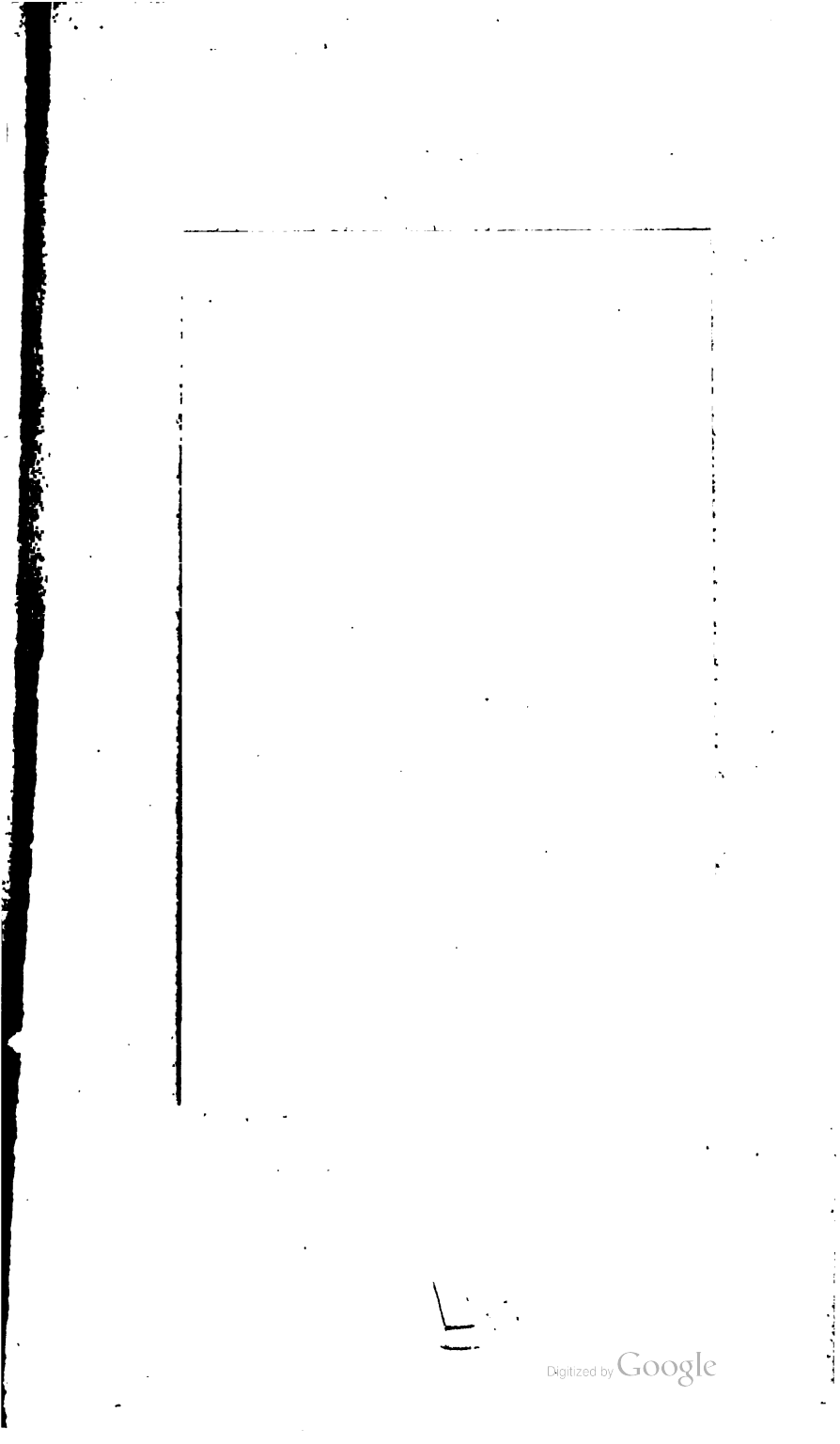
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THE  
MODERN PART  
OF AN  
Universal History,  
FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

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By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

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VOL. XX.

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# Modern History :

BEING A

## CONTINUATION

OF THE

# Universal History.

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CHAP. I.

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SECT. V.

*The History of Castile, from the Time of its being recovered out of the Hands of the Moors, to the Time of its being erected into a Kingdom, in Favour of Don Ferdinand, the Son of Don Sanchez, King of Navarre, and who married Donna Sancha, Sister and Heiress of Don Bermudo, the third King of Leon.*

**T**HE history of this country, and those who governed it within this period, is exceedingly embarrassed *What is proposed in* and perplexed, through the want of authentic records ; the liberties that have been taken to supply *order to the* these by fables and forgeries, and the unwillingness that some *satisfying* great men have shewn to have these coverings, bad as they *the read-* are, taken away, and the naked and undisguised truth brought *er's expect-* to light. In order, however, to make things as easy and as *tation on* evident to our readers as it is possible, to decline intricate or *this sub-* trivial disputes as much as may be, and not to affect criticism *ject.*

MOD. HIST. VOL. XX, B to

to such a degree of severity as to hide from their knowledge those marvellous traditions, which in early ages passed for undoubted truths, we will relate as briefly as may be both the false and the true, the fictitious and the real history of the old counts of *Castile*; after delivering something previously, and that too as succinctly as we can, of the etymology of the name and of the situation of this country; without the knowledge of which, what is to follow would be but imperfectly comprehended; in the discussing of which point, if we shall appear to leave things somewhat loose and indetermined, it must not be attributed to a want of diligence in our enquiries, or of a desire to come at certainty, if it had been possible, but to that obscurity, which, in spite of the endeavours of many learned men, still hangs over this period, and hinders us from seeing so clearly as we could wish: a circumstance which, how little credit soever it may bring us to confess, we nevertheless hold it our duty not to dissimulate. . . .

Opinions  
concerning  
the origin  
of the  
name of  
this coun-  
try and  
people.

To begin then with the name of this country and people. Some have asserted, that it is to be referred to a certain old Spanish tribe, or nation, called by the Romans *Castellani*, who are supposed to have inhabited here as well as in *Catalonia*<sup>a</sup>; but, perhaps, evidence would not be easily found to establish this point, if it should be controverted. There were, indeed, a people called *Gallaici* in *Catalonia*<sup>b</sup>; but if the best critics in antient geography are to be relied upon, the principal, if not the only nation in this part of *Spain*, were the *Vaccæi*<sup>c</sup>; and it will surely be no easy matter to derive any thing for our purpose from them. Others imagine that the origin of this name is to be sought no higher than the recovery of this country out of the hands of the *Moors*; at which time, say they, there was a strong castle built for the defence of the frontier, in which the count, or great officer of the province, resided, from whence it took its name and its arms<sup>d</sup>. There is something plausible at least, if not probable, in this, only the latter part of the argument seemed to be a little defective, if we may rely on the best judges of heraldry as to the antiquity of such kind of bearings. However, as we are not like to meet with a better account than this, we may, perhaps, reconcile nicer critics to this notion, by observing, that if the name of the province was really derived from some such castle, this may well be supposed to have been supported by tradition, as low as the times in which arms were assumed; and then it will very well account for the assuming a castle by way

<sup>a</sup> HEYLIN's *Cosmography*, lib. i.    <sup>b</sup> CELLARI *Geographi*  
*Antiq.* lib. ii. cap. i.    <sup>c</sup> CLUVER *CELARII*.    <sup>d</sup> HEY-  
LIN's *Cosmography*, lib. i.

of allusion to that antient fortress<sup>c</sup>. But perhaps we may have still a better account of this matter from what we are going to relate, concerning the means by which this country was rescued out of the hands of the infidels, and annexed to that monarchy, which the Christians had formed in *Asturias*. For in such enquiries one passage throws light upon another; and if, taking all things together, they appear to have an easy and natural connection, it is the best proof that can be had that they are consistent with truth, or at least but a little removed from it; which, in such cases, is as much as can well be desired, and more than can often be met with.

We come next to describe the province of *Old Castile*, so Situation called; because it was recovered from the *Moors* long before of this pro- that which is stiled the *New*; as it stood in the times of which vince, and we are writing, it was separated from the kingdom of *Leon* by the manner the following little rivers, *Carrión*, *Pisuergo*, *Heva*, and *Re- of its being gamon*; and, on the other side, it was bounded by the *Astu-recovered rias*, *Biscay*, and the little province of *Rioja*; towards the from the south it had for its limits the mountains of *Segovia* and *Ávila*, *Moors*.

lying in the middle between the Christian kingdom of *Oviedo* and *Leon*, and the *Moorish* sovereignty of *Cordova*<sup>f</sup>. As this country was extremely fertile in corn and wine, abounded with excellent pasture, and was consequently well stocked with cattle, and the best watered of any province in *Spain*, we need not wonder that both nations were desirous of being its masters. We are told by an eminent and elegant historian, that, even while it remained under the dominion of the *Moors*, there were several great lords who maintained themselves in the possession of certain districts, and who, by degrees increasing in wealth and power, at length shook off the yoke of the infidels, and put themselves, as it was very natural for them to do, under the protection of the kings of *Oviedo*<sup>e</sup>. If this account be true, as at least there is no authority to prove it otherwise, we may very well believe, that these lords had each of them a well fortified mansion, or castle; whence, at the emancipation of this province from the yoke of the *Moors*, it might well receive that name by which it has been ever since known. The same historian tells us, that these lords, supported by their new protector, were not only able to defend their frontier, but to extend their little territories by their excursions against the *Moors*, as often as any favourable opportunity presented itself; and that from hence

<sup>c</sup> GUILLIM's Heraldry, p. 391.  
general. de España, lib. viii. cap. ii.  
lib. viii. cap. ii.

<sup>f</sup> MARIANA Historia  
<sup>e</sup> RODERIC TOLE-  
tan de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. MARIANA Hist. general de España,

they assumed the title of counts ; and, being regarded as feudatories of the monarchs before-mentioned, were summoned in time of war to repair with their vassals to attend the king's standard, and in time of peace were called to the assemblies of the estates <sup>h</sup> (A).

<sup>h</sup> LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon, MORALES, MARIANA.

(A) We find counts distinguished by the antient *Spanish* writers into those of the palace, who had that title and dignity in virtue of their offices about the person of the king, and counts who were appointed to have the government of certain provinces (1). The privileges or prerogatives of both sorts of counts were precisely the same ; that is to say, they had a vote in the election of kings, a seat in the assembly of the states, and were not liable to any inferior jurisdiction. On the other hand, these counts were bound to perform their offices in the palace, to raise the forces of their provinces at the king's command, and to repair to the assembly of the states, when and wherever it was summoned (2). We may easily collect from hence, that if a nobleman associated with, and submitted himself to, a prince to whom he was not born a subject, he must take upon him the duties of such an officer at the same time that he acquired the prerogatives ; so that, except the hereditary possession of estate, and it may be title, which, as the king did not give, he could have no right to take away, this associated count stood in just the same point of light with all other counts,

that is, did the like homage to the king, and owed the same service to the crown. It must be acknowledged, that the case would be very hard, if we were obliged to make out every circumstance here advanced by indisputable authorities ; and yet this does not in the least destroy either the force or the credit of what is advanced, because, while it is in our power to shew the general form of this government, it concludes clearly as to all that has been offered concerning this dignity. The kings of *Oviedo* and *Leon* were elective and limited in their power, and, therefore, so must their companions be ; in which sense, according to the natural meaning of the *Latin* word *Comes*, the best *Spanish* lawyers have understood the import of this title (3). But as the king was no longer considered in that capacity than while he governed according to the laws, so we may be sure these counts were under the like restrictions ; and, though they were the king's companions, they were not his masters, or privileged to disobey those orders, which, in virtue of his dignity, the king, whom themselves had elected, had a right to issue for the benefit of the state.

(1) *Las Partidas del rey Don Alfonso I. tit. i. lib. ii.*

(2) *Petri Fantini de*

*dignitatibus et officiis regni ac comus regie Gothorum commentarius. tit. Comes.*

(3) *Bobad. Polit. lib. ii. cap. 16. num. 28.*



DON *Rodriguez* is the first of those counts mentioned by *Some particulars of* name in the *Spanish* histories, and he flourished in the reign of Don *Alonso el Casto*, or the chaste, whom he assisted in his *true, much* wars against the infidels. Some ancient writers say, that he was the father of Don *Diego Porcellos*, who is thought to be *more of the* the same that, as we have already shewn, received the king of *Oviedo's* orders to rebuild and and fortify *Burgos*. There *fabulous history of the ancient counts.* is, indeed, another account of this matter, which is, that one *A.D. 884.* *Nugno Belchides*, a German lord, making a pilgrimage into *Spain* to the tomb of *St. James*, being kindly entertained by this count, resolved to remain with him, and to assist in defending the country against the infidels. Don *Diego* was so charmed with the generosity of this stranger, that he gave him in marriage his only daughter, *Donna Sulla-Bella*; and, by his advice, collecting the people together out of the straggling villages, he brought them to live in a town, which he surrounded with walls, and gave it the name of *Burgos*, from the German word *Burgh*<sup>1</sup>. It must be admitted, that this has so much the air of a fable as not to deserve any credit; but then to infer from hence, that the counts in *Castile* were not hereditary, seems to be carrying the matter too far; since, rejecting the fable, we may retain the history, and allow Don *Diego*, the son of Don *Rodriguez*, to have built the city of *Burgos*, not by the advice of this son-in-law, but by the order of Don *Alonso* the great<sup>k</sup>. What seems to render this probable, and to give some degree of evidence to the before-mentioned account of the origin of these nobles, is our finding that there were many of them at the same time; such as the count Don *Fernand Ansules*, Don *Almondar el Blanco*, or the white, and Don *Nugno Fernandez*, which plainly intimates, that they did not receive either their authority or titles from the kings of *Oviedo*, but were indebted to them only for their protection<sup>1</sup> (B). In

<sup>1</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. MARIANA. <sup>k</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, lib. iv. <sup>1</sup> MARIANA Historia general, de Espana, lib. viii.

(B) We may more clearly apprehend what is advanced in the text, if we consider the meaning of the *Spanish* word *Castellania*, which is derived from *Castillo*, or, as it was antiently wrote, *Castil*, which we find thus asserted in the dictionary of the royal academy. A separate territory, in the manner of a province, independent of any other; in which its particular laws are observed, and which has a jurisdiction over all the places dependent on its capital (4). This clearly points out what kind of authority these lords had; who, upon the ge-

(4) Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana, tom. ii. p. 221.

How a- mongst the great lords one came to be stiled the count of Castile. IN order to form a clearer idea of this, we are to consider, that the counts, to whom the grandees have succeeded, were appointed by the king; and, in process of time, such as had the government of certain districts, disposed things in such a manner as their sons succeeded them, yet always with the consent of the crown<sup>m</sup>. But, with respect to the counts of *Castile*, we find no traces of their being appointed by the kings of *Oviêdo* or *Leon*; and if they had, there would, probably, have been but one count; and whenever that dignity became hereditary, it would have been in his family; whereas we have as much certainty as can be had of any thing in these times, that it was not so; but that, from the time of their becoming a province to the kingdom of *Oviêdo*, there were several great lords, though it is not at all improbable that one of these might have the precedency in virtue of the king's ap-

<sup>m</sup> MORALES, MARIANA.

neral wreck of the Gothic monarchy, seized upon whatever they were able to keep and to defend against the common enemy. It is, therefore, very probable, that, as they were independent of each other before they joined themselves to the kingdom of *Leon*, they remained so for some time afterwards; and that it was not long before Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, who threw off this yoke of homage, as he esteemed it, that any single person assumed the title of count of *Castile*, but at the time his ancestors first became eminent. It is at least not repugnant to probability to suppose, that they might be intrusted with a superiority of power by the kings of *Leon*, which, setting them above those who were as good as themselves at home, made way for their notion, that there could be none better abroad; and thus pride might easily suggest

the desire of receiving, in their own right, the respect paid them as representatives of their master (5). As to the city of *Burgos*, it was raised out of the ruins of the antient town of *Auca*, or *Occa*, from whence the adjacent ridge of mountains is stiled *Sierras de Occa* (6). The air of this capital is very sharp; the inhabitants of that, and of all the fifty towns, hamlets, and villages, under its jurisdiction, are hardy, industrious, and robust (7); and it is universally allowed, that the *Spanish* language, or, as called by themselves, *Lengua Castellana*, is spoken with greater purity here than in any other part of his catholic majesty's dominions (8). It contests with *Toledo*, the capital of *New Castile*, the precedence in the states, and upon all public occasions; and it is thought the dispute will not be speedily ended.

(5) *Mayerne Turquet Histoire general d'Espagne.*

*etat présent de l'Espagne, liv. i. p. 467.*

(7) *Les Belices de l'Espagne, par de*

*Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, xxi. i. p. 157.*

(8) *A Tour through Spain and*

*Portugal, by Udal ap Rhys, p. 40. Lodovici Nennii Hispania, cap. iv.*

(6) *Abbé Vayrac*

*et al. Les Belices de l'Espagne, par de*

*Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, xxi. i. p. 157.*

(8) *A Tour through Spain and*

*Portugal, by Udal ap Rhys, p. 40. Lodovici Nennii Hispania, cap. iv.*

pointment for the better government of the province; and also, that Don *Diego* might hold that dignity, when, by the command of Don *Alonso*, he built and fortified *Burgos*, which became afterwards the capital of the province, and the place where the king's count or governor resided<sup>n</sup>.

If we consider things in this light, it seems highly probable, *The king* that *Nugno Fernandez* was the principal count and chief go- of Leon  
vernor of *Castile*, at the time that Don *Alonso* the great con- imprison'd,  
sented to a match between his eldest son, the prince Don *Gar-* and puts to  
*cias*, and the count's daughter, which, as we have already death some  
shewn, was attended with unhappy circumstances, since that of these  
prince aspired to the crown in the life-time of his father, by lords as re-  
bels.  
which he drew upon himself the king's displeasure and a long imprisonment<sup>o</sup>. In these family quarrels the count of *Castile* not only countenanced his son-in-law, but also supported the queen *Ximena* and the prince Don *Ordogno*, governor of *Galiccia*, and the younger brother of Don *Garcias*; so that at length, by their cabals, the good old king found it requisite to resign his crown to Don *Garcias*, who behaved more dutifully afterwards than he had done before; and it seems highly probable, that when, after the death of that prince, Don *Ordogno* came to be seated on the throne, he disapproved his brother's conduct and his own towards their father; and, on this account, retained a dislike to Don *Nugno Fernandez*, to whom he might impute those councils by which they were misled<sup>p</sup>. However that may be, it is certain that, having summoned that nobleman and the rest of the nobles at *Castile* to meet him at *Burgos*, in which they failed, he resolved to chastise them; but dissembling his intentions, and directing them once more to meet him at a little town called *Regular*, he caused them all to be arrested and carried prisoners to *Leon*, A.D. 922. and there put to death. This Don *Roderic*, bishop of *Toledo*, represents as an act of tyranny, and a very foul stain on the administration of that king, who was otherwise a prince of great virtues<sup>q</sup>. Don *Lucas*, bishop of *Tuy*, barely relates the fact without any censure; and yet *Mariana*, and most of the modern historians, have followed the archbishop, and treated the king as a tyrant for this very act<sup>r</sup>; but *Sampiro*, bishop of *Astorga*, who had much better opportunities of knowing the truth, is directly on the other side, justifies king *Ordogno's* severity, and speaks of these nobles as rebels<sup>s</sup>. But how just soever his motives might be, the manner of his

<sup>n</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>o</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan.

p. iii.

<sup>p</sup> FERRERAS Historia de España, p. iv.

<sup>q</sup> De

reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

<sup>r</sup> LUC. Tudenf. Chron. MARIANA,

FERRERAS.

<sup>s</sup> SAMPIR. Annal. reg. Hispan.

getting these great men into his hands can never be defended ; and therefore we need not wonder that the people of *Castile* were generally disobliged, or that heats and heart-burnings were hereby kindled between the two nations.

Upon which, as is commonly believed, the Castilians revolted and set up judges.

ACCORDING to the general current of history, the sense which the *Castilians* had of this act of severity, joined to some new hardships they sustained under the reign of Don *Fraila*, who compelled them to resort to *Leon* for the decision of all disputes, provoked them to withdraw their allegiance from such tyrannical masters, and to set up a new form of government amongst themselves. This consisted in chusing two persons of quality, who were stiled judges, and in whom the supreme power was vested. The two first they say were Don *Nugno Rasura* and Don *Layn Calvo* ; the former of these was the son of Don *Nugno Belchides*, a man in years, of great experience, and of a mild and equitable temper ; the latter younger, married to *Nuna Bella*, the daughter of his colleague, very brave and active. Don *Nugna*, therefore, was the legislator, and Don *Layn* the general of this new commonwealth<sup>t</sup>. They generally rendered justice together, seated on the same tribunal ; and, as a proof of this, they shew the remains of what they call the judgment-seat at the village of *Bijudico*, two leagues from *Medina de Pomar*, as a decisive evidence of the matter of fact, asserting, that it was built for their use<sup>u</sup>. We are also told, that the laws by which their sentences were regulated made the contents of an antient volume, entitled, *El Fuero de Castilla*, which continued in force to the reign of Don *Alphonso* the wise, by whom these laws were abolished, and a new code introduced<sup>w</sup>. It is, however, admitted, that nothing farther is known of the transactions of these magistrates ; how long they remained so, or who were their immediate successors. The truth seems to be, that the name of the village, and the ruins of something like a tribunal, together with the darkness of these times, inspired some fertile imagination with this history, that the birth of him who was really the founder of an independent sovereignty in *Castile*, might appear sufficiently noble : and to leave the reader in as little doubt as may be upon this head, let us intreat his patience for so much more of this story as will bring us down to this illustrious person, and we shall then dismiss these fabulous relations, which, however, he will find have passed for very good history with some very great men, as indeed what would not pass under an easy natural dress, which *Mariana*<sup>x</sup> gives to every story he tells.

<sup>t</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

<sup>u</sup> Chron. var. antiqu.

<sup>w</sup> LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chronicon.

<sup>x</sup> Historia general de España, lib. viii. cap. ii.

DON Gonzalez Nugno was the son of Don Nugno Rasura, *The vul-* and some say that he also became one of the judges: but be *gar tradi-* that as it will, he is reported to have been a person of most *tion con-* extraordinary natural endowments, improved by more learn- *cerning the* ing than in that age laymen usually acquired. He married *descent of* Donna Ximena, the daughter of the count Nugno Fernandez, *the first in-* who was put to death by Don Ordogno, and who was also a *dependent* lady of exemplary virtue and a most consummate understand- *count of* ing. These excellent persons, having nothing so much at *Castile.* heart as as the good of their country and the glory of the *Ca-* *stilian* nation, bred up most of the young nobles of *Castile* in their own family; by which they acquired, as no doubt they well deserved, the universal esteem and affection of all ranks and degrees of people. This illustrious couple were the parents of that great hero we mentioned, Don Ferdinand Gonzalez, of whom we are now to speak, as of the real and indubitable founder of this principality, and whose actions were in themselves too great, and his character in all respects too noble, to stand in need of any assistance of this kind; which, as it ever does, only obscures what it should illustrate, and renders that doubtful and suspected that would be otherwise sufficiently conspicuous in its natural and proper point of light (C).

FOR, after all, it is morally certain, that no credit is to *Historical* be given to this genealogy, but that it is infinitely more *account of* probable this great man was the son of Don Ferdinand Gon- *the family* zalez, Lord of Lara in *Castile*, and who, from authentic *and first* records, appears to have been the founder of the monastery *establish-* of St. Peter de Alanca<sup>y</sup>, from whom his title and estate de- *ment of* scended to this son; who, by his excursions against the *Don Ferdi-* *nand Gon-* Moors, by his hospitable and generous way of living, by his *zalez.* courage in war and conduct in peace, raised himself to such *A.D. 913.* an extent of power, and to so high a reputation, that he married the Infanta Donna Sancha of Navarre<sup>z</sup>, and governed *Castile* in the same absolute manner almost as if he had been the legal master of it; but, notwithstanding this,

<sup>y</sup> MORALES, FERRERAS.  
Hispan. lib. iv.

<sup>z</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb.

(C) When we attribute these stories in a very particular manner to Mariana (4), it is by no means to be understood, that he is chargeable with the mention of them, but that the honour

he did them, by affording them a place in his history, has entitled them to a credit with modern historians; at which, without his assistance, they could never have arrived.

(4) *Historia general de España, lib. viii. cap. 2.*

he took care to preserve measures with the king of *Leon*, whom himself, as well as his predecessors, depended; th highly probable, that as they increased in power the deavoured to make that yoke as light they could; as o other hand, the great service they did, sometimes by r diversions, at others by joining their forces to the arm *Leon*, made those monarchs less inclined to differ with  
**A.D. 938.** than otherwise they would have been. At the famous of *Simencas* <sup>a</sup> he was in the army of *Don Ramiro*, the f king of *Leon*, and had a large share in obtaining that rious victory, notwithstanding that *Mariana* <sup>b</sup> and writers affirm, he did not bring up his troops till aft battle was over, and that then pursuing the enemy wit forces fresh and unfatigued he did prodigious execution. it is sufficient to destroy the credit of all that laboured tion, that he makes him found the monastery of *St. Pei Alanca* in consequence of this victory, and of a vow that he before it; which monastery, as we remarked, was cert founded many years before; and, as there is just reasc believe, by his father. However, by him, if any cred due to the charters and privileges by them produced, it c never be founded.

*He disobey* In the following year he thought fit to disobey that  
*the king of* narch's orders, with respect to fortifying the frontier;  
*Leon's or* as some writers say, entered into a confederacy against  
*ders; who* with the *Mohammedans*, which is not at all probable,  
*thereupon* we find that the count *Ferdinand Gonzalez* and the count  
*seizes and* *ego Nunez* were the next year reduced and brought to l  
*imprisons* from whence the king sent them to two separate castles,  
*him, but* kept them some time in captivity; but at length, by the  
*afterwards* terposition of the nobility, and very probably of the kin  
*releases* *Navarre*, whose sister *Don Ferdinand* had married, he  
*and is re-* set at liberty, reconciled to the king, and the prince *Don*  
*conciled to* *dogno* married to his daughter <sup>c</sup>. At this time there is notl  
*him.* clearer, than that *Don Ferdinand* and *Don Diego* both v  
 feudatories to the king of *Leon*; for had it been otherv  
 no doubt but the king of *Navarre* would have sent them  
 sistance, and prevented his brother-in-law's disgrace; bu  
 was too great and too wise a prince to protect him from  
 just resentment of his sovereign, otherwise than by an inter  
 sition of good offices in his favour, which we see had the  
 fired effect, and produced a reconciliation, at least for  
 present <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.    <sup>b</sup> Historia gén  
 de Espana, lib. viii.    <sup>c</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. VAS  
 Chronicon.    <sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. iv

BUT without all question, Don Ferdinand was inclined to *Marries* render himself independent; and there is nothing more pro- *his daugh-* bable, than that the king, by marrying his son to Donna Ur- *ter to the* taca, the count's daughter, meant to divert him from that *prince Don* design, and to fix his and his successor's fidelity to princes *Ordogno,* that were of their own blood. Count Ferdinand Gonzalez, *with* however, was too great a politician to be governed by such a *whom he* consideration; and therefore the king was no sooner dead *differed af-* than he joined with his brother-in-law of Navarre to pre- *ter his ac-* scribe terms to Don Ordogno, who had married his daughter, *cession,* and this with a view of making his brother Don Sanchez *which oc-* king of Galicia, by which, the power of that monarchy being *casions his* divided, he might with safety have set up for himself \*. Yet *parting* when he saw that this scheme, though well contrived, was *with his* not easy to be executed, he did not care to run the hazard *queen.* of a battle, though joined with the forces of Navarre; and this made a coldness between him and Don Sanchez, in whose favour he took or pretended at least to take up arms †. He bore also the insult offered him, by the sending back the queen of Leon, with great seeming patience, which was purely the effects of his policy, since it afterwards sufficiently appeared that he was sensible enough of the affront ‡. His interest governed him then, and, indeed, upon every other occasion, the great A.D. 951, point he had in view was to render himself independent; and this he pursued indefatigably till at last he attained it, as we shall shew in its proper place. But this character of him, founded on facts, renders some stories of him by Mariana altogether incredible (D).

HE

\* Chron. var. antiq.

† RODRIG SANTII Hist. Hispan.

p. iii.

‡ LUÇÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. VASÆI Chronicon.

(D) Instead of troubling the reader with those strange and improbable exploits which are attributed by Mariana (1), and those who have copied him, to this great man, we will content ourselves with transcribing a very judicious remark from Ferreras, which will give him more light than without his assistance we could have pretended to afford. The valiant actions of this brave man, says he (2), are

so interlarded with fables and impostures, that it is very difficult to distinguish between the true and the false, as is acknowledged by Sandaval, with whom, in this point, all the critics agree. Gonçales Arredondo has written a history of this hero, which some persons, for want of judgment, have considered as containing a detail of facts; whereas all that he intended was to afford proper instruction to a

(1) Roderic Toletan de rebus Hispaniæ, lib. v. c. 2. Mariana Historiæ generalis Hispaniæ, lib. viii.

(2) Ferreras Historia de España, p. iv. sect. x.

prince,

*Don Ferdinand procures the deposition of Don Sanchez, king of Leon, and marries his daughter to Don Ordogno the wicked, who sup- planted him.*

HE pushed his dissimulation still farther; and, upon Don Ordogno's making an irruption against the *Moors*, he likewise took a share in the war, and made a seeming diversion in the king's favour, though at the same time it answered a great purpose of his own; for the infidels had built a strong fort at *Corazo*, on the frontiers of his country, which was a great thorn in his sides, and which he took this opportunity to remove<sup>h</sup>. Some writers say that he gained at the same time a great victory over the infidels, but that seems not a little doubtful, or rather it is confounded with another victory, of which we shall speak hereafter. It is, however, certain, that he took and demolished the fortress of *Corazo*; and though by this he so apparently served his own turn, yet when, the year following, Don Ordogno, at the head of his numerous and victorious army, was on the point of entering *Castile*, he

A.D. 954. went boldly to that prince, pleaded the service he had done in the preceding campaign, and, by promising a steady adherence to his duty for the future, diverted that storm by which he must have been otherwise overwhelmed<sup>i</sup>; and when the *Moors*, in revenge of that action, invaded his territories, he demanded and received such assistance from Don Ordogno, as enabled him to gain a victory at *St. Stephen de Gozmez* as entirely broke the force of the infidels, and left him nothing to fear on that side for many years to come<sup>k</sup>. The king of *Leon* he so much dreaded, dying soon after, he set on foot those intrigues against his brother and successor Don Sanchez, whose ally he had formerly been, as forced him to quit the throne, and retire for shelter into the territories of the king of *Navarre*<sup>l</sup>. Yet not satisfied with this, he took part with

<sup>h</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>i</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. <sup>k</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN Histor. Arabum. <sup>l</sup> VASÆI Chronicon.

prince, under colour of writing the life of *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, which induced him to take the liberty of inserting therein whatever appeared requisite to inspire a monarch with heroic sentiments, in the same manner that *Xenophon* long ago composed his work of the education of *Cyrus*, as is well known to the learned. For this reason, continued he, I omit whatever

is mentioned in that book that is not supported by such authorities as manifest the truth of the history. We now see the true source of many of those strange things that have been already related, and it is also hoped sufficient reason for our declining to insert any more, as we would willingly inform without fatiguing our readers (3).



Don *Ordono* the wicked, son to Don *Alphonso* the blind, advanced him to the throne of *Leon*, and by that means restored his daughter to the title of queen <sup>m</sup>. In the quarrel of this prince, the worst that ever fate upon the throne, he broke with his brother-in-law Don *Garcias*, king of *Navarre*; and, being defeated and taken prisoner by him in the battle of *Aronia*, was carried by him to *Pampeluna*, where, it is highly probable, that monarch, in order to engage him to be quiet, prevailed upon his nephew Don *Sanchez*, king of *Leon*, to release him from the homage due to him in that quality; and having by this means provided in the best manner possible for the security and good correspondence of all the Christian powers, he, at the request of the countess of *Castile*, his sister, set the count Don *Ferdinand* at liberty, and sent him home <sup>n</sup>. A.D. 960.

ABOUT four years after he involved himself in a new war <sup>Makes</sup> with the infidels by fortifying *Sepulveda*, which so provoked <sup>war upon</sup> *Albacan*, king of *Cordova*, that he sent *Mohammed*, his Alha- <sup>the infidels</sup> gib, or vizir, who afterwards acquired the surname of *Al-* <sup>with va-</sup> *manacor*, with a powerful army to demolish it <sup>o</sup>. The count <sup>rious sut-</sup> Don *Ferdinand*, knowing the extent of the place, suffered <sup>cess</sup> them to invest it, by which their army occupied so great a space of ground, that, by making a quick march, he fell upon them with an inferior body of troops with such impetuosity, that he forced the posts he attacked, divided one part of the army from the other, which made way for a total defeat, wherein they lost fifteen thousand men and all their baggage <sup>p</sup>. It is observed by *Ferreras* <sup>q</sup>, as a circumstance subject to some doubt, that at this time the infidels were at peace with Don *Sanchez*, king of *Leon*, who notwithstanding took no umbrage at their invasion of *Castile*; from whence we may collect with certainty of what has been before advanced, that Don *Sanchez* had relinquished the sovereignty, and no longer considered count *Ferdinand Gonzalez* as his vassal, which is a much better reason for his conduct than that which, in most of the general histories of *Spain*, is very gravely asserted <sup>r</sup>. A.D. 965.

WE draw now towards the conclusion of this great man's <sup>Deprived</sup> life, who, as we observed more than once, ought to be re- <sup>the family</sup>

<sup>m</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.      <sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.      <sup>o</sup> VASÆI Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN Histor. Arabum.      <sup>p</sup> LUCÆ Tudenis Chronicon.      <sup>q</sup> Historia de Espana, lib. viii.      <sup>r</sup> MARIANA, MAYERNE, TURQUET.

garded

of Vela of garded as the true author and founder of this principality ; the county and though it cannot be denied, that, as well in point of of Alava ; courage and military conduct as that kind of court-craft and his great- cunning which too often obtains the name of policy, he was ness and death. one of the most distinguished persons in his time, yet many of his actions were such as nothing but ambition could suggest ; so nothing but a conscience, rendered callous by a frequent repetition of crimes, could have borne. As for instance : at the time he projected the deposition of Don Sanchez, king of Leon, amongst other great lords whom he sought to draw into a confederacy against that unfortunate prince, one was the count de la Vela, who seems to have possessed the little fruitful county of Alava, on the same terms that Don Ferdinand Gonzalez originally held his territories in Castile<sup>†</sup> (E). The count, however, resisted all his solicitations, and remained firm in the interests of Don Sanchez, even after he was constrained to abandon his kingdom and to retire into Navarre.

<sup>†</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. Chron. var. antiq.

(E) This little province, or county of Alava, has on the east the kingdom of Navarre, Old Castile on the south, and the country of Biscay on the north-west. It is in shape a long square, extending one way about twenty-two miles and about eighteen the other. At different times it has been accounted part of each of the countries before-mentioned ; first of Navarre, on account of its being conquered from the Moors by Don Sanchez, with an intent to make it his frontier. As a part of Biscay, the kings of Oviedo and Leon claim to be lords Paramount, as descendants from Don Pedro, duke of Cantabria, to whom the whole country belonged ; and lastly, count Ferdinand Gonzalez acquired it at this time by conquest (1). The

truth seems to be, that, with the assistance of their neighbours, the family of la Vela had induced the inhabitants to throw off the yoke of the infidels, and to live sometimes under the protection of the crown of Navarre, and sometimes under that of Leon. They seem to have been subjects of the last mentioned power at the time that the old count de la Vela and his three sons were expelled by the count of Castile, to whom it is not impossible, that Don Ordoño the wicked, his son-in-law, might transfer his right to this country by way of composition for the great assistance that he had given him (2). But be that as it will, there can be nothing clearer than that, under some pretence or other, the count Don Ferdinand actually added this rich

(1) Delices del Espagne, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, vol. i. p. 93.  
(2) Ferreras Historia de España, p. iv. sect. x.

country

parre<sup>u</sup>. The count Don *Ferdinand*, provoked at this, and at the same time perceiving how commodiously the country of *Alava* lay, if he could get it into his hands, resolved, as soon as Don *Ordogno* was placed on the throne of *Leon*, and had married his daughter, to make an expedition with all his forces against that excellent lord, and oblige him to pay for his loyalty no less a price than his whole dominions; in which, not without a great struggle, he prevailed, but could not get the person of the count into his power; who, with all his family, and the best part of his dependents, made their escape, and took refuge in the court of *Abderhaman*, king of *Cordova*<sup>w</sup>. He was there received and entertained in a manner suitable to his quality; and, at his intercession in

<sup>u</sup> *LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Arabum.*

<sup>w</sup> *RODERIC TOLETAN Hist.*

country to his dominions. *Mariana* insinuates, it was in resentment of several irruptions made by the family of *Vela* into *Castile* (3); which, if true, must have been in the reign of Don *Ordogno* the third, and by his orders, at the time of his repudiating *Donna Urraca* (4). This old count, taking shelter at *Cordova*, grew there into great intimacy with Don *Sanchez*, king of *Leon*, who was an exile as well as himself, and by the help of these unfortunate princes and their adherents, who were all determined enemies of the count of *Castile*, the infidels received so good intelligence of every thing in that country as rendered them infinitely more able to harass the count *Ferdinand* than they had ever been; in most of which excursions, such is the force of implacable hatred, the counts, at the head of their followers, came in con-

junction with their new allies, and were the chief instruments of the mischiefs done by them on all occasions (5). At length years infirmities, and vexations, absolutely broke the heart of the old count *de Vela*, but not before he had broke that of his enemy. For several historians say, and the fact is not at all improbable, that when, after all his labours, hazards, and victories, the great count of *Castile* saw his barrier destroyed, and his subjects in a manner ruined by this unnatural conjunction of Christians and *Moors* which he had brought upon himself, it affected him to such a degree that he died rather of grief than any other disease (6). A dreadful example of the inconstancy of human prosperity and the unexpected reverses of fortune, to which even the greatest politicians are always exposed.

(3) *Histeria de Espana, lib. viii.*

(4) *Roderic de Toletan de rebus Hispan. lib. v.*

(5) *Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Joann. Vassæ Hispaniæ Coronicon. Alphonf. a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anastasialeofis.*

(6) *Mariana Historio general de Espana, lib. viii.*

succeeding

succeeding times, most of those dreadful incursions were made that sometimes reduced both *Leon* and *Castile* within a hair's breadth of ruin \*. Notwithstanding this, and the repeated intercessions, as well of the kings of *Navarre* as of *Leon*, he never could be prevailed on to do that nobleman justice, but kept the county of *Alava* till the day of his death, which happened in the month of *July*, in the year of our lord 970<sup>y</sup>, when he left his territory free in all respects, very much extended, and the frontier well fortified, and a great corps of intrepid and well disciplined troops, to his son, a prince of great hopes, and highly esteemed by his neighbours.

Don Gar-  
cias Fer-  
nandez  
succeeds  
his father,  
and is vic-  
torious  
over the  
Moors.

THE name of this young count was Don *Garcias Fernan-*  
*dez*, who, from the time he became possessed of his father's dominions, turned his thoughts entirely upon the improvement of the country, and to the emolument of its inhabitants; by which he deservedly raised a very high reputation, and obtained not only the confidence of his own subjects, but of his neighbours \*. He seems to have passed the first seven years of his government in peace, owing chiefly to the age and infirmities of one king of *Cordova*, and to the indolent temper of another; but this last having made choice of *Mohammed Aben-*  
*anier* for his prime minister, who was a man of great abilities, and of an active and martial disposition, he readily listened to the repeated applications of the count *de la Vela*, and set on foot a numerous army, commanded by *Orduan*, one of the most experienced officers in his service, in order to restore him to his dominions, with whom went the count in person and most of his partisans \*. As soon as count *Garcias* had intelligence of these formidable preparations, he strenuously solicited the assistance of Don *Ramiro* the third, then king of *Leon*, but without effect; for that prince, being at peace with the *Moors*, refused to break with them upon his account. But his cousin Don *Sanchez Abarca*, king of *Navarre*, declared frankly in his favour, and began to arm immediately with the same zeal as if it had been in his own quarrel. *Orduan*, general of the *Moors*, entered *Castile* on the side of *Osma* and *St. Stephen*, *Gormez* wasting the country with fire and sword; but as soon as the troops of *Navarre* had joined Don *Garcias*, he attacked them with so much vivacity, that they were quickly routed, and with the loss of a

A.D 979.

\* RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. \* VASÆT Chron. \* MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. iv. MAYERNE, TURQUET Histoire general d'Espagne, lib. vii. \* RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

considerable

considerable body of men, as well as of their baggage, were constrained to make a precipitate retreat into the territories of *Cordova*, which gained count *Garcia Fernandez* great reputation <sup>b</sup>.

As the infidels were highly provoked by this defeat, they *Baffles the* levied the next year an army very far superior to that which *Moors in* had been beaten, and *Mohammed Abenamis*, surnamed after *several in-*wards *Almanzor*, took the resolution of commanding it in *vasions* person <sup>c</sup>. The count of *Castile* solicited as before both kings *with infe-*in his favour, but the one granted him none, and the other *rior forces*. very small succours, under pretence that the former campaign had been very expensive <sup>d</sup>. The count *Don Garcia*, therefore, found himself so much inferior to the enemy that he durst not hazard a battle, yet he seemed often disposed to hazard it, and by marches and counter-marches harrassed the *Moors* so much that their general was excessively provoked, and at length contented himself with besieging *St. Stephen de Gormez*. This *A.D. 980.* place was so well fortified, and defended by so strong a garrison, that his army suffered exceedingly during the siege, which induced him, when the place was taken, to put the garrison to the sword, the rather because his forces were so much diminished and fatigued, that he found himself in no condition to undertake any thing farther, and was therefore obliged to defer the bloody vengeance he threatened to take till the next year <sup>e</sup>. The next campaign was notwithstanding less favourable to the infidels than the former, though *Don Garcia* had not a better army in the field; but his fortresses were so well provided, and the *Moors* had so little stomach to sieges, that, after moving up and down the open country which they ravaged, they found it expedient to retire; and the next year they *A.D. 981.* either did nothing or employed their arms elsewhere <sup>f</sup>.

ABOUT four years after *Almanzor* made a new irruption *Carries on* into *Castile*, took *Sepulveda* after a long siege, and several *the war* other places; from whence we may conclude, though there *with great* is no mention of it in the *Spanish* histories, that he gained *intrepidity,* some advantage over the count *Don Garcia*, who otherwise *tho' with* would not have been a tame spectator of the miseries his *various* people felt <sup>g</sup>. The resolution taken by the *Moors* next *success.* year to act with all their forces against the king of *Leon* pro- *A.D. 986.* cured the *Castilians* some recess, which the count employed in repairing his fortresses and recruiting his troops. Three years after *Almanzor* made a new invasion, and brought with him

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

denfis Chron. VASÆI Chron.

reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>c</sup> LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron.

<sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de

Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>e</sup> RODERIC

TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>f</sup> LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron.

the sons of the count *de la Vela* <sup>h</sup>. Don *Garcia* was now assisted by the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*, but not in any proportion to the number of his enemies, who besieged and took *Alienca*; which, however, put an end to their progress for  
 A.D. 989. that year<sup>1</sup>. The next was rather more unfortunate, for the count having but a very small army in the field, they ravaged and destroyed the country at their pleasure, but without undertaking any siege. The year following *Almanzor* invaded *Castile*  
 990. again, and, after endeavouring to no purpose to force Don  
 991. *Garcia* to a battle, he, in the month of *August*, besieged and took *Osma* after a long resistance<sup>k</sup>. This war was in a good measure suspended for the three following years; during which, however, the count Don *Garcias* was exceedingly perplexed with some disputes that arose between him and his cousin Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, which ended not but with the death of the latter.

*Obtains several advantages over the infidels, and recalls the family of Vela.* WHEN the infidels renewed the war, they made a greater impression upon *Castile* than they had ever done, and not only took but garrisoned *Corugna* and *St. Stephen de Gormez*, which they held for several years<sup>1</sup>; and it is highly probable, that they might have pushed their conquests much farther, if they had not at this time meditated the destruction of *Leon*, which they effected soon after. It was the loss and ruin of that important place that saved the Christians in *Spain* from being undone, by opening their eyes to the necessity of uniting, and produced that league between the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* and the count of *Castile*. This first gave a check to the arms of the infidels, by the glorious victory<sup>m</sup> obtained over them in the plains of *Osma*, where all the three princes acted in person; and where, after the *Moors* were defeated, the pursuit was committed to the count of *Castile*, who executed it with such vigour, as drew upon him the particular resentment of the infidels. As soon as they were able to gather another army, they resolved to employ it solely against his dominions; but Don *Bermudo*, king of *Leon*, dying in the interim, engaged them to alter their intention, and to make an irruption into that kingdom, where the *Moorish* army, under the command of *Abdimelech*, was thoroughly and shamefully beaten by the confederates, commanded by Don *Garcia*, count of *Castile*<sup>n</sup>. The year following died Don *Garcias*, king of *Navarre*, and was succeeded by Don *Sanchez*, afterwards surnamed the Great; and the same year Don *Garcia*,  
 A.D. 999.  
 A. D.  
 1000.

<sup>h</sup> VASÆI Chron.<sup>1</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. lib. iv.<sup>k</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.<sup>1</sup> Chron. var. antiq.<sup>m</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. VASÆI Chron.<sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

count of *Castile*, consented, that the sons of the count de la *Vela* should be restored to their patrimony, and that a general pardon should be granted to them and all their adherents (F).

THE young king of *Navarre* being arrived at an age in *His son* which it was fit for him to marry, cast his eyes upon *Donna raises an*

(F) The propensity of the *Spanish* writers, to give place in their general histories unto the fictions contrived to raise the lustre of particular families, has diverted them from such enquiries as would have been of infinitely more use; so that it is difficult to say whether they deserve more blame for giving place to feigned history, or for omitting such circumstances as might have illustrated what is true (1). According to *Mariana's* account, there was a kind of war between *Leon* and *Castile* during the best part of *Don Garcia's* administration, which he infers from the *Moors* continuing to infest *Castile* without any diversion made, or any opposition given, by the kings of *Leon* (2). This, however, seems to be carrying things too far, and yet there is a ground of truth at bottom. *Don Sanchez*, king of *Leon*, and his son, were under such obligations to the king of *Cordova* as would not permit them to act against the *Moors*, on account of their incursions into *Castile*, which was now become an independent principality, which was a great misfortune to *Don Garcia*. On the other hand, when the *Moors* attacked the kingdom of *Leon*, the people of *Castile* were so

enfeebled by the long war which they had sustained, that they were in no condition to yield assistance to their neighbours, which brought destruction upon the people of *Leon*; but at length all the Christian princes opened their eyes, and saw what they might have seen long before, that the distress of one would very quickly become the destruction of all, and they united but just time enough to prevent it (3). All these mischiefs were the effects of *Don Ferdinand Gonzalez's* ambition and false politics; and therefore his son very wisely consented to recall the family of *Vela*; who, during their exile, had sufficiently revenged the injury done them of despoiling them of their county of *Alava* (4); to which it is doubtful whether they were now restored. But, however, the bringing back them and their partisans from the *Moors* proved of great consequence to all the Christian powers (5); who, from the beginning of the eleventh century, began to recover that superiority which they had lost for many years; and thus we have taken the liberty, by conjectures, to remove, in some measure, that obscurity in which this period is involved (6).

(1) *Mondejar Noticia y Juicio de los mas principales Historiadores de Espana.*

(2) *Historia general de Espana*, lib. viii.

(3) *Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon. Roderic. Tol-tan de reb. Hispaniæ*, lib. v.

p. iv. sect. x.

(4) *Ferreras Historia de Espana*.

(5) *Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.*

(6) *P. Moret investigaciones historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarre*, lib. ii.

c. viii.

insur-  
rection a-  
gainst him,  
but is re-  
duced and  
pardoned.

A. D.  
1001.

*Elvira*, the daughter of *Don Sanchez*, and the grand daughter of *Don Garcia*, count of *Castile*, whom he soon after de-  
manded in marriage by his ambassadors, to whom the young  
lady being readily delivered, the marriage was soon after so-  
lemnized with great splendor at *Pampeluna* <sup>r</sup>. The great joy  
occasioned by this event, which was indeed very favourable to  
the Christian cause, was very soon damped by the ill conduct  
of this young queen's father, who, listening to the advice of  
count *Garcia Gomez*, and some other flatterers, began to form  
cabals against his parent and his prince. The count *Don*  
*Garcia* laboured all that was in his power to convince his son  
of the folly of his proceeding, but to no purpose, for the  
prince was as obstinate as he was undutiful; so that at length  
the count of *Castile*, who was grown old in fighting against  
the infidels, was obliged once more to draw his sword, in  
order to chastise his son <sup>a</sup>. *Don Sanchez* pushed things to  
extremities, and would not suffer their differences to be any  
other way terminated than by a battle; in which, it is on  
all hands agreed, he was thoroughly beaten <sup>r</sup>; and though  
*Mariana* <sup>r</sup> and some other historians say, that he kept up the  
contest notwithstanding till his father's death, yet authors <sup>t</sup>,  
who lived nearer these times, assert, that he was wise enough  
to submit to ask pardon of *Don Garcia*, and not only to  
receive it, but by signal marks of repentance, and a sincere  
return to his duty, effaced the very memory of his crime,  
which delivered the *Castilians* in time from a civil war, that  
might otherwise have rendered them an easy prey to the in-  
fidels, who, as it was very natural, began their prepa-  
rations to invade *Castile* on the first news of this dispute.

1003.

At length  
taken pri-  
soner by  
the Moors,  
and dies  
of his  
wounds.

*ABDERAMA* succeeded his brother *Abdilelech* in the post of  
general, or commander in chief of the forces of *Cordova*;  
and being exceedingly desirous to signalize his entrance on  
that great office, by revenging his father's death and his  
brother's disgrace, he assembled a very numerous army, with  
which he invaded *Castile* <sup>u</sup>; and as several of the best for-  
tresses had been ruined, and two of them were still in the  
hands of the *Moors*, there seemed to be nothing more easy,  
than with superior forces to ruin and destroy the country, if  
not to make an absolute conquest. The count, *Don Garcia*,  
perceiving the enemy's design, and knowing no other way  
to preserve his country from ruin, assembled as many troops

<sup>p</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

denfis Chronicon.

<sup>r</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

general de Espana. lib. viii.

SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

Arabum.

<sup>q</sup> LUCÆ Tu-

denfis Chronicon.

<sup>s</sup> Historia

<sup>t</sup> VASÆI Chron. RODERIC

<sup>u</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN, Hist.



as he could, and with them marched to give the enemy battle. The *Moors*, who looked upon this step as very favourable to their design, did not at all decline an engagement; so that, on the twenty-eighth of *July*, an action ensued between the towns of *Alcocer* and *Berlanga*, in which the *Castilians* had at first the advantage <sup>w</sup>; but the count *Don Garcia*, penetrating at the head of his cavalry too far, was surrounded by the *Moors* before his infantry could come up, and most of his troops being killed, and himself dangerously wounded, was taken prisoner <sup>x</sup>; after which his army made a precipitate retreat. But by the desperate charge made at the beginning, the infidels found themselves so much weakened, that, except burning some of the places that were nearest them, they did nothing more that campaign. As for the gallant *Don Garcia*, he died, partly of his wounds, and partly of grief, two days after the loss of his liberty and of the battle, that is, on the thirtieth of *July*, in the year of our Lord one thousand and five, and when he had governed *Castile* thirty-five years complete <sup>y</sup>. The *Moorish* general *Abderama* sent his body in triumph to *Cordova*, from whence being redeemed for a sum of money, it was brought back into his own dominions, and buried in the monastery of *St. Peter de Cardagna*, universally regretted by his subjects, and by the Christians in general.

*DON SANCHEZ GARCIAS* succeeded his father <sup>z</sup>, the ran- *Don San-*  
som of whose body was the first act of his administration; chez Gar-  
and, as soon as he had paid his last devoirs to it, he applied *cias suc-*  
himself with inexpressible diligence to recruit his forces, that *ceeds his*  
he might be in a condition to revenge his death upon the *father, and*  
infidels. Several accidents contributed to facilitate his de- *makes a*  
sign; his neighbours, the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*, sent *glorious*  
him considerable succours, multitudes of his own people, *expedition*  
being afraid to till their lands, betook themselves to arms, *against the*  
and, before he could take the field, a civil war broke out *Moors.*  
in *Cordova* <sup>b</sup>. *Don Sanchez*, finding his army more numerous, and the conjuncture more favourable, than he expected, disposed all things very wisely, in order to make the most of his advantage; for first he blocked up the *Moorish* garrisons in his own country, that they might give his subjects no disturbance in his absence, and then, passing the mountains that separate the two *Castiles* with the rest of his troops, he fell into the open country behind them, and

<sup>w</sup> *LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.*  
*Hispan. p. iii.*

<sup>y</sup> *VASÆI Chronicon.*

*TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. p. iv.*

*general de Espana. lib. viii.*

<sup>x</sup> *RODERIC SANTII Hist.*

<sup>z</sup> *RODERIC*

<sup>a</sup> *MARIANA Historia ge-*

<sup>b</sup> *RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.*

having burnt three or four small places, he thereby so terrified the inhabitants of all the great cities and towns, that they immediately sent deputies to his camp, even from places at a great distance, and agreed to deliver him wine, provisions, and money, upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe. Having thus spread terror throughout all the enemy's dominions, and fully indemnified his subjects for their want of a harvest that year, he repassed the mountains in the middle of autumn with his army, covered with glory and laden with riches <sup>c</sup>.

*Zuleiman a pretender to the crown of Cordova solicits his alliance.*

His good fortune did not end here. Those who had revolted at *Cordova* from *Almahadi*, who then bore the title of king, could not agree amongst themselves whom they should place upon the throne in his stead; and at length dividing in favour of two persons, they came immediately to an action, in order to decide which of these competitors they should assist to dethrone the reigning prince. The name of him whose adherents were victorious in this action was *Zuleiman* <sup>d</sup>, who becoming master of the person of his rival, kept him closely confined; but this success, which freed him from one opponent, rendered him much less able to contend with the other; for, notwithstanding those who revolted at first were strong enough to depose *Almahadi*, if they could have agreed, yet the remains of both parties found themselves manifestly too weak <sup>e</sup>. In this situation *Zuleiman* very wisely drew off his forces from the neighbourhood of the capital, that they might be less liable to be debauched; and having seized upon certain places, where for the present they might remain in safety, he sent his ambassadors to count *Don Sanchez*, to propose a firm and constant alliance between them, promising him great advantages, if, by his assistance, a passage could be opened to the throne of *Cordova*, and accompanied these offers with presents of great value <sup>f</sup>.

*Don Sanchez assists him, and sets him on by force of arms.*

THE count of *Castile* received these ambassadors kindly; and having maturely weighed what they proposed, accepted the offers that were made him, and assured *Zuleiman*, that he would join him with his troops as soon as the season would permit them to take the field. Accordingly he not only assembled his own forces, but procured auxiliaries from the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*, who saw with great pleasure so fair an opportunity offer of employing the *Moor*s in the service of the Christians, and in weakening themselves. He passed the mountains with as good an army as he had led

<sup>c</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. VASÆI Chronicon.

DERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

Chron.

<sup>f</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>e</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

in his last expedition, and in conjunction with *Zuleiman*, who received him with great joy, advanced directly towards *Cordova* <sup>g</sup>. *Almahadi*, with the assistance of his Alhagib *Alhamer*, had drawn together a very numerous body of troops, with which he proposed to defend the city, which, as it was extremely well fortified, he looked upon as very practicable, even if the enemy had been stronger than they were; but, upon the approach of the confederates, *Alhamer*, who had the confidence of the troops more than his master, formed a resolution of marching out and giving them battle, in which he persisted, notwithstanding all the reasons *Almahadi* could offer. This design he executed with the same spirit in which it was formed, but had the misfortune, notwithstanding, to be defeated by the confederates, and constrained to retire into another part of the kingdom, while they continued their march and invested *Cordova*, into the suburbs of which the count of *Castile* entered with his forces, whom he enriched with the plunder <sup>h</sup>. *Almahadi* found it impossible to defend himself, and therefore made his escape <sup>k</sup>; upon which *Zuleiman* was received without opposition, who, rewarding the count of *Castile* and his forces even beyond their expectation, sent them home perfectly satisfied, and recommended to them the reduction of *Alhamer*, who had withdrawn himself to the frontiers of *Castile* <sup>l</sup>.

A. D.  
1008.

At the return of the count Don *Sanchez*, his consort was delivered of a son <sup>m</sup>, who afterwards succeeded his father in his dominions. The next campaign the count made himself master of the fortress of *Alienca*, which was in the hands of *Alhamer*. Having dismantled it, he ravaged the rest of that country, and then returned into his own dominions, being perhaps unwilling to march again to the assistance of *Zuleiman*, because the count of *Barcelona*, and other Christian lords, had engaged themselves on the part of his competitor, and he was unwilling to see Christians destroy each other in fighting the battles of the *Moors* <sup>n</sup>. For want of his assistance *Zuleiman* was dethroned and expelled, which constrained him to retire into *Africa*; and this, in process of time, afforded *Hiffem*, the grandson of *Abderhaman*, who was the lawful monarch of *Cordova*, and had been long kept in prison by different usurpers, an opportunity to mount the throne <sup>o</sup>. He found, however, very great difficulty to keep

Enters into  
a new  
league  
with Hif-  
sem king  
of Cordo-  
va, by  
which he  
obtains  
great ad-  
vantages.

<sup>g</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>h</sup> VASÆI Chronicon.

<sup>l</sup> Ro-

DERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

<sup>k</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN

de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

<sup>l</sup> RODERIC TOLET. Hist. Arabum.

<sup>m</sup> VASÆI Chronicon.

<sup>n</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan.

p. iii.

<sup>o</sup> RODERIC TOLET. Hist. Arabum.

possession of it; for *Abdalla*, the son of *Almahadi*, who perished in these troubles, had got possession of *Toledo*, where he assumed the title of king <sup>p</sup>. On the other hand *Zuleiman*, returned from *Africa*, and bringing with him considerable reinforcements, created new disturbances, and sent a fresh embassy to the count of *Castile* to demand his assistance once more. But *Don Sanchez*, who made no scruple of assisting one tyrant against another, made a scruple of arming against *Hissam*, whom he took to be a lawful prince <sup>q</sup>. He therefore sent an agent to *Cordova*, to propose to the king, that, if he would order the *Moorish* garrison to evacuate *St. Stephen de Gormez*, *Osma*, *Corugna*, and other places, he would become his firm ally, and assist him with all his troops. Upon mature deliberation *Hissam* accepted this offer; in consequence of which the count of *Castile* began to levy troops. *Hissam*, to shew his confidence in the faith of that prince, honestly performed his part of the agreement, and, having given up to him all the places that he demanded, summoned the count of *Castile* to the performance of his promise <sup>r</sup>.

A. D.  
1013.

*Assists him  
in besieging and  
taking  
Toledo.*

*DON SANCHEZ*, equally ready to do what he had stipulated, marched, at the request of his ally, to *Toledo*, where the troops of *Hissam* were already arrived; and, as soon as they had notice of the count's approach, invested the place. *Don Sanchez*, perceiving it to be very large and well fortified, and being also informed that it was very populous, advised the *Moors* to blockade it very strictly, as not only the surest but the shortest method of becoming masters of it. They took his advice, and had no reason to repent it; for in a few days the inhabitants, finding themselves oppressed by famine, seized upon the person of him whom they had stiled their prince, and surrendered the place <sup>s</sup>. After which the count of *Castile*, having fully made good what he promised, returned again into his own dominions. The civil war still continued between *Hissam* and *Zuleiman*, but it does not appear that the count of *Castile* took any farther share therein on either side, but remained quiet in his own territories, where he governed his subjects with great equity and justice. Yet a body of *Moors*, supposed to belong to the garrison of *Saragossa*, made an irruption into his country, reduced *Cordagna*, and put the inhabitants there to the sword; upon which *Don Sanchez* put himself in arms, but found they had quitted his dominions, and retired

A. D.  
1015.

<sup>p</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
<sup>q</sup> LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron.  
<sup>r</sup> RODERIC TOLET. Hist. Arabum.  
VASÆI Chron.

<sup>s</sup> LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron.

to a place of safety, whither he held it improper to follow them<sup>t</sup> (G).

<sup>t</sup> RODERIC TOLET. Hist. Arabum.

(G) Among other privileges which this famous and fortunate count of *Castile* granted to his nobility, there is one that deserves to be particularly remembered, which is thus represented by *Mariana*; all the lords of that country, small and great, were obliged, as vassals to their count, to march, with such numbers of men as they could raise, whenever he summoned them to attend him in the field, without expecting any other recompence or satisfaction than what they were able to carve out for themselves at the expence of the enemy. This service, it is said, he took away, and engaged, for himself and his successors, that they should have a certain consideration proportionable to the number of men that each of them commanded, and the length of the campaign. Of the truth of this the *French* translator of *Mariana* seems to doubt, and we find not a word of it in *Ferreras*. As the military tenures in all the *Gothic* governments were much the same, it is not easy to conceive either how or why he should attempt to change them; more especially as there is nothing said of any equivalent, or of the method by which he was to raise that pay, which it is said he undertook to give them. Besides, it does not appear that he was ever in any

such circumstances as could render it advisable or expedient for him to do this; or, indeed, that, upon the whole, such a privilege would have been advantageous to his nobility, since they were as much interested as he in the defence of their country, and had therefore no reason to desire, that the only effectual means of defending it should be laid aside. It is therefore highly probable, that the case was no more than this: He made two expeditions out of his own dominions as an auxiliary to *Moorish* princes; and it is very possible, as well as very reasonable, that he might exempt his nobility from attending him in such expeditions at their own expence, and engage to indemnify them out of the recompence or subsidy that he was to receive. It may indeed be said, that, while they were thus employed, they were in the service of their country as well as of their prince; but, at the same time, this was a kind of service to which they were not subjected by their tenures; and therefore it is very likely he would have found it difficult to comply with his engagements to the king of *Cordova*, if he had not by this concession cut off all grounds of dispute, and made these foreign expeditions a common concern (7).

(7) *Joannis Vassæ Hispania Chronicon. Mariana Historia general de España, lib. viii. Petri Paulini de officiis regni Gothorum, tit. Dux & Comes. Ferreras Historia de España, p. v. scilicet. xi.*

*Sends the  
family of  
Vela a  
second time  
into ban-  
ishment.*

ABOUT this time Don Sanchez found himself under an absolute necessity of doing what he took to be an act of justice. The three sons of the count *de Vela* had, from the time of their return, been treated with great kindness and respect, and the count of *Castile* had pushed this so far, as to make choice of the eldest, whose name was Don *Roderic de Vela*, to be the godfather of his son and heir apparent <sup>u</sup>. But whether these lords still retained their old resentment, or whether it proceeded from the natural fierceness of their disposition, so it was, that they behaved in such a manner to the *Castilians*, that the count received perpetual complaints of their excesses, which in the end provoked him to such a degree, that, forgetting how fatal their former exile had been to all the Christians in *Spain*, he drove them a second time out of his dominions <sup>v</sup>. Upon this Don *Alonso* the fifth, then king of *Leon*, apprehensive of the ill consequences that might ensue, if they should again take shelter among the infidels, offered them a retreat in his dominions, and actually gave them lands sufficient for their subsistence, at the foot of the mountains, with which for the present they seemed to be well contented <sup>x</sup>; but, as the reader hath seen in another place, these were very far from being the real sentiments, as clearly appeared after the death of the count Don *Sanchez*, when an opportunity offered of glutting their resentment by the murder of his son, and by the extinction of the male heirs of the counts of *Castile*. But at present our business is to continue the thread of our history, by relating the remaining achievements of the count Don *Sanchez*.

*Brings the  
affairs of  
Castile in-  
to perfect  
order du-  
ring the  
short in-  
terval of  
peace.*

A. D.  
1016.

THE count Don *Sanchez*, having now an interval of peace, took great pains in correcting whatever errors had crept into his government during those stirring times, when justice is, generally speaking, silent. He repaired those fortresses that were proper to make a part of his frontier, and demolished others, that, either through an irruption of the *Moors*, or insurrections at home, might have proved nuisances to his dominions. He took this opportunity also to regulate with the king of *Navarre* the boundaries of their respective territories, to prevent any disputes in succeeding times between their descendants <sup>y</sup>. He likewise facilitated the endeavours of Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, in repairing the places ruined by the *Moors*, and more especially in restoring such churches and convents as they had demolished <sup>z</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. antiq.

<sup>x</sup> LUCÆ Tudenis Chron. VASÆI Chron.

<sup>y</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

<sup>z</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

<sup>v</sup> Chron. var.

Actions that shew him to have been a wise, active, and magnanimous prince, and therefore not likely to have proceeded with so much rigour, as is reported, against his mother. However, as the fact is related by more than one historian <sup>a</sup>, and is represented as having given rise to more than one custom that still remains in general use in this country, it is not fit to hide it from the reader's knowledge, however improbable it may appear, as indeed there is hardly any thing that can wear an aspect more fabulous, or more incredible.

THE countess dowager of *Castile*, it is said, forgetting *Improbable* her birth, her honour, and her religion, cast her eyes upon *account of* a *Moorish* lord, with an inclination to have married him; *his oblig-* but being apprehensive that this would have been displeasing *ing his mo-* to her son, who might have considered such a marriage as *ther to* deriving discredit on himself, she resolved to remove that *poison. her-* obstacle to the gratification of her passion by depriving him *self.* of life. With this view she prepared a violent poison, which she put into his drink, and which she afterwards offered him with her own hands; but the count, having received information of this black design, first desired, and then obliged her to drink it herself, and thereby turned the effects of this cruel project upon its author. But, says *Mariana* <sup>a</sup>, how criminal soever the countess might be, her death, nevertheless, tarnished the reputation of her son, because gentler means might have been used to escape the intended evil, to punish the countess, and to put it out of her power to make any future attempts of the like kind. Some authors assert, that from hence arose the practice in *Spain* of the ladies drinking first <sup>c</sup>. It is also alleged, that the count himself, regretting the severity, built the noble monastery of *Ona* as an expiation of his crime. But, with much greater probability, others assert, that it was erected to gratify the desire of one of his daughters, who was inclined to quit the world, and became the abbess of this new foundation <sup>d</sup>.

As the civil wars amongst the infidels still continued, when *Extends* the count had adjusted all his domestic concerns, he was *his fron-* willing not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of ex- *tiers by an* tending his dominions; and therefore taking the field, with *expedition* a complete corps of well disciplined troops, he presented *against the* himself before *Penafiel*, which, after a short siege, he *Moors,* reduced. After taking *Maderuelo* and *Montijo*, he at *and dies* length invested *Sepulveda*, a place strong by nature, and *soon after.* even then somewhat assisted by art, with a good garrison, *A. D.* 1019.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. var. antiq.<sup>b</sup> Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.<sup>c</sup> Chron. var. antiq.<sup>d</sup> Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon, VASÆI

Hispaniæ Chronicon.

which enabled it to make a great resistance; however, being a place of consequence, a mark of triumph in the infidels, and a thorn in the sides of his subjects, he pushed it so vigorously, that at length it fell into his hands, which enabled him to clear all that neighbourhood of the *Moors*, and to take such precautions as might, for the future, put it out of their power to harass his subjects, as in times past. He seems to have been thus employed, when he was seized with that distemper which brought him to the grave, to the great regret of his subjects, who loved him as he deserved, since few princes have been either more fortunate or more indulgent. He deceased <sup>f</sup> *February* the fifth, in the year of our Lord 1022. *Mariana* <sup>g</sup>, and indeed some other writers, place his death six years lower, but without any great appearance of reason, because it is not reconcileable to the current even of their own narrations. His body was interred in the monastery of *Ona* (H) which he founded, and, at the time

\* RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.      <sup>f</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.      <sup>g</sup> Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.

(H) This monastery of *Ona*, in which Don *Sanchez* and his family are interred, was of his own foundation, at the desire of his daughter Donna *Frigida*, who chose to quit the world and to embrace a monastic life, in the year of our Lord 1011, that is, about seven years after the decease of his father (5). Some historians indeed are very positive that he founded this religious house upon a very different occasion, and with an intention to atone for the putting of his mother to death, a circumstance capable of putting that fact also out of doubt; for, if that monastery was not built till the time before-mentioned, and that he had a daughter of age to take the veil, we cannot but believe him near forty years of age, which does not very

well agree with the wantonness ascribed to his mother, who, losing all the names by which she was called in other parts of the history, is now said to have no other name than *Ona* (6). The tomb of the count is near the high altar; not far from it stands that of his own wife Donna *Urraca*, who died three years after him (7); and, at no great distance, that of his son Don *Garcia*, whom the monumental inscription is said to make no more than thirteen (8); which agrees but very indifferently with the facts mentioned of him in history, and yet is far more reconcileable to them than the computation of a *French* historian, who makes him but nine. (9) It must be acknowledged, that even the best historians differ about the year in which

(5) *P. Marco*, in *Appendice*.  
lib. viii. cap. 11.

(8) *Morales*, *Salazar*.

(6) *Mariana Historia general de Espana*.

(7) *Ferreras Historia de Espana*, p. v. sect. xi.

(9) *P. Orleans, Revolutions de l'Espanne*.



of his decease, he left behind him four children, Don *Garcias Sanchez* his successor, and three daughters, Donna *Nugna Elvira*, who married Don *Sanchez* king of *Navarre*, Donna *Urraca Theresa*, who became afterwards the consort of the king of *Leon*, and Donna *Frigida*, who was abbess of the monastery before-mentioned <sup>b</sup>.

DON *Garcias Sanchez* <sup>1</sup> succeeded his father under the *Don Gar-* tuition of Donna *Elvira* his mother, and the protection of *San-* Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, his uncle. There is a ge- chez suc- neral concurrence of the *Spanish* writers <sup>k</sup> to raise this young ceeds his prince into a kind of miracle, with respect both to his person father, and his parts, but at the same time they are very much di- and proves vided about his years, since most of them make them but a prince of nine, whereas we, following the other computation, esteem of vast him then to have been about fourteen; the rather, because hopes. we find, that, on the 25th of *May* 1025, his mother died <sup>l</sup>, and recommended him to the care of Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, who very soon after thought of marrying him. Besides, the person and the parts of a child of nine years old, though they may raise hopes, hardly excite admiration; whereas at fourteen, if he was really of such a superior genius, there is nothing absurd in supposing, that it might be discerned and distinguished even by foreigners as well as his own subjects; and as this was actually the case, it serves greatly to fortify that notion. However, notwithstanding the pregnancy of his parts, and the respect due to his father's memory, there wanted not some among his subjects, who were willing to take the advantage of his youth, and to disturb the peace of his dominions. The chief of these was Don *Ferdinand Guiterrez*, who made himself master of the castle of *Moncon*, and is reported to have had some connection with the infidels <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> *LUCE* Tudenfis Chronicon, *VASÆI* Chronicon. <sup>1</sup> *MARIANA* Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. *FERRERAS* Historia de Espana, p. iv. *MAYERNE*, *TURQUET* Histoire general d'Espagne, lib. vii. <sup>k</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>1</sup> *RODERIC* SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iii. <sup>m</sup> *RODERIC* TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

Don *Sanchez* died (1), and about as well supported as any other, the time that his son survived we thought ourselves obliged to him; but the chronology of follow it for the sake of perspicuity (2). *Ferreras* being probable, free from all absurdity, and at least

(1) *R. Tolstan de rebus Hispaniæ. Luce Tudenfis Chronicon. Morales, Salazar.*  
(2) *Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.*

Is assassinated by the counts Roderic, Diego, and Inigo de la Vela, at Leon.

BUT Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, under colour of providing a proper match for his nephew, made a tour into Castile, and brought with him, by way of escorte, a considerable number of troops, with which, and the forces about the person of Don Garcias, he quickly reduced Don Ferdinand, and some other great men, to reason<sup>a</sup>. This, and some other affairs, requiring his presence, Don Garcias, who was inclined to shew his passion for the princess Donna Sancha, proceeded, with a few Castilian noblemen that were about him, to Leon, which circumstance is omitted by Ferreras, though there is nothing in it improbable, and it seems to account for the absence of Don Bermudo from his capital, which could hardly have happened, if his intended brother-in-law had not arrived there before he was expected. This eagerness of his seems also to confirm our opinion as to his age, since it is natural enough in a young man of twenty, but not altogether so probable of a boy of fourteen. Upon his entrance into the kingdom of Leon, the three counts of the family of Vela made great demonstrations of joy; which had nothing in it strange, if we consider, that the eldest of them was his godfather, and might very well pretend an inclination to be reconciled and to make his peace with a prince, whose father he had acknowledged for his sovereign<sup>c</sup>. This will still be the more probable, if what some historians say be true, that he gained the opportunity of stabbing him, by pretending to kneel to kiss his hand<sup>d</sup>. The circumstances of the murder we have given before, on account of its being committed at Leon; but we are constrained to mention it here again, as this unfortunate prince was the last count of Castile of his race. His corpse was first interred in the church of St. John at Leon, where a tomb was erected to his memory, but it was afterwards removed to the monastery of Ona, where there is both a tomb and an inscription to his honour<sup>e</sup>.

Don Sanchez, king Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, who had married his elder sister, took possession of Castile in her right<sup>f</sup> (I). The reader

<sup>a</sup> LUCE Tudenfis Chronicon. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chronicon.

<sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. p Chron. var. antiq. <sup>d</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. <sup>e</sup> AL-

TONSI CARTHAGANA reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

(I) As far as any thing can be known with certainty in relation to the antient form of government in those states, that rose out of the ruins of the old Gothic monarchy, the rule in Castile was that of succession. The counts were originally equal

reader will perceive, from what has been related, the reason of why the assassins of Don *Garcias* made choice of the castle of *Moncon* for their retreat, because it belonged of right to Don *Ferdinand Guittierez*, who might be inclined, upon the death of the count, to excite new troubles; and lying near the territories of the *Moors*, might afford them an opportunity of contributing by their assistance to raise new troubles<sup>a</sup>. In all probability this scheme might have succeeded, if Don *Sanchez* had been in his own kingdom, and the malecontents in *Castile* more at liberty; but, as it was, the king presently invested the castle, and took it, before either the discontented *Castilians*

of *Navarre*, inherits *Castile*, and revenges *Don Garcias'* death.

\* **RODERIC TOLETAN** Hist. Arabum.

equal; and what were their private estates in the days of king *Roderic*, became so many lordships or principalities, when themselves and their vassals defended them with their swords against the *Moors* (1). It is also clear from their histories, if any thing is so, that these lordships descended to heirs female (2). As to the pre-eminence of this family, not to lay any weight on the fabulous history, it arose plainly from the active ambition of Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, who, as count of *Castile*, rendered himself independent; and the rest of the lords by assisting, or at least acquiescing, under what he did, and which he could not have done without them, from being his equals became his vassals. (3) In his line the succession was without all doubt hereditary; and in this light the claim of the king of *Navarre*, in right of his wife, the eldest daughter of Don *Sanchez*, the grand daughter of Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, and the sister of the young

count *Garcias*, was regular and just (4). It may be, however, that the troops he had brought with him into *Castile* might contribute to prevent any opposition on the part of the nobles, and that signal severity with which he had punished the assassins of their late prince, recommended him highly to the people (5). It is however asserted, that his queen, Donna *Nugna*, insisted that she had a power to dispose of this country which she brought, in favour of which of her sons she pleased; (6) and it was in virtue of this, that it was given to Don *Ferdinand*; but as to the motives upon which it was thus bestowed, as derived from the story told in the text, we ought to consider them as false and feigned, and such as were never heard of till above one hundred years after the decease of that great prince, whose memory has been aspersed by them, when, in fact, she was governed in her choice merely by her maternal affection (7).

(1) See the remarks of *Mariana* on this subject at the opening of the eighth book of his History.

(2) *Roderic Toletan*, *Lucæ Tudensis*, *Roll. Santii Hist.*

(3) *Mariana Historia general de España*, lib. viii.

(4) *Histoire generale*

*d'Espagne*, par *Mayerne Turquet*, lib. v.

(5) *Mariana*, *Ferreras*, *Vayrac*.

(6) *Cbron. war. antiq.*

soning of *P. Moret*.

(7) Compare *Mariana's* account with the rea-

or the *Moors* had any time to discover their inclinations. However, his vigour in pursuing, and his severity in punishing, the counts of *la Vela* and their adherents, of whom not one escaped, could not but be pleasing to the bulk of the *Castilians*, who retained a just respect for the memory of their young prince and his father, and might, very probably, contribute to that facility with which he was admitted to the possession of that noble country, in which it does not appear that he met with the least opposition <sup>t</sup>.

*Suspected  
of forming  
ambitious  
views  
soon after  
upon the  
kingdom of  
Najara w  
Leon.*

DON *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, and count of *Castile* in his wife's right, was very justly surnamed the great <sup>u</sup>, since his prudence was at all times and in all respects equal to his fortune. He was advanced in years when he made this great acquisition; and, that he might govern both countries with equal convenience, he fixed on the pleasant town of *Najara* <sup>w</sup> in *Old Castile*, but near the frontiers of *Navarre*, for the place of his residence, and applied himself with diligence to conciliate the love and esteem of his new subjects; though *Mariana* <sup>x</sup> alleges, that his heart was intirely taken up with his ambition, and that, from the moment he had joined *Castile* to *Navarre*, he had in his intention the annexing *Leon*, *Galicia*, and *Asturias*, likewise; and to this alone he attributes the war between him and Don *Bermudo* the third; whereas *Ferreras* <sup>y</sup> and other writers, seem to lay the blame of that affair upon the young king of *Leon*. In all probability the want of proper lights on both sides has occasioned this difference; though, to say the truth, probability seems rather to be on the side of *Mariana*. The source of that war was the king of *Navarre's* ordering the city of *Valentia* to be rebuilt, on account of a miracle <sup>z</sup> which happened to him near that place; for as he was hunting the wild boar, the beast ran suddenly into the wood, and took shelter in a subterraneous place, to which the king immediately followed: but, as he lifted his arm to strike the boar, he found it without motion, and soon after perceived an altar and the statue of St. *Anthony*; upon which he made a vow, that if, through the intercession of that saint, the use of his arm was restored, he would build a church upon that spot in honour of that saint; and being afterwards informed, that this subterraneous place made part of the ruins of the antient *Palentia*, it made him so much the more eager to perform his vow. But it seems Don *Bermudo* either did not

<sup>t</sup> LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chronicon.

<sup>u</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>w</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

<sup>x</sup> Historia general

de Espana, lib. viii.

<sup>y</sup> Historia de Espana, p. iv.

<sup>z</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chronicon.

credit the miracle, or did not apprehend the piety of inter-  
 roaching upon other peoples rights in order to perform a  
 vow; for *Palencia* now is, and it may be presumed was then,  
 esteemed to lie within the dominions of *Leon*. *Mariana* <sup>a</sup>  
 indeed cuts the matter short, and, without taking any notice  
 of *Don Bermudo's* resentment, ascribes the war to the king of  
*Navarre's* invading *Leon* with a formidable army, and  
 making the conquest of a considerable tract of country, before  
*Don Bermudo*, who had no suspicion of his design, was in  
 any condition to oppose him. Be that as it will, it seems  
 that the king of *Navarre* had a better interest in the clergy  
 than his antagonist; for it was clearly by their influence over  
 the peoples minds, that *Don Bermudo* was forced to make a  
 peace, and to yield a considerable district by way of dowry  
 to his sister <sup>b</sup>, who married *Don Ferdinand*, the second son  
 of *Don Sanchez*, who thereupon, with the consent of both  
 monarchs, took the title of king <sup>c</sup>, instead of count of  
*Castile*; and the cession made to him of this country by his  
 father seems to be the only point of the treaty that was in  
 reality acceptable to *Don Bermudo*, as it freed him in some  
 measure from the apprehensions he was under in having a  
 monarch of *Navarre* for his neighbour.

WE may collect, from what has been related, so just an *The facts*  
 idea of the motives which engaged the king of *Navarre* to *low ac-*  
 bestow *Castile* upon *Don Ferdinand* his second son, that there *count of*  
 can be no reason for having recourse to that very strange and *the motive*  
 incredible story, which, moved by the credit of *Don Roderic* *on which*  
 Archbishop of *Toledo*, most of the *Spanish* writers <sup>d</sup> have in- *Don Fer-*  
 serted as truth. The substance of this story is, that while *dinand*  
 this great monarch was engaged in the war against the *Moors*, *was de-*  
 his eldest son, *Don Garcias*, piqued at his mother's refusing *clared king*  
 him a horse, upon *Don Pedro Sessa's* representing to her, *of Castile.*  
 that the king would be displeased with it, gave the king an  
 account, that his mother and *Don Pedro* lived together in  
 adultery; upon this *Don Sanchez*, returned from his expedi-  
 tion, caused the matter to be examined by the states; who,  
 upon the testimony of *Don Garcias*, condemned the queen  
 to be burned alive. *Don Ferdinand* it seems was passive in  
 this business; but *Don Ramiro*, who was the king's natural  
 son by *Donna Caya* a lady of the court, undertook the queen's  
 defence, and offered to fight with her son in support of her  
 innocence. But, before the day of trial could be fixed, a

<sup>a</sup> Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC SAN-

tti Hist. Hispan. p. lii.

<sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLET. de reb. His-

pan. lib. iv.

<sup>d</sup> Chron. var. antiq. MARIANA; MAYERNE;  
 TURQUET.

certain hermit prevailed upon Don *Garcias* to own the accusation false, and to declare the true grounds of it. The queen, being upon this set at liberty, desired that *Castile*, which was her patrimony, might not be given to Don *Garcias*, but to her second son *Ferdinand*; and that *Ramiro*, who had so generously staked his life in her quarrel, might be rewarded with the kingdom of *Arragon*; which requests, say they, were complied with; and Don *Garcias* also made a pilgrimage to *Rome*, in order to obtain absolution from the holy father for becoming the false accuser of his mother. The whole has been so clearly refuted by a great writer <sup>c</sup>, that we should not have mentioned it, but for the sake of giving the reader a hint whence many of these ridiculous fictions arose.

*The last acts of Don Sanchez the great, and the manner of his death.*

A. D.  
1035.

THE truth is, that, after bestowing on his son Don *Ferdinand* the country of *Castile*, the good old king took care to make many regulations that were equally wise and popular, with a view of gaining to his sons the affections of his new subjects; such as directing, that a new road should be made through *Navarre* and *Castile*, for the conveniency of such pilgrims as went to St. *James* at *Compostella*, repairing the principal places on the frontiers, that the *Moors* might not be able to enter, as formerly they had done with impunity, and contriving to bring inhabitants into the places that he had either founded or rebuilt <sup>f</sup>; which accounts so well for the time he lived after this transaction, that we have no need of supposing a war with the infidels, of which there is nothing said in the best authors, purely to fill it up. Authors are very far from being agreed, either as to the time or manner of his death. *Ferreras* <sup>g</sup> seems to be in the right as to the former, and therefore we have followed him; but, with regard to the latter, he is silent; however, some writers affirm <sup>h</sup>, that, going in pilgrimage to *Oviedo* with a small retinue, he fell into an ambuscade that was laid for him on the road; and, after so long and glorious a reign, was basely and barbarously murdered; which induced a suspicion, as supposing the fact true it very well might, that some of the neighbouring princes, who were afraid of his power, were concerned in this treacherous act.

*Don Ferdinand without*

IF we consider how soon after the death of this monarch, Don *Bermudo*, the third king of *Leon*, entered the country of *Castile* with an army so much superior to that of the king

<sup>c</sup> P. MORET *Investigaciones Históricas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.* <sup>f</sup> RODERIC SANTII *Hist. Hispan.* p. iii. *LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.* <sup>g</sup> *Historia de Espana*, p. iv. <sup>h</sup> *Chron. var. antiq.*

Don *Ferdinand*, that, though he was a prince of great courage and spirit, he judged it not at all for his interest to hazard the whole of his dominions by a battle in the first campaign, we may see some reason to suspect, that he was not ignorant of that detestable design, or at least that he drew the same advantages from it as if he had been in the secret; but if he was, he quickly received the just reward of so black a contrivance, as the reader has seen at the close of the last section; for being, as we have there shewn, killed in battle, Don *Ferdinand* not only recovered the country that he had taken from him, but succeeded likewise to the kingdom of *Leon* in right of his queen Donna *Sancta*, by which he became the most powerful of all the Christian princes in *Spain*<sup>1</sup>. It is true that the *Galicians* gave him some trouble when he first entered into the possession of that kingdom (K), but this was quickly over; and these people, as well

<sup>1</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. MARIAÑA Historia general de España, lib. viii. FERRERAS, MAYERNE, TURQUET.

(K) It will, in all probability, afford the reader some satisfaction, if we enter a little into the reasons which induced the inhabitants of *Galicia* to be so much more untractable upon this occasion, than any of the other provinces of the kingdoms of *Oviedo* and *Leon*. It would appear rather an evasion than an answer, to allege that they were always mutinous, or to appeal to his own observation, that there were more insurrections here, than in any other country comprised within those realms (1). The real cause was, that they disliked their situation as a province, and were desirous of becoming a separate state. The source of this desire was, their being richer and in better circumstances; for *Galicia*, though but one hundred and fifty miles in length, has

near three hundred miles of coast, being washed by the ocean on the north, and on the west has more, and those too better, ports than any other part of *Spain*; which drew thither a very considerable trade even in those times (2). The country in itself is also fruitful, pleasant, populous, and exceedingly enriched by the resort of strangers from all parts of *Europe*; by land as well as sea, to the tomb of St. *James* at *Compostella*; the very bishops of which city lived in those days with the splendor, and in their power fell little short of princes. These circumstances rendered this country almost at all times a seat of faction, and inspired its inhabitants with a restless passion for a prince and court of their own; and, in all probability, it was a prospect of arriving

(1) Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras. par D. Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, tom. 1.

(2) Delices de l'Espagne,

well as the inhabitants of *Leon* and *Asturias*, very soon saw that it was their interest to submit to a monarch by whom *Castile* was again united to their crown; and consequently their security as well as their grandeur visibly increased. On the other hand, if they had proceeded to a new election, this must have produced a war, the event of which was uncertain, and a civil war too, of which this country must have been the seat; besides, when they came to consider this, they could find none more fit to wear the crown of *Leon* than the husband of *Donna Sancho*, the sole heiress of that glorious race of kings, who, by their valour and virtue, had preserved the *Goths* from being extirpated, and were at least the principal authors of the progress which the Christians had already made towards the recovery of all *Spain*. We need not wonder therefore that *Don Ferdinand* met with so little resistance, or that those, who were inclined to oppose him, were so slenderly supported.

The consequences of civil dissensions in diminishing the power of the Moors.

THE civil dissensions, the violent commotions, and frequent revolutions, in the kingdom of *Cordova*, of which the reader has had an account in its proper place, having shaken that which was by far the most considerable monarchy of the *Moors* to such a degree, that, except an empty title of pre-eminence, it scarce preserved any thing more than the rest; there arose almost as many sovereignties as there remained cities in their dominions; so that, notwithstanding such as held them assumed the title of kings, yet we cannot, with any degree of justice, allow every little district they possessed the stile of a kingdom. Amongst those of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak, the most considerable was the king of *Seville*, next to him the king of *Toledo*, and in the third rank we may reckon the king of *Huesca*, though perhaps the king of *Saragossa* might be thought to deserve it as well. As for the rest it will be time enough to mention them as occasion requires.

\* Chron. var. antiq. MARIANA, FERRERAS, &c.

at this, whenever a favourable opportunity should offer, with the assistance of the *Moors*, that induced count *Sisenand* to take shelter amongst the infidels, rather than submit himself to a prince, who, independent of all his different claims, had as much personal merit as might have intitled him to dominions

even superior to those which he possessed. We shall see, that this wise and prudent prince concluded it, at length, the most effectual way to render these people loyal to his posterity, to gratify them in this favour, which expedient however was not attended with success (3).

(3) See in the course of this history the fate of *Don Garcia* king of *Galicia*.

AT



AT this juncture, that is, at the opening of the eleventh century, we may conceive the spacious, rich, and beautiful continent of *Spain*, as divided into two unequal parts, by a strait line drawn from east to west, from the coasts of *Valentia* to a little below the mouth of the river *Duero*; the country north of this line belonging to the Christians; who had the smallest and least valuable share; and all to the south in the possession of the *Moors*. Both parties were happy in having allies of their own religion and tempers at their back; but in this the Christians seemed to be more fortunate, as they had no sea between them, but might at any time receive whatever supplies were sent, or whatever auxiliaries were hired within the bounds of *France*; whereas the *Moors* had the *Mediterranean* between them and their countrymen in *Africa*. The dependance of both upon these foreign succours was alike precarious, as being equally unwilling to invite, and equally inclined to grow jealous of such auxiliaries. In point of wealth, and real power by land and sea, the *Moors* were much superior; but this was more than ballanced by the Christians being better connected. The kings of *Leon*, *Navarre*, *Sobrawa*, and *Arragon*, were all brothers, and the count of *Barcelona* nearly allied to them; which, though it did not restrain them from quarrels, or even from wars, yet it hindered them from being pursued with rancour, or for any length of time. We may add to this another great advantage, which was the rough mountainous countries in their possession; such as *Asturias*, *Biscay*, *Navarre*, *Guipuscoa*, and even part of *Old Castile*; where a sharp clear air, a soil not over fertile, and the continual labour necessary to their subsistence, furnished them with constant supplies of men naturally hardy and robust, and consequently very capable of undergoing the fatigues of war. Whereas the *Moors*, though naturally more industrious, enjoying a warmer climate, provinces abundantly more fertile, and having likewise the benefit of foreign trade, were, generally speaking, rich, luxurious, and vehemently addicted to sensual pleasures; circumstances that gradually made way for their destruction, and had already brought most of their principalities to decline.

THESE few general remarks will be of singular use towards understanding the following sections, in which we are to describe the contentions between these people, the ebbs and flows of their respective power, the uses both sides made of their advantages on certain occasions, and their neglect of them on others; with those accidents that in a course of years made such defects irreparable on one side, as might have been easily corrected if they had been seen in time,

and threw so much weight into the scale of the other, as enabled them at last to oppress their antagonists with a superiority of force, that could be only resisted so long as it was by despair, and that spirit of knight-errantry, which made men in love with danger, through an overweening fondness of praise; and which did not long survive those gallant infidels among whom it was bred and cherished, and of whose vast efforts it was the sole support.

## S E C T. VI.

*The History of the Kingdoms of Leon and Castile, from their first Conjunction in the Person of Ferdinand the first, to their perpetual Union in that of Ferdinand the second.*

*The character of Ferdinand I. and the first seven years of his government.*

A. D.

1037.

ALL the authors of Spanish history, antient and modern, agree, that few princes have been blessed with greater talents, or the value of these less abated by vices, than him of whom we are going to speak, Don Ferdinand<sup>a</sup>, the first of Leon, and the second of Castile. It may perhaps pass for a kind of proof of this, that, for almost seven years after he came into the possession of Leon, we find little or nothing undertaken by him, that could be properly the subject of history. He very well knew, that the acquisition of a kingdom was sometimes less difficult than the keeping of it. He perceived that the bulk of his subjects were dissatisfied with the change of masters; and that though he had been very sparing of blood in the reduction of Galicia, yet he held that province rather by conquest than any other title<sup>b</sup>, than which nothing could be more disagreeable to a prince of his disposition. He found it requisite therefore to spend a great deal of time in correcting gradually these mistakes, and recovering his subjects from all their prejudices and prepossessions. He spoke always with great clearness of the rights of the queen, and never permitted any claim to be mentioned but that of her descent<sup>c</sup>. He visited all the provinces, and indeed almost every great town, caressed the nobility exceedingly, paid a profound respect to the clergy, but made it a part of that respect to see that such were severely

<sup>a</sup> MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. Histoire general d'Espagne, par MAYERNE, TURQUET.

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

punished

punished as were a disgrace to their order. He prosecuted his predecessor's plan of redressing grievances with indefatigable diligence; and, by enlarging the privileges of the people in *Galicia*, he in a great measure acquired their affection, and lessened the power of their nobility by increasing their number. He took less care of the frontiers of his hereditary crown of *Castile* than his predecessors had done; but he kept up greater garrisons, and by that means covered his territories in a great measure, and yet not so thoroughly, but that the *Moors*<sup>d</sup> had sometimes opportunities of making incursions, which they were sure not to neglect, and which did not answer theirs better than it did the king's purpose.

WHEN he saw the interior of his dominions in perfect order, his subjects well united and unanimously well affected to his person and government, he began to applaud the conduct of his father-in-law Don *Alphonso* the fifth, who had rightly distinguished between the having no frontier, and the being obliged to defend one of a large extent; to avoid both which inconveniencies, the only method was to follow his plan, and, by recovering the best part of that country now called *Portugal*, to arrive at natural boundaries of mountains and rivers, with plains of small extent between them, where the building two or three great towns, and fortifying them, would cover at once both his old dominions and his new conquests. The resolution of making war being once taken, was immediately carried into execution, and he marched with a very numerous army directly towards *Zamora*. The fortress of *Xena* was the first place of strength that lay in his way, which he caused to be carried by assault, in which the greatest part of the garrison were put to the sword, and the rest made slaves<sup>e</sup>. This had the effect he expected from it; all the little places in the neighbourhood surrendered on the first summons; so that he met with no farther opposition till he came to *Visco*, which was naturally strong, had been fortified with great care, was defended by a numerous garrison, and had in it besides almost all the rich people of the adjacent provinces, who had fled thither with their best effects. Don *Ferdinand* acted with caution; he caused the place to be battered by his engines, that threw stones of a vast weight, for three weeks, and then caused a general assault to be given, by which he carried the town<sup>f</sup>, notwithstanding an obstinate defence. Here, amongst other pri-

*Inva-*  
*des*  
*the terri-*  
*ories of*  
*the Moors,*  
*and ex-*  
*tends his*  
*conquests*  
*to the ri-*  
*ver Mal-*  
*na.*

A. D.  
1047.

<sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.      <sup>e</sup> RODERIC SAN-  
TII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. LUCÆ Tudenis Chronicon.      <sup>f</sup> Ro-  
DERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

soners, a cross-bow man was taken, who discharged the arrow by which Don *Alphonso* the fifth was killed. Don *Ferdinand* ordered his hands to be struck off, and some say his feet also.<sup>s</sup> He pushed his conquest this campaign as far as the river *Malma*; and, having put good garrisons into the best places, he returned to *Leon*, and was received with loud acclamations, after such a series of conquests in so small a space<sup>b</sup> (A).

<sup>s</sup> Chron. var. antiq.      <sup>b</sup> *RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCAE Tudensis Chronicon.*

(A) It is absolutely necessary that we should give the reader here some account of the chronology that we follow; because it differs from almost all the writers of *Spanish* history, except *Ferreras*. Some of the best old historians place the war between Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, and his brother Don *Garcias* king of *Navarre*, before the expeditions of the former against the infidels (1). But that this is contrary to the order of time in which those events happened is evident from authorities more authentic than history. In the first place it is evident, from the canons made in the council of *Coyanca*, that the war with the infidels was then over; and, as these are records, they ought undoubtedly to be decisive as to this point (2). It is no less clear from public monuments, mentioned in particular histories of *Navarre*, that the death of their king Don *Garcia* did not happen till the fourth year after that council (3). *Matiana*, though he was far enough

from being exact in point of chronology, was aware of this, and has accordingly placed the conquests made from the *Moors* before the dispute with the king of *Navarre*; notwithstanding which he has placed those conquests some years before they happened; and this very probably, because he did not think it probable, that a prince (4) of Don *Ferdinand's* active temper, should, in the beginning of his reign, spend so many years in peace; and therefore he places all those salutary regulations, mentioned in the text, some years later than they really happened (5). But we hope the reader sees them here in their natural order, from whence many advantages arise; since, wherever chronology is either doubtful or false, the facts related will appear either contradictory or perplexed, though ever so elegantly related; so essential a thing is truth, and so impracticable it is to render history pleasing without it.

(1) *Roderic Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. cap. x. Lucae Tudensis Chronicon, Francisci Taraphæ de regibus Hispan.* (2) *Card. d'Aguirre Concil. Hispan. tom. iii. p. 209, 212.*

(3) *P. Moret Investigaciones historicas de las antigüidades del Reyno de Navarra, lib. iii. cap. iv. Dionis. Petac. ration. temp. Success. LXIX.* (4) *Historia general de España, lib. ix. c. 2.* (5) *Id.*

*lib. 6. 4.*

THE very next year the king was in the field again. He had cast his eyes upon *Coimbra* or *Conimbra*, and considered it as a place of great consequence to his design of forming a strong barrier; for which reason he resolved to reduce it with as little prejudice to the place as possible. Instead therefore of investing the city with his army, he contented himself with posting his troops in such a manner as hindered them from receiving provisions; and, after some months, drew nearer, and threw up lines round the place. The besieged acted with great courage and constancy, and at length tired the king so much, that he had thoughts of raising the siege; but the monks, in a Christian convent at no great distance, prevailed upon him to proceed in his design, furnished him with provisions, and acquainted him with the enemy's distress, by which at last the *Moors* were brought to capitulate, and were allowed to quit the place<sup>1</sup>. All the *Spanish* writers, however, antient and modern, take the honour of so important a conquest, both from the king and from the monks, to bestow it upon *St. James*<sup>2</sup>. It seems that count *Sisenand* had quitted the party of the *Moors*, before the war began, and reconciled himself to the king; who, in reward of his services, and as a mark of his favour, made him governor of this city; in which office he acquitted himself with great reputation<sup>3</sup>. The following year he swept the frontiers of his hereditary kingdom of *Castile*, demolished all the little fortresses the *Moors* had erected, drove them beyond the mountains, and established strong garisons to cover each of the passes; but adhered to the old policy of *Don Blazo*, erecting no fortresses on this side, that the martial disposition of the *Castilians* might not be abated.

IN his fourth campaign he ravaged all the country about *Medina Cæli*, visited all his conquests, and, having enriched his army with plunder and slaves, returned in triumph to the city of *Leon*<sup>m</sup>. The next spring, when he came to assemble his troops, he found them more numerous than they had been in any of his former expeditions, which induced him to invade the dominions of the king of *Toledo*, at this time one of the most powerful of the *Moorish* princes; and, after he had harassed and destroyed the open country, he at length besieged *Alcala*; which, though a place of great strength, was at length reduced to such straits, that they sent

*Besieges in another expedition the city of Coimbra, or Coimbra, and takes it.*

A. D.  
1045.

A. D.  
1046.

*The Moorish monarchs of Toledo and Saragossa become his tributaries, and vassals.*

<sup>1</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ. <sup>2</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>3</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. <sup>m</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

to *Almanon*, then king of *Toledo* <sup>n</sup>, to inform him, that, if they were not speedily relieved, they must be obliged to surrender. That monarch, finding himself in no condition to oppose *Don Ferdinand* by force of arms, took the best part of the riches that were in his treasury, and, attended by a small guard, went directly to the Christian camp, and presented himself before the king, intreating him to desist from hostilities against his subjects, offered to become his vassal, and pay him an annual tribute, and at the same time threw himself and the treasures he had brought at the king's feet. The principal officers in the army were of opinion, that this was only done to gain time, but *Don Ferdinand* was so touched with that prince's distress, that he granted him all he desired, and retired with his troops into his own dominions <sup>o</sup>. He proposed the next year to have carried the war into the territories of the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa*, of which the latter no sooner received intelligence, than he sent ambassadors to offer the like submission that had been accepted from the king of *Toledo*, and thereby diverted the intended expedition <sup>p</sup>. And of this vassalage he afterwards availed himself against another Christian potentate.

*Sickness of the king of Navarre,* As the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon* enjoyed at this time a profound peace, the king thought no time so proper for holding a general council, which he summoned at *Cayanca*, in which there was no legate from the pope present; and in which thirteen canons were made, most with respect to ecclesiastical, but some of them likewise respecting civil affairs <sup>q</sup>. The year following his brother *Don Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, fell dangerously ill at *Najara* on the frontiers of *Castile*; of which *Don Ferdinand* was no sooner informed, than he resolved to pay him a visit. He went thither accordingly, and was received with all possible demonstrations of affection and respect. It seems, however, that two kings can never be long safe together in the same place; for, in a short space, he was informed, whether truly or not is a point historians have disputed, that his brother intended to secure his person; upon which, taking a hasty but civil leave, he retired into his own dominions, extremely nettled at this real or supposed injury <sup>r</sup>. On the fifth of *November*, in the year of our Lord 1052, died the queen dowager *Donna Elvira*, widow of *Don Alphonso* the fifth, and mother of the queen *Donna Sancha*; her body was interred in the dormi-

A. D.

1050.

<sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>o</sup> Chron. var. antiq. p. ROD. TOLET. Hist. Arabum. <sup>q</sup> Card. d'AGUIRRE Conc. Hispan. tom. iii. p. 212. <sup>r</sup> P. MORET Investigationes Historicas de las antiquidades del reyno de Navarra, RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon.

tory

tory of the royal family at *Leon*<sup>a</sup>. The year following deceased the old king of *Toledo*, and was succeeded by *Ali Maymon*<sup>t</sup>, who seems to have remained tributary to Don *Ferdinand*, as his power was not in the least diminished; and as the *Mohammedan* princes were as far as ever from living upon good terms among themselves. These short scenes of mourning seemed to be the preludes of more afflicting calamities which quickly ensued, and which proved extremely fatal to the Christians in *Spain*, who were generally the authors of their own misfortunes.

Don *Ferdinand* falling dangerously ill in the succeeding *The king of* spring, his brother Don *Garcias*, to manifest an equal at-Navarre fection, came to see him; but the king, who could not for-*imprison-* get the informations, true or false, that had been given him *ed, escapes* at *Najara*, though he received him at first with all the marks *and de-* of joy and fraternal kindness possible, yet caused him to be *clares war* soon after arrested, and sent prisoner to the castle of *Cea*<sup>u</sup>, at *against* that time the strongest place in his dominions. But not-*king Fer-* withstanding the strictest injunctions possible were given for *dinand,* preventing either his escape, or his giving or receiving any intelligence, so it was, that he found the means of conveying an account of the usage he had met with to some persons whom he could trust in his own dominions, and whom he directed to be at a place appointed at a certain time. They came accordingly, and brought some of the fleetest horses in *Navarre* for the king's use; and he, by what contrivance is unknown, was equally punctual, having found his way out of the castle in spite of all the care that could be taken. His flight was so sudden and unexpected, that he was safe in his own dominions by that time the news of it reached the ears of Don *Ferdinand* at *Leon*<sup>w</sup>. The king foresaw the mischiefs that would attend this accident, and it may be, in his own mind disapproved that conduct he had pursued. However, when he heard that Don *Garcias*, with a great army, was on the point of invading *Castile*, he went thither in person and assembled another, superior in troops as well as in number; he was notwithstanding very desirous, if possible, to avoid effusion of blood; and, with this salutary view, sent some of the clergy, who were about him, to propose terms of accommodation to Don *Garcias*, offering at the same time whatever satisfaction he could desire, explaining the motives upon which he acted, and offering to bury in silence

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. <sup>t</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>u</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon, <sup>w</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

all memory of either event<sup>a</sup>. The chief of the nobility about Don *Garcias*, and such ecclesiastics as were most in his esteem, concurred with the ambassadors of *Castile*, and laboured to reconcile him to his brother. All persuasions were vain; Don *Garcias*'s breast was wholly occupied by his resentment: he would hear no proposals, but obstinately persisted, that all disputes between them should be decided by a battle<sup>r</sup>. Don *Ferdinand* did all he could to decline it, acted wholly on the defensive, and resolved not to fight, unless his brother was the aggressor.

Defeated  
in a gene-  
ral en-  
gagement,  
and killed  
upon the  
spot.

Don *Garcias* being informed of this, entered into the kingdom of *Castile*, and advanced directly towards *Burgos*; and notwithstanding Don *Fortuna Sanchez*, an antient nobleman, who had been his governor, laboured all he could to divert him, he fixed the first of *September*, one thousand and fifty-four, for the day of battle<sup>2</sup>, when the two armies appeared in sight of each other between *Atupuerta* and *Agos*, about nine miles from *Burgos*. Don *Ferdinand*, who was much the better officer, ordered a corps of *Castilian* cavalry to charge the army of *Navarre* in flank, which they did with such success, that they penetrated to the post where Don *Garcias* commanded in person; and one *Sanchez*, a trooper, or, as antient history reports, an officer<sup>3</sup>, to whom that monarch had formerly offered some insult, plunged his spear into his breast. The nobility about his person prevented his being taken, or wounded a second time; but that was of little consequence, since the stroke he had received was mortal. *Inigo*, abbot of *Qua*, caught him in his arms, assisted him with his prayers in his last moments, and supported him till he expired<sup>b</sup>. A column was afterwards erected in the place where he fell<sup>c</sup>. As this misfortune could not be concealed from the army, and as it affected the minds of the soldiers to such a degree that they lost all courage, the dispute was soon at an end, and the flight became general. Don *Ferdinand* would not suffer his troops to pursue; but, perceiving a large body of *Mohammedan* auxiliaries, he caused them to be surrounded and cut to pieces, only their generals, being excellently well mounted, made their escape<sup>d</sup>. The king made no use of a

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. <sup>r</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>2</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. <sup>3</sup> Annal. Complur. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. <sup>b</sup> Chron. var. antiq. RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iii. <sup>c</sup> ALPHONSI a Carthagera reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ. <sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Histor. Arabum

victory



victory that he regretted; on the contrary, he suffered his brother's body to be interred in the monastery of *St. Mary at Najara*, which he had founded, with royal honours, and returned himself to *Leon*, not in triumph, but with all apparent marks of the most sincere grief <sup>e</sup>.

We find in some historians <sup>f</sup>, that this war was continued, and that the king, *Don Ferdinand*, availed himself of his superior army, to the prejudice of his nephew, the king of *Navarre*; but this is not supported by any of the ancient authors <sup>g</sup>, and may be presumed from thence a gross misrepresentation. Indeed the king of *Leon and Castile* seems to have been a monarch of great mildness and moderation, and who made no other use of his superior power than for the benefit and protection of his subjects, by preserving peace on every side; and, while that subsisted, letting slip no opportunities of improving the great cities, and encouraging his people to cultivate to the best advantage their respective properties in all parts of his dominions. He removed the body of his father, *Don Sanchez*, from the monastery of *Ona* to the city of *Leon* <sup>h</sup>; where, having made choice of the church of *St. John Baptist*, in complaisance to his queen *Donna Sancha*, by whose father, *Don Alonso* the fifth, it was built for the place of his own sepulchre, he caused the old brick building to be pulled down, in order to rebuild it with stone <sup>i</sup>, and with a degree of magnificence suitable to the power, and expressive of the piety of its founder. He caused a council <sup>k</sup> to be held the beginning of the year 1056, in the apostolic church (so the *Spaniards* stile it) of *St. James of Compostella*, in which some canons were made for the support of the discipline of the church. Yet, notwithstanding this prudent and pacific behaviour, which it might have been presumed would have given all his neighbours the utmost satisfaction, we find that *Don Garcias*, king of *Navarre*, and *Don Ramiro*, king of *Arragon*, had an interview at the monastery of *Leyra*, under pretence of the dedication of the church, where they made a defensive league <sup>l</sup> for the reciprocal protection of their territories, in case that either should be attacked by *Don Ferdinand*;

*A general council held in the apostolic church of St. James at Compostella.*

A. D.  
1055.

<sup>e</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. <sup>f</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN, MARIANA, MAYERNE, TURQUET, P. d'ORLEANS. <sup>g</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>h</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. <sup>i</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. ALPHONSE a Carthagena reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS. <sup>k</sup> Card. d'AGUIRRE Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 199. <sup>l</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

who,

who, it does not at all appear, meant them any disturbance, or took any umbrage at this precaution (B).

A legate

from

Rome,

who began

the quar-

ON the death of pope *Nicholas* the second there happened a schism; and one of the competitors, who took the title of *Alexander* the second, sent a legate into *Spain*, in order to derive all the help he could from that quarter. This may seem an immaterial point, but it is really a thing of great con-

(B) We are assured by *Mariana*, that *Don Ferdinand* was not so disinterested a prince as no ways to avail himself of this victory (1); but that he made himself master of *Briviesca*, the mountains of *Occa*, and so much of the county of *Rioja* as lay on that side of the river *Oja* next to *Castile*; so that *Don Sanchez*, the son of *Don Garcias*, had only *Navarre*, *Biscay*, the remaining part of the county of *Rioja*, *Najara*, *Logroño*, and some other places left; and which is still more singular, he speaks of the countries now taken by *Don Ferdinand* as if they had been the original cause of the differences between the two brothers, in which he not only contradicts others but himself; and, indeed, the whole relation is incredible, because it is impossible. For if *Don Ferdinand* was desirous of possessing himself of these countries, he would have certainly been the aggressor, which all historians agree he was not; and, on the other hand, that *Don Garcias* did not take up arms to recover these from his brother is evident, from what *Mariana* says of their being taken from his son after his death. Upon the whole it is, perhaps, more than probable,

that not only *Mariana*, but an ancient historian, in whom we also find something much to the same purpose, confound the death of *Don Garcias* with that of his son *Don Sanchez*, and speak of what certainly happened after the death of the latter, as if it had fallen out upon the demise of the former: for thus much of truth it must be acknowledged there is in the foregoing relation, that the countries therein mentioned were taken from *Navarre*, and annexed to *Castile*; but this happened many years after (2); upon a compromise between the kings of *Leon* and *Aragon*, at which time the river *Ebro*, into which the *Oja* falls, was made the common boundary of their dominions (3). It is impossible, considering our plan, to discuss in this manner all the variations we have been obliged to make from the common manner in which the *Spanish* history has been stated in our language; but from a few instances we hope the candid reader will do us the justice to believe, that it is out of respect to proper authorities, and not out of an affectation of singularities, that we are led to the same conduct in other places.

(1) *Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Mariana Historia general de España, lib. ix.*  
 (2) As the reader will find in the course of this history. (3) *Ferreras Historia de España, p. vi. sect. xi.*

sequence; for this ecclesiastic was extremely offended with *rel as to* the old *Gothic* liturgy, and was for obtruding upon the *Spaniards* the *Roman* offices at once; with which, in their turn, *liturgy*. they were equally displeased. At this juncture, indeed, there was nothing done in that matter, but it was this legate who laid the foundation of all that has been done since; for, upon his return to *Rome*, he reported, that the *Spaniards* could never be made good subjects to that see (and in that, no doubt, he was right) till the *Gothic* liturgy and their antient usages were removed out of the way: and this being thoroughly comprehended, the indefatigable spirit of the church of *Rome* never suffered the government of *Leon* and *Castile* to be at peace, till they had got the better in this respect; which was not, however, till some years after, as will be shewn in its proper place; and then it was in consequence of their having prevailed in other *Spanish* principalities before. Let us now return from ecclesiastical to civil history, and observe what the strange consequences were of this legate's doctrine at the court of *Leon*, and how far, even under a wise and good prince, religious caprices operated upon the most important affairs of state.

THE church of *St. John the Baptist* being finished, the queen *Donna Sancha* was desirous of enriching it, according to the superstitious humour of those times, with holy relics; and upon this there either came or was thrust into her head two virgins, *St. Justa* and *St. Rufina*, who where martyred, and whose bodies were interred at *Seville*. It was suggested, that the surest way of obtaining them was by force of arms. Upon this, the ablest *Spanish* historians \* boast of it to this day, *Don Ferdinand* made an irruption into the territories of *Mohammed Aben-Habet*, king of *Seville*, without provocation, and without any intimation of offence, murdered multitudes of *Moors*, drove vast numbers into slavery, and gave up the whole country to pillage, which brought the poor *Mohammedan* prince upon his knees † to *Ferdinand*, offering him all his treasures to ransom the bodies of his unhappy subjects, whom he wanted force to defend. The king of *Leon* and *Castile* insisted upon having the body of *St. Justa* taken up and sent to *Leon*, and that the *Moorish* monarch should do him homage and become his vassal. *Mohammed* submitted to all this very willingly and chearfully. But when, some time after, three bishops and three counts came to *Seville* to demand the body of the saint, the poor king found himself in a very distressed

\* *MARIANA Historia general d'España*, lib. ix. *FERRERAS*, *MAYERNE*, *TURQUET*. † *RODERIC TOLETAN Histor. Arabum*.

condition,

condition, as not having the least knowledge where this *Sain* was to be found. The Christian inhabitants professed themselves as ignorant as he<sup>t</sup>. In the midst of this perplexity *St. Isidore* very kindly appeared to *Alvitus*, bishop of *Leon* who was at the head of the embassy, and told him, it was no a proper time to remove the saints *Justa* and *Rufina*, but that they should take his body<sup>u</sup> with them, and pointed with a cross to the place where it lay. This was accordingly done, and *Alvitus* himself dying in his return, both bodies were received with great reverence into *Leon*; the king, the queen, and a great number of the nobility going out a considerable distance to receive them; and the corpse of *St. Isidore* being deposited in the new church of *St. John the Baptist*, has, in some measure, changed its name<sup>v</sup>.

**Don Ramiro, king of Arragon, defeated and killed before Saragossa.** WHILE the king *Don Ferdinand* was employed in the war against *Seville*, *Don Ramiro*, king of *Arragon*, with a formidable army, invaded the dominions of the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa*, who, being tributary to the king of *Leon*, immediately sent ambassadors to his capital to implore his assistance: they finding him absent, applied themselves to *Don Sancho* his son, who sent them instantly back to their master, desiring him to assemble all the troops he was able; and assuring him, that he would forthwith march with a strong body of forces to his relief, which he accordingly did. The Infant *Don Sancho* having for his lieutenant the famous *Don Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*, no sooner joined the *Moors* than he proposed marching to give the king of *Arragon* battle, who, on his side, raised the siege of a town before which he lay, and marched to meet them. The dispute was long and bloody; but at length the victory<sup>x</sup> declared on the side of the Infant, the unfortunate *Don Ramiro* being killed upon the spot, as most of the *Spanish* writers agree; though there are some<sup>y</sup> who affirm, that he died some time after in his bed; and there are also others who assert, that he was not only killed, but that his body fell into the hands of the infidels, who caused it to be flead; the probability of which will be discussed in another place; at present it is sufficient to observe, that the Infant *Don Sancho*, having relieved his father's vassal, returned with his victorious troops to *Leon*<sup>z</sup> (C).

AT

<sup>t</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. <sup>u</sup> PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic. <sup>v</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>x</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>y</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>z</sup> PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

(C) There is something very of history. *Mariana* (1), *Pet* dark and difficult in this piece *vias* (2), and most other writers

(1) *Historia general de España*, lib. ix.

(2) *Rat'on. Tempor. Success.* l. xix. place

At the time of the translation of St. *Isidore* (so the *Spa-King Ferrer* calls it) the king Don *Ferdinand* held an assembly of his nobles at *Leon*, in which he opened to them his design of proposing to dividing his dominions amongst his three sons; that is, to an assembly

\* *Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS.*

place the death of Don *Ramiro* four years later, that is, in the year 1067; and, upon that account, place the war not in the reign of Don *Ferdinand* but of Don *Sancho*, which is not easy to comprehend, more especially as it appears from the monument of this prince, in the monastery of St. *John de la Pegna* (3), that he died on the 8th of the ides of *May*, and also on the fifth day of the week; but upon examination this will be found not to agree with the year 1067, but with the year 1063, where it is placed in the text (4). The Infant Don *Sancho* therefore must have commanded the troops of his father, which joined those of the *Mohammedan* prince of *Saragossa*, and with him went Don *Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*, to whom this remarkable victory is in a great measure ascribed (5). It is not a little strange, that not only this particular fact of the king's death, but the whole war has been represented as false and fictitious by some very good critics (6); notwithstanding which we must, if we agree with them, give up those rules that have been hitherto looked upon as the safest and best in judging of history, since we have contemporary writers who affirm it, and upon their authority it has been re-

ceived by the best historians of that country (7). *Mariana*, who, as we have before observed, places this event in the reign of Don *Sancho*, acquaints us, that it was looked on as an ill omen to his administration, that it began with the death of his uncle (8); but it is as probable, that this omen might be applied as well to his first campaign; for we can scarce imagine, that the Infant Don *Sancho* had commanded in person before this time. There is little regard due to omens; but without doubt Don *Ferdinand* must conceive it a great misfortune, that two of his own brothers, and his wife's brother, should fall in the field by his arms: but, however, he might comfort himself with this, that in each of these actions they were the aggressors, and his forces only employed in the defence of his own subjects or of his allies. It is an inexcusable fault in *Mariana* notwithstanding, that he places the death of Don *Ramiro* four years later, to mention bulls directed to him by pope *Gregory* the seventh, who was not elevated to that dignity till the year of our lord 1073, which shews how very little attention he paid to chronology, which is indeed the capital fault in his history.

(3) *P. Moret Investigaciones historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.*  
 (4) *Ferrer* *Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.* (5) *Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.* (6) *P. Moret.* (7) *Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Roderic Toletan de rebus Hispania.* (8) *Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.*

of the give the kingdom of *Castile* to the eldest Don *Sancho*, upon  
 states the whom the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa* was to depend; the  
 division of crown of *Leon* and the *Asturias* of *Oviedo* to Don *Alonso*  
 his domi- and the kingdom of *Galicia*, with so much of *Portugal* as he  
 nions. had conquered, to Don *Garcia*, the youngest. We cannot  
 doubt but many of the nobility must foresee the mischiefs that  
 would inevitably follow from this measure, so inconsistent  
 with all maxims of policy, as well as dictates of experience.  
 But the majority complied with and applauded the king's pro-  
 posal; upon which, at the breaking up of that assembly,  
 the Infants Don *Sancho* and Don *Garcia* were sent to take  
 possession of *Castile* and *Galicia*. About the same time three  
*Spanish* prelates (which is the first instance of the kind) were  
 sent to the council of *Mantua*<sup>c</sup>, which was held by pope *Alex-*  
*ander II.* where they produced the *Gothic* offices; and, upon  
 refusal, the council unanimously declared, that they were or-  
 thodox and pious; so that they have this testimony of a  
 learned council, with a pope at its head, in favour of their  
 ancient liturgy, if that could afford it any sanction. Some  
 indeed, say, that the pope only approved the offices they sent  
 without suffering any to examine them but himself; and if so,  
 then surely very little respect is paid to his decree, by those who  
 speak so harshly of these venerable monuments of the doctrine  
 and discipline of the truly catholic Christian church among  
 the *Goths*.

Dies soon THE *Moorish* kings of *Toledo* and *Saragossa* were not long  
 after his before they took advantage of this impolitic division of the  
 return territories of the king Don *Ferdinand*, which, perhaps, they  
 from an might attribute to the weakness and infirmities of old age,  
 expedition and from thence incline to hope they might be able to shake  
 against the off the yoke and recover their independency. Yet how plau-  
 kings of sible soever these notions might be, they drew them into a  
 Toledo hasty and fatal resolution. For having refused to pay their  
 and Sara- annual tribute<sup>e</sup>, Don *Ferdinand* assembled a numerous and  
 gossa. well disciplined army, with which, before they suspected any  
 such thing, he swept the frontiers of both kingdoms, wasting  
 the country with fire and sword, and carrying multitudes into  
 slavery<sup>f</sup>. He advanced with his victorious army into the  
 neighbourhood of *Valentia*, the suburbs of which city he  
 burnt, and perhaps had done more, but finding himself indis-  
 posed, and his disorder increasing, he thought it time to re-  
 treat, and accordingly returned to *Leon* in the beginning of

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.  
 tom. ix. p. 1179.

<sup>d</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>e</sup> Concil.

TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>e</sup> RODERIC

<sup>f</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb.  
 Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

winter. His health still declining, he caused himself to be carried into the church of *St. Isidore*, where he performed an act of public penance for his sins, and died the very next day<sup>a</sup>, which was the twenty-seventh of *September*, one thousand sixty-five. Besides his sons before-mentioned, he left behind him two daughters, to the elder of whom, *Donna Urraca*, he gave the city of *Zamora*, which he had strongly fortified, with other lands, and to the younger, *Donna Elvira*, *Toro*, and some other places by way of appendages, that they might live in a manner suitable to their high birth, and without being dependant upon any of their brethren<sup>b</sup>.

*DON Sancho*, king of *Castile*, though he submitted to the disposition which his father had made, looked upon himself as extremely injured thereby, from an opinion, that priority of birth gave him a just title to all the three kingdoms; but so long as his mother *Donna Sancha* lived, he did not suffer his discontent to appear, because her title to *Leon*, the *Asturias*, *Gallicia*, and *Portugal*, seemed clearer than his own, and he was perfectly satisfied that what the late king had done was thro' her persuasion. He reigned therefore quietly at *Burgos*, and applied himself with indefatigable diligence to render the kingdom of *Castile* as flourishing as possible. But that princess dying<sup>c</sup> on the 7th of *November* in the following year, he found himself more at liberty, and perhaps would have discovered his real intention sooner, if he had not been involved in a war with the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, both of his own name, which most writers place two years sooner; and in which, it is said, that he met with a total defeat. But as the causes and consequences of this war are very obscurely expressed, and as it is much more probable it happened after the death of *Don Ferdinand*, we have followed the example of *Ferreras*<sup>d</sup>, and placed it here, though we are not able to acquaint the reader in what manner it ended. It may be the confederate princes, satisfied with their victory, and believing they had done enough for the security of their own dominions, were willing to give an example of moderation in their own conduct; or it may be they differed between themselves, which hindered them from pushing their success farther. But whatever the motive was, this war came to a very speedy conclusion; and for any thing that appears in authentic histo-

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. lii. ALPHONSI a Carthagina reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ, de reg. Hispaniæ.

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC. Tudens. Chron.

<sup>c</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. lii. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

<sup>d</sup> Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

rians, Don *Sancho* might have enjoyed the kingdom bestowed upon him by his father in quiet, if the turn of his own mind would have permitted it.

*War between Don Sancho, king of Castile, and Don Alonso VI. his brother.*

DON *Alphonso*, king of *Leon*, was a prince of a very humane and gentle disposition, in consequence of which he had stood highest in his mother's favour, by whose counsels he was chiefly directed while she lived, and after her decease had great regard to the advice of his sisters, who were princesses of uncommon parts, and which was still more rare had nothing of jealousy or intrigue in their tempers. One of the first steps taken by this monarch after his accession was to conclude a treaty of marriage with a princess of *England*, whose name was *Aguda*, the daughter of *William* the first, surnamed the conqueror, whom he espoused by proxy, and who, in her passage to *Spain*, died at sea. Her corpse was landed in *France*, and interred in a monastery there. This misfortune was

A. D.  
1067.

succeeded by another; for Don *Sancho*, king of *Leon*, invaded his dominions with a formidable army, notwithstanding that the two princesses their sisters had laboured all that in them lay to prevent things from coming to extremities. Don *Alphonso* opposed him with troops superior in number, but not equal in courage, or at least in discipline. The battle was fought on the nineteenth of *July*, at a place called *Lantada*, in which Don *Alphonso*, being defeated<sup>o</sup>, fled to *Leon*, and made the best disposition he could there for his defence; but, thro' the interposition of the princesses, a siege was prevented, and Don *Sancho* engaged to return for that year into his own dominions upon certain conditions; of which we have very indistinct accounts, and this probably because the agreement that was now concluded did not last long.

A. D.  
1068.

*Disturbances in Galicia, the kingdom of Don Garcia the 3d brother.*

WHILE the realms of *Castile* and *Leon* were in such confusion, and the concerns of their inhabitants turned upon each other, the arms of Don *Garcia*, king of *Galicia*, were in very little better condition. He had a favourite, to whom he confided without reserve the management of all his affairs: the chief of his nobility had represented to him frequently the bad consequences of such a behaviour, and the bad use this man made of his unlimited authority; but as this had no effect, those great lords had recourse to rougher measures, and cut this insolent favourite to pieces<sup>p</sup>, almost in the presence of his master; after which they thought fit to retire into the dominions of *Leon*, where they met with protection

<sup>o</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic. <sup>p</sup> Chron. var. antiq.



and favour. The reader has been informed, that the inhabitants of *Galicia* were of a very mutinous disposition; and besides this, which is indeed a sufficient proof, there happened another in that country within the compass of a few months; for *Gudesto*, bishop of *Compostella*, having some disputes about the rights of his church with *Don Froila*, a nobleman of great authority, and his near relation, the latter found means to enter the apartment of the prelate when in his bed and fast asleep, and stabbed him to the heart with his dagger<sup>a</sup>; notwithstanding which, the government was in such confusion, that, for any thing that appears in history, he escaped with impunity.

A. D.  
1069.

THE peace between *Don Sancho*, king of *Castile*, and his brother *Don Alphonso*, king of *Leon*, had been with difficulty so prolonged for somewhat more than a year, when *Don Sancho* had again recourse to arms<sup>t</sup>, without pretending any other motive than that of despoiling *Don Alphonso* of his territories. The latter had assembled a numerous and well disciplined army, towards which his brother *Don Garcia*<sup>r</sup> contributed, by sending him a considerable body of auxiliaries. The two armies met and fought on the fourteenth of *July*; when, after a long and bloody dispute, *Don Alphonso* remained victorious. If he had pursued his advantage, he might very probably have put an end to the war; but the mildness of his nature, and his unwillingness to shed the blood of his father's subjects, restrained him. *Don Sancho* had with him the *Cid*, who rallied his army, and encamped not far from the field of battle. He afterwards prevailed both upon the king and the troops to fall upon the victorious army about an hour beyond midnight; and taking them by surprise, it was rather a slaughter than a fight, since they met with little or no resistance. The king *Don Alphonso* mounted the first horse he could find, and fled to the first church, which was that of *St. Mary de Garrien*; but *Don Sancho* pursued him with such eagerness, that he was presently taken, and sent prisoner under a strong guard of horse to *Burgos*<sup>u</sup>.

*Don Alon-*  
*brother Don Alphonso,*  
*king of Leon,*  
*had been with difficulty*  
*so beats*  
*prolonged for somewhat more than a year,*  
*when Don Sancho*  
*Don San-*  
*cho one*  
*day, and*  
*is totally*  
*defeated*  
*by him the*  
*next.*  
A. D.  
1070.

THE princesses, *Donna Urraca* and *Donna Elvira*, upon *Obliged to*, *Don Sancho's* coming to *Leon*, interposed in behalf of their un-*abdicate* fortunate brother, and were very earnest in persuading the conqueror to spare his life; to which with some difficulty he *his throne* consented, upon condition that he should abdicate his domi-*by Don* nions, consent to be shaved a monk, and retire to the abbey of *Sancho,* *who de-*

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chronicon. <sup>r</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>t</sup> LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chronicon. PELAG. OVETENSIS liber Chronic. <sup>u</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. <sup>v</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

*poses Don Sabagon*; which terms, however hard and inglorious, *Don Garcia Alfonso* was forced to accept, and is said to have taken a religious habit in the house before-mentioned; but an historian <sup>w</sup>, who lived near these times, tells us, that *Don Sancho* insisted only upon his quitting his dominions, and laying aside the royal title (D). However that may be, *Don Sancho* found no great opposition in establishing himself on the throne of *Leon*; and, indeed, in the situation things were then in, it is no great wonder. As ambition excludes content, so *Don*

<sup>w</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

(D) As it contributes not a little to enlighten history, when we have the characters of the principal persons mentioned in them drawn with fidelity and judgment, it may not be amiss to observe here, that *Don Pelayo*, bishop of *Oviedo*, tells (1) us of *Don Sancho*, that in his father's life-time he drew the respect and veneration of the people by the manly beauty of his person, which, though considerably beyond the common size, was perfectly well proportioned. His countenance was open and pleasant, his air majestic, active, and full of address in martial exercises, and he had such uncommon vigour, that he derived from thence the surname of *Don Sancho* the strong. He was very brave, and in his own nature generous and beneficent; but he had one great foible, which was, that he loved praise, and them from whom he received it. *Mariana* (2) says, that quarrels had arisen between *Don Alonso* and *Don Garcia* before *Don Sancho* made his first irruption into *Leon*. The archbishop of *Toledo* (3) asserts positively, that *Don Sancho* spared

his brother's life upon no other terms than an absolute renunciation, and taking the habit of a monk; to which he was persuaded by *Don Pedro Affurex*; but the bishop of *Tuy* (4) relates this matter otherwise, for he tells us, that at the request of *Donna Urraca*, *Don Sancho* permitted his brother to retire to *Toledo*, on a promise that he would never return during his life without his leave, and that he also consented, that *Don Pedro Affurex* and his two brothers should attend him. But both writers agree, that *Don Alonso* was undone by his clemency in forbidding the pursuit of his brother's army when broken, saying of the *Castilians* when he saw them fly, spare them; they are your brethren, and were my father's subjects; and they likewise attribute all that afterwards happen'd to the councils given *Don Sancho* by the *Cid*, who seems to have held the same place in his favour that *Don Pedro Affurex* did in his brother's; and it may be there is a little exaggeration in one character as well as the other.

(1) *Pelag. Ovetens Chron.*

(2) *Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.*

(3) *De reb. Hispan. lib. vii.*

(4) *Lucæ Tudenfis Chron.* who very probably followed some more ancient author.

*Sancho* could reap no joy in the possession of one brother's crown, while there was yet a diadem upon the head of another; and therefore as soon as the people of *Leon* had submitted and sworn allegiance to him, and he had received large reinforcements from *Castile*, he entered *Galicia* with his victorious army. If the people had been in any degree united, his conquest might have been at least disputed; but their want of a good understanding with their sovereign and each other, disabled them from making any considerable resistance, and the severity with which *Don Sancho* treated all who opposed him, was another circumstance that facilitated his conquest. As for *Don Garcia*, his chief care was to avoid falling into his hands, and therefore, as soon as he found his affairs desperate, he threw himself, with such as remained firm to him under his misfortunes, who were but a few, into the dominions of the king of *Seville*; who, by the conquest of *Cordova* and *Murcia*, was become the most considerable of the *Mohammedan* monarchs in *Spain*, by whom he was very kindly received, and honourably protected.<sup>2</sup>

WHILE *Don Sancho* was employed in the conquest of *Galicia*, *Don Alphonso* was contriving how to recover his liberty, so *without* to escape out of the monastery in which he was confined *draws into* into the dominions of some foreign prince. He found means *the kingdom* to inform the princesses his sisters of his intentions; and *Donna* of *Toledo*, *Urraca* prevailed upon three lords, of the family of *Affurez*, *and is well* to run the hazard of facilitating his escape. They accordingly supplied him with horses; and, having drawn him safely out of the monastery, conducted him with the utmost expedition to *Toledo*.<sup>1</sup> He acquainted *Ali-Maymon*, who was then king, with the situation of his affairs, and the reasons he had to have recourse to his protection. That monarch not only promised him all he asked, but provided for him, and those who resorted to him, with royal bounty; and, as he knew that he was extremely fond of hunting, he assigned him a district where he might enjoy that diversion, and where none were allowed to hunt but Christians. The sweetness of *Don Alphonso's* temper prevailed so much upon his protector, that he visited him almost every day, and they lived together in the most strict and intimate friendship.<sup>3</sup> (E).  
Don

<sup>1</sup> Chron. var. antiq.<sup>2</sup> RODERIC TOLESTAN Hist. Arabum.<sup>3</sup> RODERIC TOLESTAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.<sup>4</sup> RODERIC TOLESTAN Hist. Arabum.

(E) The reception met with the king of *Toledo* was without  
by *Don Alphonso* at the court of doubt as good as he could de-

A. D. 1072. Don *Sancho*, at his return to *Leon*, quickly gave his sisters reason to believe, that he resented in a very high degree their attachment to Don *Alphonso*, by signifying to them, that, having now united his father's dominions, it was no longer requisite that they should remain mistresses of the towns which he had given them ; but, upon their resigning these into his

fire, and much better than he could reasonably expect (1). But *Mariana*, in the method he has taken to make us sensible of this, has injured the elegance of his description, by pushing it not only beyond probability, but beyond possibility also (2). He gives us the speeches of the two kings at their first interview, the conditions proposed and accepted, the disposition of the city and summer palace, the pensions settled upon such as followed the fortunes of this exiled prince, the services they rendered the king of *Toledo* in his wars with other *Moorish* princes, and abundance of other entertaining particulars; amongst the rest he acquaints us, that one day, when the two kings were together, with many of the *Moorish* nobility about them, in the royal garden, Don *Alonso* laid himself along by the side of a canal, and seemed to be asleep, while the king of *Toledo*, who attentively considered that city, of which they had a fair and full view from the spot where they were, desired their opinion of his new works, and whether they did not judge that the place was now in a manner impregnable; to which one of his lords answered, that it was indeed much stronger than before, but that it might still be taken, by waiting for seven

years together all the country round, by which the magazines would be exhausted, and the recruiting them rendered impracticable; after which a short siege would not fail of being attended with success. This discourse being over-heard, and treasured up in his mind by *Alonso*, furnished him in process of time with the means of becoming master of that capital. He adds, that there was such a resort of Christians to Don *Alonso*, that they built a town about his hunting seat, which is that now called *Bribuega*. But if he had adverted ever so little to the chronology of this history, it would have prevented, or at least have shortened, this description of the king's reception and manner of passing his time, since, by a comparison of circumstances, it is certain, he did not remain at *Toledo* a full year; and an historian (3), who flourished in his grandson's reign, affirms, that his stay did not exceed nine months; which clearly demonstrates, that most of these stories are the pure effects of imagination, not in *Mariana*, but in the writers from whom he took them, and by whom he would have been in no danger of being misled, if he had attended to this circumstance, which will justify our omitting them.

(1) *Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.*

(2) *Historia general de España, lib. ix.*

(3) *Pelag. Ovetens Chron. very probably from some abby chronicle of that time.*

hands, he would assign them a maintenance suitable to their rank. They represented to him in vain how unworthy it was of so great a prince to think of oppressing two feeble women, and those too of his own blood. However, they called together their vassals, and acquainted them with the king's intention, whose haughty, morose, and cruel temper, having rendered him universally odious, those, who depended upon the princesses, dreading nothing so much as to become his subjects, freely offered to defend the places of which they were possessed to the utmost extremity; and this proposition being accepted, they took their measures accordingly <sup>e</sup>.

THE king was excessively provoked at this conduct, which *Don San-* he did not expect; but, on the contrary supposed, that their cho *forms* vassals would either have prevailed upon them to submit, or *a design to* provided for their own safety by submitting themselves. As *deprive his* soon as he found himself deceived in that hope, he assembled *sisters of* a very numerous army, which he commanded in person <sup>d</sup>, *Toro and* and had for his lieutenant general *Don Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Zamora*. *Cid*. He first attacked *Toro*, which belonged to *Donna El-* *vira*, and took it rather by the shew than the force of his army <sup>e</sup>, which pleased him exceedingly, and gave him great reason to hope, that he should find his next expedition attended with very little difficulty. But he very quickly found the contrary; *Donna Urraca* had shut herself up in *Zamora*, which was very well fortified, and had a numerous garrison, whom he could not intimidate by menaces, and by whom his troops were repulsed with great loss in several assaults. There was a nobleman in the town, *Don Arias Gonzalez*, who acted as general and prime minister for the princess *Urraca*, and he acted so well in both capacities, that the troops did their duty with spirit, and were well supplied from the magazines with every thing they wanted; so that at length the king of *Leon*, notwithstanding the superiority of his forces, found himself obliged to retire to a greater distance, and to turn his siege into a blockade. This appeared to be a certain method of reducing the place; for as they had no succours to expect, so famine within the town would quickly bring them into greater distress than was in the power of an army without; and, indeed, all things considered, *Donna Urraca* and her subjects had great reason to look upon their condition as desperate <sup>f</sup>.

A. D.  
1072.

<sup>e</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
Lucæ Tudensis Chron.  
<sup>f</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan.  
<sup>e</sup> PELAG. OVETENS liber Chron.

*Besieges*  
*Zamora,*  
*and is slain*  
*during the*  
*blockade by*  
*Ataul-*  
*phus.*

IT was not long before some in the town began to think it so, and to communicate their thoughts to their neighbours, which producing a kind of general murmur, a council was called by the townsmen to know whether they should not demand a capitulation. After some very warm debates, one *Ataulphus* stood up, and assured them, that if they would have a little patience, he would undertake to deliver the place. Upon this the council broke up, and *Ataulphus*, at his own request, was permitted to go out of the city; he proceeded directly to the camp of the king of *Leon*, and having asked and obtained a private audience, he gave him an account of the council that had been held, assured him, that he was the only person who proposed a surrender; upon which they fairly turned him out of the town<sup>b</sup>. At this he expressed great resentment, telling him, that if he would advance with a party of horse near the place, he would discover to him a postern that might be easily forced, and the city taken by storm<sup>1</sup>. The king was extremely pleased with this intelligence, and at the request of him who gave it, kept it a secret from his officers. A few days after he advanced with a part of his cavalry, and when they were within sight of the walls, *Ataulphus* told the king, if he would dismount he would shew him the place, and him only. He readily complied with his request, but had not gone far before he found it necessary to ease himself; and while he was behind a bush for this purpose, *Ataulphus* struck him through the body with his javelin, and, leaving him swimming in his own blood, made his escape<sup>k</sup>. Thus fell the ambitious *Don Sancho*, king of *Leon*, *Castile*, and *Galicia*, on the fifth of *October*, one thousand seventy-two, when he had reigned almost seven years. The greatest part of his army separated immediately upon the news of the king's death; but the *Castilian* troops retired in good order, carrying his corpse with them, which they caused to be interred with royal honour in the monastery of *Ona*<sup>1</sup> (F).

THE

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

<sup>1</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chron.

<sup>k</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan.

ANACEPHALÆOSIS FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ, de reg. Hispan.

1 RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

(F) As singular and as extraordinary as the circumstances of *Don Sancho's* death may appear in the text, they might have been rendered out of comparison more wonderful, if we had paid any regard to what modern historians have made no scruple

THE first care of Donna *Urraca*, when the blockade was *Don Alonso* raised, was to dispatch an express to *Toledo*, to desire *Don so VI. re-Alphonso* to make all the dispatch imaginable in repairing to *turns into Zamora*<sup>m</sup>. When he communicated this intelligence to *his dominions upon those* who were about him, they unanimously dissuaded him from acquainting the *Moorish* prince, from an apprehension that he would not suffer him to depart. Their arguments had no effect upon *Don Alonso*. He said, that princes might indeed be justified from policy in dealing artificially with each other, but that such a behaviour was inexcusable between friends. He went therefore to *Ali-Maymon*, presented to him his sister's letters, and desired his permission to return into his own dominions<sup>n</sup>. That monarch received him with all imaginable kindness, concealing his own intelligence which was very near as early as *Don Alphonso's*, he gave him the strongest assurances, that his pleasure was not greater than his own, and, having gently put him in mind of the kindnesses he had done him, requested a continuance of his friendship

<sup>m</sup> Chron. var. antiq.      <sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLEMAN Hist. Arabum.

scruple of inserting in their works upon this occasion (1). According to them, the name of the person who managed the scheme of the king's death was *Vellido Dolfos*, which seems to be a corruption of *Ataulphus*. It is added, that the *Castilians*, instead of deserting the siege, were so enraged by the murder of the king, that *Don Diego Ordonez*, of the house of *Laura*, went up to the gates of *Zamora*, and threatened the inhabitants with the utter extirpation of every thing within their walls, if they did not purge themselves of their having any share in the contrivance or execution of that assassination; upon which, according to the custom then in use, *Don Arrias Gonzalez* and his three sons, *Don Pedro*, *Don Diego*, and *Don Rodrigo*, offered to maintain the innocence of the townsmen in single combat one

by one against *Don Diego Ordonez*, which was accepted; and in this fight *Don Diego* killed all the three young cavaliers; but the youngest of them, *Don Rodrigo*, after he had received a mortal wound, aiming a stroke at *Don Diego*, cut the reins of his horse's bridle; upon which the beast wheeled about, forced the barrier, and carried his master out of the field of battle; which, according to the laws of combat, was the same thing as if he had been defeated. Upon this the judges refused to give any decision, and the *Castilians* raised the siege and retired into their own country (2). The reader will know what credit is due to these relations, when he is told, that their most authentic support are the ballads, sung time out of mind through all the provinces of *Spain* concerning these wonderful feats of arms.

(1) *Ferreras Historia de Espana*, p. v. sect. xi. *Mayerne, Turquet, Histoire general de Espagne*, liv. viii.

(2) *Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon*.

towards

towards himself and his eldest son *Hissem*; which Don *Alphonso* having promised in the most solemn terms, he dismissed him with all imaginable marks of esteem, and under the escorte of a strong party of horse, by whom he was safely conducted to *Zamora*, where he was received with all possible testimonies of affection and duty, as well as with the greatest tenderness, by the princess *Donna Urraca*, to whose firmness and fidelity he owed his restoration <sup>o</sup>.

*Invited in-* THE principal nobility of *Leon* and *Galicia* repaired very  
*to Castile,* cheerfully to *Zamora* to congratulate Don *Alphonso* upon this  
*but obliged* happy turn in his affairs, and to assure him of their fidelity <sup>p</sup>.  
*to purge* The *Castilians*, however, were not altogether so hasty, but  
*himself by* they acted with as much prudence, and perhaps with more  
*oath of the* dignity; for after some deliberation they sent deputies to Don  
*murder of Alphonso,* to acquaint him that they were willing to acknow-  
*Don San-* ledge him for their sovereign, and were for this reason desirous  
*cho.* of his presence at *Burgos*; but knowing, as he did, that their  
 late king fell by the hand of a traitor, they expected he  
 should purge himself by oath of all privy or participation in  
 that action <sup>q</sup>. Don *Alphonso* readily accepted the crown on  
 this condition, and went to *Burgos* as he was desired; but  
 when it came to the issue, none of the *Castilian* nobility had  
 courage enough to require the king's oath. At length *Rod-*  
*rigo*, surnamed the *Cid*, administered it, which was certainly  
 very laudable; but not contented with this, he obliged the  
 king to repeat it twice more, which he did, but resented it so  
 much, that Don *Rodrigo* could never after recover his good  
 graces <sup>r</sup>. This being over, the king took possession of the  
 government, to the great joy and with the general satisfaction  
 of the *Castilians*.

*Don Alon-* As soon as the news of Don *Sancho's* death, and Don *Al-*  
*so impri-* *phonso's* being quietly admitted to the succession, reached *Se-*  
*sons Don* *ville*, Don *Garcia* requested the *Moorish* monarch, with  
*Garcia,* whom he had taken shelter, to permit him to return into his  
*and de-* own dominions, which he did with great readiness <sup>s</sup>. What  
*prives him* reception he met with from his subjects, or how he behaved  
*of his do-* towards them, we cannot with any certainty affirm. It is as  
*minions.* little in our power, and therefore as little in our will, to  
 suggest, that he meant to give his brother any disturbance.  
*Ferreras* <sup>t</sup>, indeed, says it, but without proof; and we must  
 not supply facts to support characters. Don *Alonso*, being  
 informed of his resuming the government in *Galicia*, invited

<sup>o</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chron.  
<sup>p</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>q</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan,  
 LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. <sup>r</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>s</sup> Ro-  
 DERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>t</sup> Historia de Espana,  
 p. v. sect. xi.



him to a conference; upon which he very readily came to *Leon*, and though at first received with all outward testimonies of kindness, was in a short time arrested by the advice of *Donna Urraca*, and sent prisoner to the castle of *Luna*, where he spent the remainder of his days <sup>u</sup>. It is alleged, that he was of a mutable and yet of a violent temper, which obliged his brother to have recourse to this method of treating him for his own security. We write the history and not the apologies of princes: the reader will judge of this action for himself; but certain it is, that the more antient historians are not so complaisant to the memory of *Don Alphonso* in this particular as the moderns <sup>w</sup>. We pretend not to determine the controversy, but we fairly report the facts. Their king being a prisoner, the *Galicians* readily and perhaps willingly submitted to *Don Alonso*, who thus united once more the dominions of his father, and became master of *Castile*, *Leon*, and *Galicia* <sup>x</sup>.

A. D.  
1073.

THE divisions among Christian princes were the true *The pope* source of the papal power, which began now to extend itself *sends cardinal Hugo in quality of legate into Spain*. *Don Alphonso* found the *Roman* service introduced in the neighbouring kingdom of *Arragon*, and the emissaries of the pope used all their arts to engage the king's inclination to have it introduced also throughout his dominions. *Gregory* the seventh had succeeded *Alexander* the second; and having received some complaints of the behaviour of his legates in the other principalities of *Spain*, he made choice of cardinal *Hugo*, surnamed the *White*, to repair these mistakes, and sent him with special recommendations to the court of *Leon* <sup>y</sup>, and with instructions no doubt to make himself as agreeable there as he possibly could. He proved an active and an able minister, as appeared from his success; for after a short stay he prevailed upon the king to suffer his ambassadors to accompany him to *Rome*, to assure the holy father of his obedience, and to solicit the establishment of the *Roman* offices in all the churches throughout his territories; and this notwithstanding his predecessor had declared, that there was nothing in the *Gothic* liturgies but what was perfectly agreeable to the orthodox doctrines of the catholic church; so that what the king now asked as a favour to himself and subjects, was in reality a favour only to the *Roman* Pontif; and having thus explained from their own historians <sup>z</sup>, and without the least exaggeration, the manner in which this objec-

<sup>u</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
ERNE, TURQUET.

<sup>w</sup> MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAY-  
<sup>x</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan.  
lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

<sup>y</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
<sup>z</sup> MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE, TURQUET.

tion

tion of this church and state to the see of *Rome* was obtained, we will return to what is more immediately our province.

*Don Alonso* had once been married without ever seeing his wife, and believing that the safety of himself and subjects depended in a great measure upon his leaving posterity, he judged it high time to think of a second marriage; to which it may be he was instigated also by the legate. The lady upon whom he cast his eyes, or rather who was recommended to him, was *Donna Agnes*<sup>a</sup>, the daughter of the duke of *Guéne* and count of *Poitiers*, and their marriage was quickly

A. D.  
1074.

after concluded and celebrated. The rejoicings upon this occasion were interrupted by the news of a war, in which *Don Alonso* thought himself obliged to take a part. Ambition prompted *Mohammed Aben-Habet*, king of *Seville*, who had already united three *Moorish* principalities, to attempt the conquest of a fourth, and it was with this view that he assembled the whole forces of his dominions; but as this could not be done without *Don Alonso's* knowledge, and as he knew not where the storm would fall, he likewise assembled an army; and upon receiving advice that the king of *Seville* had entered the dominions of the king of *Toledo* on one side, he without any ceremony entered them on the other<sup>b</sup>. *Ali-Maymon*, as soon as he had intelligence of *Don Alonso's* irruption, sent ambassadors to put him in mind of the old friendship that had passed between them. *Don Alonso* smiled at the gravity of their harangue, and assured them, that it was no other than the sense of that obligation that brought him thither, and that *Ali-Maymon* might rest satisfied, that his own subjects would not serve him more chearfully than the forces under his command<sup>c</sup>. This made a speedy and strange alteration. *Ali-Maymon*, who had fortified *Toledo*, understanding the approach of *Don Alonso* and his intentions, instead of expecting a siege, marched out and joined him with all his forces; and, as some authors<sup>d</sup> say, attacked and routed the king of *Seville* in a general engagement; though others affirm, upon the junction of the armies, he thought it expedient to retire into his own territories, and soon after made a peace with the king of *Toledo* upon equitable conditions; but, however, it is on all hands agreed, that *Don Alonso* had the honour of putting an end to this war, and of expressing, in the most honourable manner, his gratitude and affection towards his royal protector.

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>c</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chron.

<sup>d</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

WE have more than once observed, that it is dangerous *Amazing* for the princes even in communion with *Rome* to shew any *assurance* extraordinary respect or deference for those who stile themselves the successors of *St. Peter*. We have a most amazing *Gregory* instance of this in the conduct of *Gregory* the seventh, who, *VII. to* having received the ambassadors of *Don Alonso*, king of *Leon, Castile, and Galicia*, and the report of his legate cardinal *Hugo*, who by the way has an extreme bad character in history, judged it proper to make him a suitable return; *claim superiority over the king of Spain.* which, however, is thought and treated as a very extraordinary one even by the *Spanish* historians<sup>f</sup>. This return was claiming the supreme and absolute dominion of all his kingdoms, and not of his only, but of all the Christian princes in *Spain*; which strange title was suggested to stand upon as strange a foundation, that is, on a commission granted to *Eblon*, count of *Rouffi*, to conquer countries in the hands of infidels, which he was to possess and enjoy for his pains, yielding an annual tribute, and acknowledging himself feudatory to the holy see of *Rome*. When or where this great conqueror lived does not at all appear, or what this commission to him had to do with the crowns of *Spain*. *Ferreras* & seems to suggest, that the argument drawn from hence was analogical. The count *de Rouffi*, in case he conquered lands from the infidels, was to hold them from the see of *Rome*, and to pay an annual tribute: therefore, according to this precedent, all territories conquered from infidels were to be held from the see of *Rome* by an annual tribute. A very wild title this; and from an error in the date of the pope's letter one would be glad, for the credit of these bishops, to suppose it counterfeited; but even in this we shall not find ourselves much relieved: for this pope did not stop at a single letter, to which *Don Alphonso* and the other princes seem to have given no immediate answer, because they knew not well what answer to give, but repeated and insisted upon his demand, at the same time that he enjoined the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* (for in *Arragon* it was already in use) to lay aside the *Gothic* service, and to receive that of the *Roman* church. This at last obliged *Don Alphonso* to answer plainly, as the other princes likewise did, that they were independent princes, and would own no superior upon earth. As to the other part of the injunction, the king of *Leon* was inclined to grant it, and did as much as he thought convenient to do; but some

<sup>f</sup> *MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE, TURQUET. Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.*

of

of the bishops in his dominions peremptorily refused to quit their antient liturgy; and others, in obedience, or rather in complaisance to the king, introduced the *Roman* service.

*Don Alonso* BUT as much as the pope interfered in this, we find no traces of his interposition in another great affair, where it might have been more reasonably expected. *Don Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, being murdered by one of his brothers, and some others of his family being suspected of conniving at it, his subjects absolutely refused to obey any of his race or line. Upon this the Infant *Don Ramiro*, one of the brothers of the deceased king, called in *Don Alonso*, who possessed himself of *Biscay* and *Rioja*, while most of the nobility declared for *Don Sancho*, king of *Aragon*, who got possession of the rest<sup>1</sup>. *Don Alonso* took the Infant *Don Ramiro*, and the Infantas *Donna Urraca*, *Ximena*, and *Mayao* into his care; but what became of *Don Garcia*, the king's son, unless he died in his infancy, does not appear. If ever the interposition of *Rome* was necessary, it was in such a case as this, to prevent orphans and innocent persons from being injured; but of this we hear nothing. Yet the next year a council<sup>m</sup> was called at *Burgos* to force the *Roman* service upon the people; and upon this occasion, it is said, that the contest between the two offices was put upon the issue of a duel, and that the *Gothic* knight prevailed, and that both the services being thrown into the fire, the old book escaped without hurt; but notwithstanding this the king persuaded the major part of the ecclesiastics to make a canon, enjoining the use of the *Roman* service, which was attended with great murmurings and heart-burnings among the people (G).

THE

<sup>1</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. <sup>m</sup> Cardinalis d'AGUIRRE Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 258.

(G) We shall have occasion in another place to treat of this matter more at large (1), and to discuss the reasons which induced the people of *Navarre* to think themselves under the necessity of laying aside the reigning family, and calling in princes of the collateral line to govern them. At present we will confine ourselves to the matters of fact arising from this revolution. The great acquisition which *Don Alonso* made by these troubles might tempt one to believe, that he had some share in them; but when we consider that all the princes and princesses of the

(1) In the history of the kingdom of *Navarre*.

royal

THE year following came a legate from the pope, who <sup>Pope's le-</sup> found or made a great deal of business at court. The king it <sup>gate di-</sup> seems had a mind to part with his wife; and he had an ec- <sup>vorces the</sup> clestiafical favourite *Robert*, bishop of *Sabagon*, who had <sup>king from</sup> made himself some enemies by reforming that monastery, <sup>one queen,</sup> and who, being addicted to the old service-book, could find <sup>and his</sup> no passage there that would countenance kings parting with <sup>chaplain</sup> their wives when they had a mind to it. The legate was <sup>finds an-</sup> much an abler man; he did the king's business and his own <sup>other.</sup> with great facility; he found out that the queen *Donna Agnes* was some way related to the king's first queen *Agueda*; who, as the reader will remember, he never saw; and upon this pretence of consanguinity he dissolved the marriage. He likewise excommunicated abbot *Robert*, and sent him back into *France* from whence he came: in his room came another *French* ecclesiastick, whose name was abbot *Barnard*, who, before the close of the year, negotiated a new marriage for the king with *Donna Constantia*, daughter of *Robert*, the first duke of *Burgundy*. The poor repudiated queen like-

A. D.  
1080.

RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

royal family of *Navarre* fled to him for shelter, and were the very persons that delivered up the countries they could not keep for themselves to him, in preference to the king of *Arragon*, we see all grounds of suspicion destroyed, and are obliged to own, that he acted with great generosity as well as like an able politician (2). Those of the deceased king of *Navarre's* family, for whom *Don Alonso* made provision, were his brother the Infant *Don Ramiro*, his sisters *Donna Ximena*, *Donna Urraca*, and *Donna Mayoa* (3). *Mariana* will have *Don Ramiro* to be the son of the deceased monarch, in which he is cer-

tainly mistaken; but, however, he is right in supposing that he married the daughter of *Don Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*; *Donna Urraca* married *Don Garcia Ordonnez*, of the royal family of *Leon*, and *Donna Mayoa* the count *Macon* in *France* (4). By the treaty he made with the king of *Arragon* both crowns were great gainers. The noble country of *Biscay* was again annexed to the *Asturias*, and all the territories lying south and west of the river *Ebro* were incorporated into the kingdom of *Old Castile*; and all this without any effusion of blood (5).

(2) *Annal. Complut. Chron. Monach. I. Joan. Pegn. Roderic Toletan de rebus Hispaniæ.*

(3) *Sandoval, Moret, Ferreras.*

(4) *Roderic Toletan,*

*Ferreras.* (5) *Mariana Historia general d'España, lib. ix. P. Moret Investigaciones historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra, lib. v. Mayerne, Turquet Histoire generale d'Espagne.*

wife found afterwards another husband \* in the life-time of the king; such was the purity that attended the new discipline, or rather such were the conveniencies that accompanied the submission to the holy see, and such the arts by which the pope's legates raised themselves into the favour of princes.

*The kingdom and city of Toledo conquered, which becomes the capital of Castile.*

THE good old king of *Toledo*, and *Hissem*, his eldest son, being dead within little more than the compass of a year, *Hiaya*, the younger son of the one, and brother to the other, was seated on the throne, and proved, as the *Spaniards* † say, a very great tyrant; insomuch that the people of *Toledo* solicited Don *Alphonso* to make himself master of that city and kingdom; but if we advert to facts, we cannot help perceiving, that the conjuncture was extremely inviting. The ambitious and all-grasping king of *Seville* had already attacked the unfortunate monarch of *Toledo*; the king of *Arragon* pressed hard upon other *Mohammedan* princes; so that this unlucky king had not either an ally or a protector, when Don *Alphonso* made his first irruption into that which is now called *New Castile*. We have no very perfect account of this war; but from the memorials still preserved, it is apparent, that it lasted full four campaigns, during which Don *Alphonso* wasted all the country, and took every place of importance in the neighbourhood of *Toledo*; by which, having prepared all things for the reduction of the place, he came the fifth year with a very numerous army; and, having first blockaded the city till the inhabitants began to be in want, he at length turned that blockade into a siege. It is allowed, that *Hiaya* defended himself with great courage and firmness, and that Don *Alphonso* lost abundance of men before the place, which induced some of the citizens to represent to *Hiaya*, that it was better to capitulate in time than to expose them to certain death by famine or the sword. That prince clearly perceived, by the manner in which this advice was given him, that he had nothing to do but to follow it; for that otherwise the authors of it were like to treat for themselves. He therefore demanded terms from Don *Alphonso*, and obtained such as would not have been given, if there had been any great probability of *Toledo's* being taken by force. In fine, it was agreed, that the king, and such as would share his fortunes, should have leave to go where they pleased; that the inhabitants should enjoy their religion and laws, and not suffer the smallest injury either in their persons or properties. The city being surrendered, *Hiaya* retired with his followers to *Valentia*, where he established the seat of his government, and passed the remainder of his days in

\* PELAG. OVETENS liber Chron.

† Chron. var. antiq.

the

the peaceable possession of a small principality; which seems to render it plain, that he might have reigned as quietly over his hereditary kingdom, if he had been happy in having better neighbours" (H).

THIS

" RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

(H) While Don *Alonso* was employed in the preparations for his great design of conquering *Toledo*, some of the detachments which he had sent to spoil the country advanced towards the frontiers of the territories held by the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa*; and as he had not the least conception of the king's real intention, he judged his own dominions to be in the utmost danger; and as he had no forces capable of resisting those of the king of *Leon and Castile*, he had recourse to a stratagem that succeeded in part, and was very near being attended with all the success that he could expect from it. The stratagem was this: he ordered *Aben-Falax*, one of his principal commanders, to enter into a secret treaty with Don *Alonso*, in which he gave him to understand, that he had received such ill usage from his master as had determined him to quit his service, and at the same time to make himself master of the castle of *Ruada*, near the river *Xalon*, five miles from *Saragossa*, which, as he was apprehensive he could not defend with his own troops, he was willing to give it up to those of the king of *Castile*, provided he would come thither in person to accept of his homage. This was accordingly executed, with so much cunning and address, that Don *Alonso*

readily embraced it, and promised to do all that was expected or desired from him (1). Some, however, of the nobility were not so easily deceived, either because they knew the character of *Aben-Falax*, or had some secret reason for distrusting his insinuations. However that was, they prevailed upon the king not to go in person, but sent a body of troops, who summoned the *Moor* to the performance of his promise (2). *Aben-Falax* trifled for a time, and pretended that he would give up the place to none but the king. However, finding this would not do, he at length proposed to surrender it to such persons of distinction as the king should please to charge with his commission; upon which Don *Alonso*, desirous of having the place which was of great consequence, sent the Infant Don *Ramiro* of *Navarre*, the Infant Don *Sanchez* of *Navarre*, the count *Gonçales de Salvadores*, the count Don *Nunez de Lara*, and some other persons of great rank, with full powers to promise, in his name, what the *Moors* should require; who had no sooner prevailed upon them to enter his fortrefs than he caused them to be murdered. The king, upon hearing of this infamous act of treachery, came with all his forces, in hopes of reducing it, and of punishing

(1) *Anal. Complut. Anal. Toletan. mæ, lib. vi.*

(2) *Roderic Toletan de rebus Hispaniæ.*

Great

pains taken  
by the king  
to secure  
and im-  
prove that  
city.

THIS city was surrendered to the Christians on the 25th of May, 1085, after it had been in the possession of the infidels three hundred and seventy-two years<sup>w</sup>. Don *Alphonso*, who knew the importance of it, resolved to make it the capital of his dominions<sup>x</sup>, and to people it as soon as possible with Christians, of whom he found many, and some illustrious families that had lived there from the time of the conquest by the *Moors*, and were for that reason, as we have shewn elsewhere, stiled *Mozarabians*: there were likewise abundance of *Jews*; and the number of *Mohammedans* who chose to remain under his protection was very considerable. There remained, however, room for many new inhabitants, and it was not long before they were supplied, the example of the king, and of the nobility attending upon his person, being a kind of irresistible motives. On the other hand, Don *Alphonso* omitted nothing that might render persons of different nations and different faiths easy under his government; and it very quickly appeared that he acted in this as a very wise and prudent prince, capable of foreseeing and providing against dangers that might otherwise have proved fatal to his interests. This shews that there are some natures that are improved by prosperity; and that as we frequently see men's understandings weakened and lost through unexpected success, so in the present case we cannot but discern, that the genius of Don *Alphonso* expanded itself with his fortune, and that no two princes can be produced in this history more different from each other in their characters, than this monarch from himself before his expulsion, and after his restoration. These remarks are so natural, that they may at least be thought excusable.

The Mo-  
hammed-  
ans are ex-

THE *Mohammedans* were astonished when they saw *Toledo* in the hands of the Christians, and the greatness of their loss was evident from the effects of that impression it made

<sup>w</sup> MARIANA *Historia general de Espana*, lib. ix. FERRERAS *Historia de Espana*, p. v. sect. xi. <sup>x</sup> LUCÆ *Tudensis Chron.* PELAG. OVETENS *liber Chronic.*

*Aben-Falax*; but the place was so completely fortified, the garrison so numerous, and the magazines so well supplied, that, after several assaults to little or no purpose, he was obliged to retire, and to furnish the rela-

tions of the noble persons that were slain with a sum of money to ransom their bodies, which were interred with great pomp in the monasteries of *Najara* and *Ona* (3).

(3) *Cbron. Monachi Sancti Joannis, Annal. Toletan.* Ferreras *Historia de Espana*, p. v. sect. xi.



upon them, since they immediately composed their differences, <sup>ceedingly</sup> and entered into a league against Don *Alphonso* 2. The prin- <sup>amazed at</sup> cipal powers at the head of this confederacy were the kings of *Seville* and *Badajoz*, who at the same time sent ambassadors <sup>the loss of</sup> to the princes of their religion in *Africa*, imploring their im- <sup>this fa-</sup> mediate assistance; alleging, that they were now engaged in a religious war, and that Don *Alonso* had nothing less in view than to extirpate all who professed the faith of *Mohammed*. These preparations and intrigues were no secret to the victorious monarch of *Castile* and *Leon*; and that he might not appear wanting in his own defence, he assembled a numerous army in the spring, and at the same appointed a council to be held in his new capital the *Christmas* following, in order to the choice of an archbishop of that metropolitan see, which he had so fortunately restored to the Christians, and which he very justly regarded as the most considerable event of his reign, and it may be as the most glorious.

As soon as the season would permit, he marched with his forces into the territories of the king of *Badajoz*, that he might convince him of his temerity in putting himself at the head of a league against so powerful a prince, and with this view he ravaged the country of *Estremadura* with fire and sword, and at length, meeting no resistance, besieged, and in a short time made himself master of *Coria* 2. But the two *Mohammedan* kings, having by this time assembled a numerous army of hardy and well disciplined troops, advanced to give him battle; and accordingly, on the 23d of *October*, the armies met between *Merida* and *Badajoz*, where, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, Don *Alonso* was defeated 3. Some authors say, that he was wounded in the leg, and that, having on his return to *Coria* reprimanded some of the nobility very sharply, they went over to the *Mohammedan*. Whatever truth there may be in these facts, we find the king in the beginning of *November* at *Toledo*, where he held a council, in which Don *Bernard*, abbot of *Sahagon*, was elected archbishop of *Toledo*, and the nobility gave the king their advice as to the most effectual means of raising a new army, numerous enough to repair the loss he had lately sustained, and prevent the infidels from acting, as it was evident they would otherwise do, offensively, as soon as the season would permit; and on this head gave him the strongest assurances of their fidelity and assistance.

Don Alonso takes Coria, and loses a battle against the Moors.

A. D.  
1086.

2 RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

3 RODERIC TO-

LETAN de rep. Hispan. lib. vi. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

4 RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

Count

Raymond  
of Bur-  
gundy and  
Don Hen-  
ry de Be-  
sançon  
come into  
Spain.

THE king, though he relied much on these assurances, and not a little on the high rate at which the *Moors* had bought their late victory, yet he was resolved not to trust entirely to the strength of his own dominions, extensive as they were. On this account he wrote to *Philip* the first, king of *France*, desiring his assistance, and to the great lords of his kingdom, amongst whom count *Raymond* of *Burgundy* and count *Besanson* went in person, at the head of a considerable body of troops, to the relief of the Christians in *Spain* against the infidels. But before their arrival the war was at an end; for Don *Alphonso* having drawn together the whole force of his dominions, and marching towards his frontiers that the infidels might see that he meant not to decline another action, the two *Moorish* princes, apprehensive of being overwhelmed by the foreign troops that they knew were raising, in order to pass the *Pyrenees*, entered into a negotiation; in which, as they were very sincere, and as Don *Alonso* found peace at that juncture very convenient to him, it was not long before terms were settled to their mutual satisfaction<sup>f</sup>. Yet whether these *Moorish* princes became his vassals, and agreed to pay him an annual tribute, as some historians<sup>g</sup> say they did, is more than we can find sufficient authority to assert, and think it a point of too great consequence to be determined by bare conjecture.

The cathe-  
dral of  
Toledo  
taken from  
the *Moors*  
by the  
queen and  
the arch-  
bishop.

ACCORDING to the capitulation of *Toledo*, the cathedral, which the *Mohammedans* had converted into a mosque, was to remain in their hands, with which the king punctually complied. But the new metropolitan Don *Bernard* looked upon this a reproach to christianity, and by his vehement declamations persuaded the queen to be of the same opinion; in consequence of which, while the king was in the field, they dispossessed the *Moors* by force of that noble structure, restored it to its former condition, consecrated and celebrated divine service therein<sup>h</sup>, not without great danger of raising an insurrection. The *Moors*, however, reflected very prudently, that as this was done in the king's absence, and without his knowledge, they ought, in justice to themselves and him, to try first what might be done in the way of expostulation. They accordingly sent deputies to meet Don *Alphonso*, and to inform him of what had happened. The king, upon hearing of this flagrant breach of faith, which was at the same time the highest insult upon his authority, though he was naturally of a calm and moderate disposition,

<sup>f</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.  
antiqu.

<sup>g</sup> Chron. var.  
<sup>h</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.  
LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

fell into such a transport of rage against the queen and the archbishop, as terrified the *Moorish* deputies to such a degree, that they left his camp, returned to *Toledo*, and made such a report to their brethren as induced them to go in a body out of the city to meet the king, and to beseech him to pardon the authors of this injustice, offering at the same time to depart from their pretensions to the cathedral, rather than become the instruments of confusion in a state where they were willing to live peaceably, and to enjoy the benefit of his royal protection<sup>i</sup>. A very singular instance of prudence and self-denial, and which ought certainly to give us a very high opinion of their morals and good sense. The pacification thus made, the king entered the city in triumph, with the universal acclamations of all his subjects; and on the 25th of *October* following the cathedral was solemnly consecrated by the archbishop *Don Bernard*, in the presence of the king and queen, and with all the pomp and ceremony possible<sup>k</sup>.

A. D.  
1087.

As every thing was now quiet, *Don Alonso* resolved to *Don Gar-* take this opportunity of fortifying his dominions effectually, cia, the de- by repairing the many cities that were destroyed in the course posed king of the war, and to repeople them with Christians<sup>l</sup>. He of Galicia, began with those of *Segovia*, *Avila*, and *Salamanca*, and com- dies in pri- mitted the care of their restitution to count *Raymond*, who, san. in all probability, settled a great part of his own people in them<sup>m</sup>. The king likewise determined to repair all the great towns between the river *Duero* and the mountains that separate the two *Castiles*; and by encouraging people to come and settle in them, he hoped to put the new kingdom he had conquered into such a condition as, in case of fresh troubles, it might be able to furnish a strength sufficient to defend itself. In this likewise he was so well seconded by count *Raymond*, that the several great towns of *Medina del Campo*, *Ara-velo*, *Olmedo*, *Coca*, *Is-car*, *Cuellar*, *Sepulveda*, and *Osma*, were restored, and filled with Christian inhabitants in the space of a few years<sup>n</sup>. In return for these and other eminent services, as well as to attach him to the like for the future, the king bestowed upon *Don Raymond* his only daughter *Donna Ur-raca*, whom he had by the reigning queen<sup>o</sup>. About this

<sup>i</sup> RODERIC TOLET. Hist. Arabum. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

<sup>k</sup> LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

<sup>l</sup> PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronicon, LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon.

<sup>m</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenſis Chron.

<sup>o</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

A. D. 1090. time, and chiefly through the mixture of foreigners that resorted into *Spain*, they quitted the old *Gothic* characters of writing, and began to make use of those that were common in other parts of *Europe* through all this monarch's dominions<sup>9</sup>. Don *Garcia*, king of *Galicia*, after having worn out many years in captivity died in the castle of *Luna*, on the 22d of *May*, Anno Domini 1091; some say of disease; but *Mariana*<sup>†</sup> asserts, of despair, and that he opened his veins with his own hands. His corpse was transported to *Leon*, and interred with those of his ancestors in the church of St. *Isidore*; the king and queen, together with the Infantas *Donna Urraca* and *Donna Elvira*, and most of the great lords and bishops assisting thereat; and which is more remarkable, the irons he had worn in prison were interred with him, according to his own directions<sup>†</sup>. The next year *Donna Constantia*, wife to Don *Alonso*, died, and he soon after married *Donna Bertha*, the sister of his son-in-law Don *Raymond*, in hopes of male issue; nor does it appear that consanguinity in this case troubled the conscience of the king, or gave any offence to *Rome*, though Don *Raymond*, and consequently his sister, was nearly allied to the deceased queen<sup>†</sup>.

Don Alonso. THE interior of his dominions being in perfect order, Don so extends Alonso held it expedient to renew his excursions on the his dominions on the inactive they might degenerate in point of discipline, or become seditious and turbulent. To prevent this, he made an irruption into the countries, since styled *Portugal*, with a resolution not only to harass and plunder it, as himself and his predecessors had often done, but to make an absolute conquest of it; very justly conceiving, that whatever he took from the *Moors* was doubly beneficial to the Christians, as at the same time that it weakened one interest, it added to the strength of another: his army took the field early in the spring, and began their operations with the siege of *Coimbra*, which being speedily reduced, he proceeded to *Sanctaren*, which having subdued, he marched next to besiege *Lisbon*, and afterwards took *Sintria* by capitulation on the ninth of *May*<sup>u</sup>. At this very time he was also engaged in a war against Don *Sancho*, king of *Arragon*, as an auxiliary to the *Moors*. The case was this: the king of *Huesca* had become his tributary, and insisted upon his protection, in case he was attacked by the king

A. D.  
1093.

<sup>9</sup> Chron. var. antiq.      <sup>†</sup> Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.      <sup>u</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.      <sup>†</sup> Chron. var. antiq.      <sup>u</sup> PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic. RODERIC TOLET. Hist. Arabum.

of Arragon, who was raising, as he apprehended, an army for that purpose; and it was the dread of that army that hindered Don *Alonso* from meeting with any resistance in his conquests. The next year this war broke out, and most of the *Moorish* princes entered into a league for the support of the king of *Huesca*, whose capital was quickly besieged. To this confederate army Don *Alonso* joined a body of auxiliaries, under the command of Don *Garcia*, count of *Najara*; but Don *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, being wounded at this siege, and dying soon after, suspended the operations of that war for the present.

A. D.

1094.

In the succeeding year died Donna *Bertha*, and Don *Alonso* gave his natural daughter Donna *Theresa*, whom he had in quality by Donna *Ximena* Nugnez, to Henry *Besanson*, who had accompanied his son-in-law Don *Raymond* into Spain; and, as an establishment for his daughter, bestowed upon him all that he conquered in *Portugal*, with the title of count, to be enjoyed by him after his decease, with a reservation only of homage to his successors, as the *Spaniards* say; but, as the *Portuguese* writers affirm, without any such reservation at all.

His forces,

of auxilia-

ries, made

prisoners

before Hu-

esca.

The next year the war broke out again between Don *Pedro*, the son of Don *Sancho*, king of *Arragon*, and the infidels, which called Don *Alonso's* troops into the field as auxiliaries of his vassal, the king of *Huesca*; but Don *Pedro*, tho' his army was inferior in number to the confederates, gave them battle notwithstanding, on the 18th of *November*, in the plain of

A. D.

1096.

*Akoraz*, and, after a sharp and long engagement, totally defeated them, with vast loss on the side of the *Moors*; and as to Don *Garcia*, and the troops under his command, they were made prisoners. By this glorious success the conquest of *Huesca* was secured, and an end put to that *Moorish* principality.

Don *Alonso*, either desirous of male issue, or weary of *Marries* being longer a widower, and having heard wonders of *Zaide*, the daughter of *Mohammed Aben-Habet*, king of *Seville*, esteemed the most beautiful and accomplished princess of that age, he resolved to espouse her, in case she would change her religion. The proposition was very agreeable to her father, and the princess making no difficulty as to the condition, the marriage was quickly concluded and celebrated; by which Don *Alphonso* acquired several places that were very convenient; and, on the other hand, restored, as a mark of his

king of Se-  
ville, and  
enters into  
an alliance  
with him.

\* *LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronicon.*

† *RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.*

‡ *RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronicon. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.*

friendship, *Sanctaren*, *Cintria*, and *Lisbon*, to the king of *Seville*; who, upon the whole, was no gainer by this marriage. Some writers speak of *Zaide* as the concubine only of *Don Alphonso*, and a contemporary writer speaks of her in this light; but as he afterwards retracts this opinion, and acknowledges her for the lawful wife of *Don Alphonso*, there seems to be no reason to question this fact. It was in consequence of this alliance that, by the persuasion of his father-in-law, *Don Alphonso* entered into a negotiation with *Joseph*, king of the west part of *Africa*, that is, of the kingdoms now known by the name of *Fez* and *Morocco*. The design of this negotiation was a very strange one. The kings of *Leon* and *Seville* meditated the destruction of all the *Moorish* principalities in *Spain*, in order to divide their territories between them; and to effect this they demanded these auxiliaries upon certain conditions from this *African* monarch, who entered very readily into the treaty, and promised to furnish troops for the destruction of his brethren with all the readiness that the confederates could wish<sup>b</sup>.

Joseph,  
king of  
Fez, Tre-  
mecen,  
and Mo-  
rocco, con-  
quers Se-  
ville.

A. D.  
1097.

BUT king *Joseph* had very different designs in his head. He assembled a very numerous army and a large fleet for their embarkation, and landed them without any difficulty or opposition at *Malaga*. There he received embassadors from the little *Moorish* princes, who were to be the victims of this alliance, who represented to him, that *Mohammed Aben-Habet* was a Christian in his heart, and intended nothing less than the total destruction of the *Moors* and the *Mohammedan* religion in *Spain*, which in all probability he would accomplish, unless, accepting of their assistance, the king would deprive him, as he deserved, of his dominions, and condescend to become the protector of the faithful in *Spain*<sup>c</sup>. This was in a great measure what king *Joseph* designed. He accepted their offer without the least hesitation; and, marching directly to *Seville*, became master of the place and of the person of king *Mohammed* without difficulty or dispute<sup>d</sup>. Having thus acquired a great kingdom, he began to look about him, and to consider of the proper means of executing his own project in its full extent; and this it was that led him to affect a kind of neutrality towards *Don Alonzo*, and to carry on the war against his own nation till he had reduced *Granada*, *Almeria*, and *Murcia*, and had forced some other lesser lords to acknowledge him for their sovereign; and, in the end, made

<sup>b</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. FELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

<sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum,

himself

himself master of the best part of the rich country of *Andalusia* with little or no resistance \*.

It is necessary to say something here of the origin of this new *A short account of the* people with respect to *Spain*, whom the historians of that country call *Almoavrides* †. They were part of an *Arab* tribe *Almoavrides* who entered that district of *Africa*, which they now possessed, *who*, near half a century before, that they might live more at their ease and in a state of retirement, as pretending to follow the *monarch*, estates of their *Khōran* more closely than others of their sect, *invaded* from whence they took the name of *Morabites*; from which, *Spain*, as we observed, the *Spaniards* borrowed their appellation of *Almoavrides*. The first prince or chief of this nation was *Abu-beker-ben-Omar*, who, in *Spanish* authors, is commonly called *Abu-Texifen* ‡; and to him this *Joseph* had succeeded, under whose administration their affairs had prospered exceedingly. Whatever, therefore, he might pretend upon his first invitation, his real project was to make himself master of as much of *Spain* as possible, both at the expence of Christians and *Moors*; and the reason that he first fell upon the latter was, that his power might acquire a suitable augmentation before he run the hazard of contending with *Don Alonso*, whose reputation was very great, and of whose power all the *Moorish* princes were very apprehensive. But the king of *Leon* and *Castile* penetrating his design, sent an army, commanded by *Don Rodrigo* and *Don Garcia de Cabra*, to insult *Seville*; while *Joseph* was with his troops in the kingdom of *Marcia*. He marched, however, to intercept this body of forces, and obliged them to fight in the neighbourhood of *Rueda*, in *La Mancha*; where, after a brisk engagement, the Christian army, through the bad behaviour of *Don Garcia Ordonez*, was defeated, and a great number slain, and a still greater number made prisoners †; which threw all the country adjacent into consternation.

THE *African* monarch would, in all probability, have entertained a much higher notion of his victory, if *Don Garcia Ordonez*, and some of his adherents who went over to him, had not given him such intelligence as left him no room to doubt, that this would prove a matter of very little consequence with regard to the fate of the war, since *Don Alonso* would soon be at the head of another army, and, by com-

A. D.  
1097.

\* Chron. var. antiq.

† MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

MAYERNE, TURQUET Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. viii.

‡ RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

h RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. PELAG. OYETENS liber Chronic.

medans  
battle.

A. D.  
1098.

manding in person, prevent such accidents <sup>1</sup> as that to which he owed his victory. The truth of this information quickly appeared; for Don *Alonso* was indefatigable in raising forces through all his dominions, and desiling them as fast as possible to the frontiers of *New Castile*; and, as soon as the season would permit, he took the field, and marched directly towards *Seville*, though he was informed, that his antagonist was at the head of a more numerous army. *Joseph*, however, taking the advice of Don *Garcia*, acted wholly on the defensive. He saw clearly, that if he lost the battle, it could never be repaired; and that, as things stood, he had not a force sufficient to deal with the king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and at the same time keep the *Spanish Moors* in awe; for this reason he took a resolution of returning to *Africa*, and sending over a fresh army, which he accordingly executed; while Don *Alonso*, finding it impossible to force the enemy to a battle, after he had ravaged the country about *Seville*, and enriched his army with booty and slaves, returned into his own dominions <sup>k</sup>, much less satisfied with the success of his expedition than those who attended him, as he had received certain information, that *Joseph* had in a manner extirpated Christianity in *Andaluzia*, by transporting into *Africa* such of the *Mozarabians* as had not an opportunity of making their escape <sup>l</sup>. An act of policy, or rather of violence, which proved afterwards a fatal precedent for the *Moors*, as will be seen in the course of this history.

King Jo-  
seph finds  
it expe-  
dient to re-  
turn to  
Morocco.

THE orders and persuasions of the *African* monarch were so chearfully obeyed, and had so great an influence over his subjects, that, before the close of the year, he sent over incredible reinforcements to *Spain*, with orders to *Almohait Hiaya*, his lieutenant-general, to push the war with vigour, and to make all the use possible of his superiority. He executed these orders with great punctuality, and took the field early with so great an army, that Don *Alonso* was forced in his turn to retire into his hereditary dominions, and to summon all his nobility to join him under the highest penalties; yet, before this could be done, the *Maorish* general had actually invested *Toledo*, which siege he carried on with the utmost vigour, and even made several assaults, in which he was not only repulsed, but suffered great loss <sup>m</sup>. On the approach therefore of Don *Alonso*, at the head of all his

<sup>1</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>k</sup> PELAG. OVETENS, lib. Chron.

LUCE TUDENSIS Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN, de reb. Hispan. l. vi.

<sup>l</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN, Hist. Arabum. PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron.

<sup>m</sup> LUCE TUDENSIS Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron.

forces,



forces, he found himself in no condition to venture a battle, and therefore retired in his turn, and contented himself with taking a place on the frontiers, that he might have a passage open to renew his excursions whenever a favourable opportunity should offer<sup>n</sup>. About this time died the Infanta Donna *Elvira*, the king's sister; and this year was also fatal to that famous hero Don *Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*; who with his own troops, and some assistance from Don *Alonso*, had taken *Valentia* from the infidels, and had gallantly maintained his conquest against several vigorous efforts that had been made to recover it<sup>o</sup>, though far inferior in strength to the assailants (I).

A. D.  
1099.

IN

<sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. <sup>o</sup> PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

(I) In the compass of this note we intend a succinct account of that celebrated hero in *Spanish* histories, as well as romance, Don *Rodrigo Dias de Bivar*, surnamed the *Cid*, which in *Arabic* signifies lord (1). He was undoubtedly a person of very high quality in *Old Castile*; but we dare not pretend to give his genealogy, or even to warrant that found in *Mariana* and other historians (2): what we aim at is to represent fairly those great actions of his life which have been the objects of authentic history; and as for that fabulous legend of incredible, and even impossible adventures, which have obscured, and consequently diminished, his true fame, which they were intended to illustrate, we leave them to be found in a multitude of histories; and we are sorry that we cannot refer to the *Latin* life of this celebrated person, composed in the reign of

the emperor *Charles* the fifth by *Ramiro Nugrex de Guzman*, and by him dedicated to the prince Don *Philip*, afterwards *Philip* the second, which has not, however, been published. The first time we find the *Cid* mentioned in the more antient authors (3), is in the year 1063, when he assisted the prince Don *Sancho*, who marched with a body of auxiliaries to the assistance of a *Moorish* prince, when he had a large share in the battle of *Grao*, where Don *Ramiro*, the first king of *Arragon*, was defeated and slain. In 1068 and 1070, he commanded under Don *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, against his brother Don *Alonso*, as is very certain; but that he attended that monarch into *Galicia*, rescued him when taken in battle, and afterwards brought Don *Garcia* prisoner, though related by some modern historians, is not so well established as to deserve intire cre-

(1) *Ferreras Historia de España*, p. v. sect. 11. *de España*, lib. ix.

(3) *Chron. war. antig.*

(2) *Historia general*

*The city of* IN the first year of the twelfth century deceased Donna  
*Valentia Urraca*, who, as well as her sister the Infanta Donna El-  
*gloriously* *vira*,

dit. In 1072 he commanded, under his master Don Sancho, at the siege of Zamora, retired from thence in good order with the *Castilian* forces, carrying with him the royal corpse, which he caused to be interred in the monastery of *Oña*. We have remarked in the text, that he alone, of all the *Castilian* nobility, was so hardy as to administer the oath of exculpation to Don *Alonso* at *Burgos*, and, by the manner in which he did it, incurred his displeasure. Two years after, perceiving that the king's resentment continued, he resolved to retire out of his dominions, notwithstanding he had married a little before Donna *Ximena Diaz*, daughter to Don *Diego Alvarez de las Asturias*; and accordingly, followed by all his friends and dependants, and by many of his relations, he went into *Aragon*; where, after ravaging and plundering the country adjacent, he at length made himself master of the castle of *Alcor*, situated at a very small distance from *Calatagud*. Thither resorted to him a multitude of malecontents from *Castile* and *Leon*, which enabled him to continue his inroads upon the *Moors* with great success. As he extended his conquest gradually, he penetrated at length into the district of *Teruel*, or, as some write it, *Taruel*, twenty-seven leagues south of *Saragossa*, where he fixed his residence in a strong

fortress, called to this day *Pena de el Cid*, that is, the rock of the *Cid* (4). It may not be amiss to observe, that there is not in all *Spain*, perhaps hardly in *Europe*, a more pleasant country than this, where the air is so pure, and withal so soft, that there is a kind of eternal spring; every little copse being enamelled with odoriferous flowers, that blow, flourish, and decay, in all the months of the year. It was during his residence here, that he had intelligence of the execrable murder of the unfortunate *Himya*, formerly king of *Toledo*, and then lord of *Valentia*, traitorously slain by *Aben Japhet*, who usurped his little principality. Upon this the *Cid* sent to the king, Don *Alonso*, to put him in mind of the obligations he was under to revenge that poor prince's death, and to desire, that he would send him a small detachment of troops, with which, joined to his own, he would try his fortune before *Valentia*. The king applauded his design, granted him all and even more than he asked; and the *Cid*, in 1094, after a long siege, took the city, and defended it against the whole force of the *Moors*, who attempted to recover it. There he continued the remaining part of his life; and these, full of years and of glory, he died in 1099 (5), leaving his widow Donna *Ximena* in possession of *Valentia*,

(4) *Luca Tudenfis Chronicon*, Roderic. Toletan de reb. Hispania, lib. vii.  
 (5) *Mariana Historia general de Espana*, lib. ix. *Ferreras Historia de Espana*, p. v. sect. 11. *Mayerne, Turquet, Histoire general d'Espagne*, lib. viii.

which

*vira*, preserved her virginity during her whole life, and was defended buried with great magnificence in the church of St. *Isidore* <sup>P. against the</sup>. The city of *Jerusalem* being at this time taken from the in- <sup>Moors by</sup> fidels by the forces of the Christian princes, under the com- <sup>Ximena,</sup> mand of *Godfrey of Bouillon*, several *Spanish* noblemen pro- <sup>widow to</sup> ceeded to *Rome*, with an intention of joining the succours <sup>the Cid,</sup> that were about to pass into the holy land; but Pope *Paschal* the second very prudently interposed, and advised them to return home and deliver their own country from the infidels first. The *Moors*, as soon as they had intelligence of the death of the *Cid*, made very little doubt of their recovering *Valentia*; and therefore bent all their forces that way. Don *Alonso* opposed to them a very numerous army, under the command of his son-in-law the count Don *Henry*; who, endeavouring to stop their passage, gave them battle at *Malagon*, where, however, he met with a signal defeat <sup>9</sup>; notwithstanding which Donna *Ximena*, the widow of the *Cid*, assisted by Don *Alvaro Fanez* the governor, defended the place with such spirit and obstinacy, that after lying before it a long time, and suffering great loss, the infidels were at last obliged to retire. This was a very seasonable check, and prevented the *Moors* from harassing *New Castile*, which gave Don *Alonso* time to regulate his domestic affairs, and to put the city of *Toledo* into a state of defence, by repairing the walls from the church of *St. Stephen* to the river <sup>r</sup>.

THE very next year the *Moors*, with a great army, appeared again before *Valentia*, which was preserved by the succours sent by Don *Alonso* over the mountains with very great difficulty, and with such expence, as determined him <sup>Several alterations by deaths, births, and marriages,</sup>

<sup>P</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iiii. ALPHONSI a Carth. reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS, RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. <sup>9</sup> RODERIC TOLET. Hist. Arabum. PAG. OVET. liber Chronic. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. <sup>r</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

which she also defended with more than masculine bravery, till, in obedience to the king's orders, for reasons that are mentioned in the text, she thought fit to abandon it. As to his wars with the kings of *Aragon*, and the counts of *Barcelona*, they appear to be but fabulous; and the same thing may be said of many of his expeditions against the *Moors*, at least as they are commonly represented; and as to the marriage of his daughters with the counts of *Carrion*, they have been already, by the judicious pen of *Sandoval*, shewn (6) in their proper light, that is, of foolish and inconsistent falsehoods.

(6) *Hist. reyes de Castilla y Leon.*

of the  
royal fa-  
mily.

A. D.  
1103.

1105.

to quit that place; which, lying at so great a distance from the rest of his dominions, he believed would fall, sooner or later, into the hands of the infidels, with all the Christians who were in it, and who, at his command, withdrew.<sup>t</sup> Soon after this Don *Alonso* lost his fifth wife Donna *Isabella*, who was buried in the church of St. *Isidore* with great solemnity, leaving behind her a son, Don *Sancho*, who was considered as the heir apparent of all his father's extensive dominions<sup>u</sup> (K). But, notwithstanding he had now an heir male, the king resolved to marry again; and *Bernard*, archbishop of *Toledo*, whom he had sent to the Pope, negotiated a match with the princess *Beatrice*, of the house of *Este*<sup>v</sup>; very little to the satisfaction of the Infanta *Urraca*, and her husband Don *Raymond*. Soon after this he had the mis-

<sup>t</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. RODERIC TOLETAN, Hist. Arabum. PELAG. OVET. liber Chronic. <sup>u</sup> RÓDERIC TOLET. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. PELAG. OVET. liber Chronicon. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

(K) We have already acquainted the reader, that this *Moorish* princess, to facilitate her marriage with Don *Alonso*, at the time of her baptism, took the name of *Maria Izabella*, or *Elizabeth*, for they are the same name; and yet a strange mistake happened very early in relation to this princess, occasioned by some obscurity in the inscription to her memory; whence Don *Pelayo*, bishop of *Oviedo*, has made her both the king's queen and concubine. His queen, by the title of *Izabella*, daughter to *Lewis* king of *France*, and his concubine, by the *Moorish* name of *Zaide* (1). *Mariana* corrects half this mistake, since he acknowledges her to have been the lawful wife of Don *Alonso*, but still this *Izabella* of *France* runs in his head also (2). Another inquisitive

and judicious writer (3) seems to have untied this knot effectually, for he has produced the inscription, which has given rise to this dispute; and which, notwithstanding, is as decisive as one could wish, and being very concise, we will transcribe it: *Hic R. Regina Elizabeth, uxor Regis Alfonsi, filia Benavit Regis Sivilix, quæ prius Zaïda fuit vocata*; that is, Here reposes queen *Elizabeth*, wife of king *Alphonso*, daughter to *Benavet*, king of *Seville*, who was formerly called *Zaide*. The old writers many of them (4) bestow upon her two daughters by the king, which, however, she had not; but, as his family is very clearly represented to the view of the reader in the text, it would be needless and impertinent to repeat any thing upon that subject here.

(1) Pelag. Ovet. Chron.

(2) P. Moret investigaciones historicas de las antigüidades del reyno de Navarra. lib. iii.

(4) Chron. var. antiq.

fortune

fortune to lose a great battle against the *Moors*, in which; however, he did not command in person; but notwithstanding it is acknowledged, that great numbers were slain, and many taken prisoners, yet by his prudence he had soon so formidable an army on foot, that the *Moors* were not able to draw any great advantage from their victory <sup>a</sup>. The royal family was increased on the first of *March* 1106, by the birth of the infant Don *Alonso*, son to Don *Raymond* count of *Galicia*, by the infanta Donna *Urraca*, who was baptized in the apostolic church of St. *James* at *Compostella*; with respect to the birth of which prince, the annals of those times unanimously report, that a new and bright star was observed for thirty days together, before that in which he was brought into the world <sup>b</sup>; which in those days was regarded as a very favourable presage, and will be deservedly exploded in these; since, supposing the fact to be true, it could have no more relation to *Spain* than to any other country where that star was visible.

JOSEPH, king of the *Almoravides*, thought it now high *Invasion* time to return into *Spain*, having fully achieved all that he of the *Al-* proposed in *Africa*, bringing over with him on board a nu- moravides merous fleet, a much more powerful army of *Mohammedans* and the and *Moors* than had hitherto ever landed in that kingdom <sup>a</sup>. fatal bat- As soon as he had incorporated them with those which he tle of had already on foot in that country, he judged his power Ucles. sufficient to undertake at once the conquest of the dominions of the king of *Castile* and *Leon*, with which view he assembled two great armies; and all the remaining princes of the *Moors*, to which he destined a third <sup>a</sup>. Don *Alonso* was not a little alarmed at the news of these preparations; and, being too old to command an army in person, he sent for Don *Raymond*, his son-in-law, out of *Galicia*, who fell ill of a fever in his journey, and died upon the road; but the good old king had the satisfaction of visiting, and affording him all the consolation in his power in his last moments <sup>b</sup>. He then made a progress through the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile*, in order to quicken the nobility in marching with

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN. Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. <sup>y</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>a</sup> PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. ALPHONSI a Carthagina reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS, PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

their vassals to form an army in the neighbourhood of *Toledo*, towards which city he foresaw the enemy would not fail to advance as soon as the season would permit. He was not mistaken in his conjecture; for king *Joseph*, having united his troops on the frontiers, bent his route directly towards the capital <sup>c</sup>. Don *Alonso*, in hopes that it would give fresh courage to his army, which was composed of almost all the force of his dominions, sent the infant Don *Sancho*, though a child but of eleven years old at most, with his governor Don *Garcia de Cabra*; but who had the chief command does not appear <sup>d</sup>. On the arrival of the infant the Christians advanced to *Ucles*, where they met the infidels ranged in order of battle; the dispute was very obstinate, and they fought on both sides with the utmost intrepidity, till at length the *Mohammedans* pierced into the center of the Christians, and surrounded that body of troops where the young infant was; whose horse being killed he stood on foot, and his governor Don *Garcia* covered him with his buckler, fighting with incredible bravery, though he was far advanced in years, till at length he fell, and bore down his pupil with him; when the *Moors* massacred all that body of troops; and the army being intirely broken, gained a complete victory, no less than seven counts dying in the field <sup>e</sup>. This fatal battle was fought on the 29th of *May* 1108, and was the most heavy reverse of fortune the Christians had sustained since the loss of the city of *Leon*; but, however, the *Moors* bought this victory so dearly, that they were in no condition to reap any immediate advantage from it <sup>f</sup>. The infanta Donna *Urraca*, with the assistance of the bishop of *Compostella*, having assembled all the forces in *Galicia*, advanced immediately into *New Castile*, received the scattered remains of the defeated army, and marched with so good a countenance towards the *Moors*, that they did not judge it convenient to venture another battle, but contented themselves with the reputation they had acquired, and retreated into their own dominions. The Christians took this opportunity of putting a strong garrison into *Toledo*, while the old king brought out of

<sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLET. de reb. Hispan. LUCE Tudensis Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>d</sup> PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. LUCE Tudensis Chronicon.

<sup>e</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>f</sup> MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE, TURQUET, Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. viii.

*Castile* a fresh body of troops, which enabled him to cover that city with a good army in the field & (L).

THE king Don *Alphonso* was, as we may well suppose, extremely mortified to find himself in this sad situation in his declining years, and when his bodily infirmities, as well as his great age, disabled him from doing what his prudence dictated in favour of his subjects. He did not, however, omit

*The death of Don Alonfo VI. the greatest Christian monarch in Spain.*

& PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronicon. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

(L) There can be nothing more evident, from the account given us of this fatal battle, than that the infant Don *Sanchez* was the legitimate son and heir apparent of Don *Alonso*; for otherwise it would have been an act of extreme cruelty, to have exposed a child of eleven years of age, to no purpose whatever. The heir of all was, or ought to be, the care of all; so that, in this desperate state of things, the king may be said to have acted wisely, in sending that young prince to the army; for, by this action, he plainly shewed, that the safety of his people was dearer to him than the safety of his children. He shewed also his courage and firmness of mind, in assembling fresh troops, and providing, notwithstanding this severe blow, for the future security of his dominions; which, in a prince so broken with age and diseases, was so much the more laudable, as it was less to be expected (1). Some historians tell us, that he did still more, and they report the occasion of it thus: They say, that, after this battle, discouraging with those who were most in his confidence, he expressed a strong persuasion, that

this was a severe visitation from heaven for some particular sins; and that they had little hopes of a change of fortune, till the necessary change was made in their manners; and how this might be effected he was at a loss to know, and would be glad to learn. One of his nobility took occasion from thence to observe, that heaven punished them by the *Moors*, for his having suffered too great an intercourse between them and his subjects, which had produced a great depravity of morals, and the fatal introduction of foreign luxuries, to which in former times the *Castilians* were utter strangers (2). The king received this admonition thankfully, and immediately published a prohibition (3) of public baths, and of all kinds of spectacles and diversions, which, in imitation of the *Moors*, had been introduced at first amongst persons of distinction, and by degrees diffused through all ranks of people, which had a very good effect, and banished for a season that propensity to idleness, vanity, and pleasure, which are always both the causes and the symptoms of a declining state.

(1) *Roderic Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon, Roderic Toletan, Hist. Arabum.* (2) *Chron. var. antiq.* (3) *Mariana, Ferreras, Meyerus, Turquet.*

any thing that was yet within the reach of his abilities; *Guido*, archbishop of *Vienne* in *France*, brother to the deceased *Don Raymond*, coming into *Spain* to see his nephew *Don Alphonso*, the king caused the young prince to be brought to *Leon*; to which city he directed all the nobility of *Galicia* should repair; and in his presence, as well as of the *French* archbishop, take an oath of fidelity to their infant sovereign, whom he appointed his sole successor <sup>a</sup> in all his dominions, in case his daughter *Donna Urraca* should have no other male issue, having, in compliance with the desires of the nobility, consented to her marriage with *Don Alphonso* king of *Aragon* and *Navarre* <sup>1</sup>. He disposed the troops under the command of the several counts, who brought them into the field so judiciously on his frontiers, and gave his orders so properly for assembling a numerous army, in case the *Moors* should make any attempt, that they chose to carry their arms into *Catalonia* and elsewhere, rather than attempt to purchase any more victories at so dear a rate as the *Castilians* were accustomed to sell them <sup>k</sup>. It does great honour to the memory of this prince, that, though for the space of eighteen months he lay in a weak and languishing condition, the civil and military affairs of his kingdom were preserved in good order, that there neither happened any invasion from foreign enemies, or any tumult or commotion among the people; and in his capital city of *Toledo* *Don Alvaro Fanez*, whom he had appointed governor, disposed every thing to such advantage, that the inhabitants were not under the least apprehension, though they had every day fresh advices of the increasing strength of the *Moors* <sup>l</sup>. At length the king worn out with age, care, and sickness, departed this life *June* the thirtieth, in the year of our Lord 1109, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity thirty-seven years from the time of his restoration, and forty-four from the death of his father <sup>m</sup>. His sixth and last wife *Donna Beatrix* returned into *Italy* after his decease <sup>n</sup>.

*Disputes  
arise be-  
tween the  
king  
Alonso of*

THE demise of this prudent and potent monarch was indeed the epocha from whence might be dated the miseries of his subjects. *Don Alphonso*, king of *Aragon* and *Navarre*, believing it impossible to acquire kingdoms without an army:

<sup>a</sup> Chron. var. antiqu. <sup>1</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron. <sup>2</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. <sup>3</sup> PELAG. OVET. liber Chronic. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. <sup>m</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. ANACEPHALÆOSIS, PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron. <sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.



entered *Castile* at the head of a numerous body of troops, to Arragon, support his claim of the government in right of his queen; *and queen Urraca.* the states quickly put an end to the troubles that this might have occasioned, by informing him, that they were not accustomed to see their sovereign at the head of foreign troops; that his army therefore might be better employed in his own dominions, since there was no need of force, where the right of the queen was not at all disputed. Don *Alphonso* received this message with the spirit it deserved, he said, he knew not the intentions of his people when he entered *Castile* in arms, but that he was ready to dismiss his army, which he did immediately, and to rely on their loyalty which had been ever conspicuous°. He found it much more easy to deal with the states than with their queen, who was so very fond of sovereignty, that she would willingly have reckoned her husband only the first of her subjects. The passion of her first husband count *Raymond* had made him really so; the dignity, and it may be said the disposition of the king of *Arragon* forbad it. He laboured to make her sensible by reason of the duty she owed to him, and she discovered by her behaviour, that she understood nothing of duty, but as others were bound by it to obey her will P. An old *Castilian* nobleman, Don *Pedro Affurez*, the companion of her father's exile, the favourite of his whole life, and who had been intrusted with her education, took the liberty of expostulating with her, and of setting her conduct in a true light; which provoked her to such a degree, that she banished him the court, stripped him of his employments, and confiscated his estate¹. The king could not bear this; he took Don *Pedro* into his immediate service, he restored him to his honours, his employments, and his estate; declaring, that whatever injury was offered to him, from whatever hand it came, he would regard it as done to himself². This naturally increased the disorder; which at length rose so high, that the king secured the person of his consort, and made her prisoner in the fastness of *Castellar*³, from which she was speedily delivered by some of the nobles of *Castile*, and began to feel great trouble of mind on account of the relation between her and her husband, for they were second cousins; so that, to quiet her conscience, she was desirous the marriage should be dissolved⁴.

° Chron. var. antiq.

P LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

¹ RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

² PELAG.

OVET. liber Chronicon. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

³ Chron. var. antiq.

⁴ LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

A civil  
war  
breaks out  
in Ga-  
licia,  
where the  
rebels seize  
the young  
prince.

A. D.

1110.

IN the midst of these disturbances a civil war broke out in Galicia; Don Pedro Frelaz de Traba had been charged with the education of the young Infant Don *Alonso* by his father, and confirmed in it by his grandfather; his conduct was irreproachable; and this was the source of the war. Some of the nobility, headed by two brothers, Don *Arias Perez* and Don *Pedro Arias*, men of a most turbulent spirit, invested the castle where the young prince was; and, contrary to their faith given, tore him out of the arms of the countess Don *Pedro's* wife, and imprisoned for a time the archbishop of *Compostella*, who reproved them for their rudeness. But the inhabitants of that city taking arms in behalf of their prelate, they thought proper to set him at liberty, retaining still the young prince in their custody, and pretending to colour all the violences they committed, with the specious pretence of loyalty to the child they kept a prisoner; a sort of proceeding that put an end to the regular administration of affairs in that province, and threw all things into the utmost disorder and confusion. Such was the disastrous train of events that fell out in the first year after the demise of that great king, who had raised the power of the Christians in *Spain* to so formidable a point of elevation.

Ali Joseph, king of the Almoravides, besieges Toledo with out success.

JOSEPH king of *Morocco*, and of the *Almoravides* in *Spain*, died much about the same time with Don *Alphonso* the sixth, and was succeeded by his son *Ali Joseph*, who, for the sake of distinction, we shall call only *Ali*, and who had been for some years his father's viceroy in *Spain*; but at the time of his demise he was in *Africa*, from whence he speedily returned with a numerous army, and a potent fleet. He had no sooner debarked his forces, than he marched directly to *Seville*; and, having examined and given the necessary directions for repairing and augmenting this capital of his dominions, he issued his orders for a general rendezvous of all his forces at *Cordova*, to which city he repaired in person. Having made a general review, he concluded himself well able to accomplish what his father had only contrived; and, under a strong persuasion of this, grounded probably on the present state of the Christians, he proceeded directly towards *Toledo*, wasting all the country with fire and sword, and utterly demolishing two beautiful monasteries in his passage. The city being completely invested, and no fear of disturbance

\* PELAG. OVET. liber Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispaniæ, lib. vi.

† MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE,

TURQUET.

‡ Chron. var. antiq.

§ RODERIC TO-

LETAN Hist. Arabum.

|| LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

from

from any army in the field, he proceeded vigorously in his siege; and, by the help of the best machines then in use, actually made a breach in the walls sufficiently practicable. He intended to have stormed upon the eighth; but on the seventh day of the siege, Don *Alvaro Fanex*, with the best part of the garrison, passed, by the help of wooden bridges, over the breach into his camp a little before the break of day, levelled his works, burnt his machines, and gave his troops such an earnest of the reception they were like to expect, that the king of *Morocco*, finding they had no stomach to the attack, very prudently raised the siege the next day, with a resolution to insult *Madrid* <sup>a</sup>.

THERE was but a small garrison in the place, but the inhabitants were very numerous, and they defended themselves so gallantly, that he was obliged to retire from thence also; but, to make himself amends, he took another route into his own dominions; and, sweeping all the country before him, amassed a prodigious booty, and carried many thousands of people into slavery <sup>b</sup>. All these, together with the remains of the Christians who still lived peaceably in his territories, he caused to be shipped on board his fleet, with which he returned to *Africa*; and having carried his miserable captives up to *Morocco*, dispersed them in the country adjoining to that capital, to replace, in some measure, the inhabitants whom he had carried to *Spain* <sup>c</sup>. Thus the Christians of *New Castile* were left to supply the vast loss they had sustained in the best manner they could, by their private endeavours, as they had received very little assistance, and could scarce expect more from the condition of their government, which was so extremely unsettled, that it scarce deserved that name, as appears from no efforts being made, either upon the irruption or retreat of the infidels, when they might have been attacked with the greatest probability of advantage.

THE nobility of *Leon and Castile* saw with inexpressible concern how low they were fallen, and how much lower they might fall; they therefore solicited the queen to consent to a reconciliation with her husband; and to this, to satisfy their importunity, she at last agreed <sup>d</sup>. That it might appear an act of her own, she went to him, and was received, and they lived together again for some little time <sup>e</sup>. But the coldness and contempt of Don *Alphonso* was too apparent to be borne by a princess of so high a spirit; and therefore she

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

LETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

ROD. TOLET. Hist. Arabum.

reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TO-

<sup>c</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

<sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de

<sup>e</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

queen, believing that she had now given her nobility all the satisfaction they could expect, left him again, with a full resolution never to be reconciled to him more, which naturally increased those disorders, that were but too many and too great already <sup>f</sup>. The king, on the other hand, depended upon the *Arragonian* lords, whom he had placed as governors in some of the best towns in both the *Castiles*, and upon many of the *Castilian* nobility, who were also in his interest; for though he had conceived an implacable aversion to the queen, he was by no means willing to part with her dominions <sup>g</sup>.

*Don Alonso, king of Arragon, determines to keep Castile, Leon, and Toledo, by force.* THE queen, though her affairs wore so indifferent an aspect, did not suffer her spirits to sink at all; but by her affability to all the lords of *Castile* who came to pay their respects to her, and by her gracious deportment towards the commons, drew over multitudes of all ranks to her party; and these at length came to entertain so good an opinion of her cause and their own force, that they summoned the *Castilians*, to whom the king had committed castles, to surrender them; which, generally speaking, they did, and threatened to reduce the *Arragonians* by force <sup>h</sup>. Among the rest *Don Pedro de Affurez* surrendered those which the queen had taken from him, and to which he was restored by the king's favour; but, as soon as he had done it, he went directly to *Toledo*, and having obtained an audience of the king, told him, that as for the fortresses they undoubtedly belonged to the queen his master's daughter, who having demanded he had yielded them, as he conceived it his duty; but that, if his majesty considered the thing in another light, he had brought his body to answer for the offence. At first the king was in so great a rage, that, if some of his favourites had not interposed, *Don Pedro's* life would hardly been safe; but, as soon as that transport of passion was over, the king embraced him, and testified the highest admiration of his loyalty and virtue <sup>i</sup>. From this moment the king discerned, that his authority could no longer depend on any thing but success; and therefore, having recommended the kingdom and capital of *Toledo* to *Don Alvaro Fanez*, who had shewn himself firmly attached to his service, he marched with a small body of excellent troops directly into *Castile*, where he found the whole force of that kingdom assembled

<sup>f</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
Hispan. lib. vi.  
lib. vii.

<sup>g</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan.  
<sup>h</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan.  
<sup>i</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

to impede his passage, which put him under a necessity of beginning the war with what had very much the appearance of a decisive battle; and as things were come to this extremity, he was a prince of too much courage to decline it; though without question he could not avoid discerning of how dangerous consequence these disputes were to the Christian cause.

THE queen's army was encamped in the neighbourhood *The battle of Sepulveda*, and, upon the king's troops advancing towards of Campo them, a battle ensued, which was fought on the 28th of de Espina, *October 1111*, in a large plain called *Campo de Espina*, which *in which* in English we should call *Thornfield*. The vanguard of the *be totally* queen's army was commanded by Don Pedro de Lara, which *rouls the* was quickly broke by the square battalion of the *Arragonese* queen's infantry, commanded by the king in person; upon which *troops* Don Pedro fled to *Burgos*. The second line, commanded by the count Don Gomez, made a gallant and obstinate resistance; and when they were at last broken, the count had the honour to die upon the spot, covered with glory and wounds. There fell likewise many other persons of great distinction, and a great number of private men. In consequence of this victory the king became master of *Burgos*, *Valentia*, *Carrion*, *Sabagon*, and the royal city of *Leon*; all which he gave up to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered even the monastery of *Sabagon*, and the church of *St. Isidore* at *Leon*, the sacred dormitory of their kings; which filled all the adjacent countries with such terror, that some places in *Galicia*, seduced by his emissaries, declared for the king.

THE queen, who was retired to a place of safety, publish- *Galicia* ed, to repair this loss, a proclamation, requiring all her sub- *declares* jects, capable of carrying arms, to take the field. In the *for the* mean time, however, the archbishop of *Compostella*, and *young* Don Pedro Trolas de Traba, prevailed upon Pedro Arriaz and *prince Don* his accomplices, to compromise their disputes, and to sur- *Alonso* render the person of the young prince Don *Alonso Raymond*, *Ray-* whom the archbishop crowned with great solemnity before *mond,* the high altar in the cathedral church of *St. James*, and *who is* quickly after carried him, at the head of the best army they *crowned* could raise, to join the queen his mother; but were attacked *by the* in their passage by the king of *Arragon*: and though the *archbishop* army was defeated, yet the archbishop found means to con-

° LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

P RODERIC SANTII Hist.

Hisp. p. iii. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

° MARIANA

Historia general de Espana, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de Espana,

p. v. sect. xi. Histoire general d'Espagne, MAYERNE, TURQUET,

liv. ix.

vey the young prince safely to the queen, who, as soon as it was in her power, retired with him back again into *Galicia*, where she immediately began to raise a new army; while the king of *Arragon*, with his victorious troops, besieged the city of *Astorga*, in which were the remains of the archbishop's army, who made a gallant and a long defence. The queen applied herself to count *Henry of Portugal*, who had married her sister, and intreated him to assist her, and the son of his friend, in this danger and distress. Count *Henry* advised her to march immediately to the relief of *Astorga*, and promised to join her with a considerable body of troops, which he did. The great lords of *Asturias* likewise joined her with the flower of their militia; and the nobility of *Castile* about the same time attacked and defeated a body of *Arragonese* troops that were in full march to join their king; and that prince found himself in such circumstances, that he raised the siege of *Astorga* in the night, and retired precipitately to *Carrion*. The queen followed him so close, that her forces invested the city almost as soon as he entered it; and in all probability he had fallen into her hands, if the Pope's legate, who was lately arrived in *Spain*, and who appointed a council to be held in *Palencia* to judge finally of the queen's marriage, had not prevailed upon her to suffer him to retire, upon his promise to deliver up all the places in her dominions that were in his possession; which, however, he absolutely refused to perform. The count *Don Henry*, of *Portugal*, had scarce the pleasure of seeing the queen in *Astorga*, before he died there<sup>u</sup>, and was carried from thence to *Braga*, where he lies under a splendid tomb. *Mariana* seems to have aspersed his memory by mistake, in ascribing the loss of the former battle to his deserting the queen after it began<sup>w</sup>.

A. D.  
1112.

The war  
continued  
between  
the king  
and queen,  
of which  
the Moors  
take ad-  
vantage.

THE queen, *Donna Urraca*, finding herself deceived in her expectations, and under a necessity of having recourse to arms, in order to recover the city of *Burgos*, into which the king her husband had put a strong garrison, and caused a new castle to be erected for its defence, marched thither. She found this enterprize, however, embarrassed with far greater difficulties than she expected; for, on one hand, the lords of *Castile* were so displeased with her conduct towards *Don Pedro de Lara*, that they abated much of their zeal for her

<sup>r</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

<sup>t</sup> Tudenfis Chron. <sup>u</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>w</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

<sup>x</sup> Historia general de Espana, lib. x.

service;

service; and, on the other hand, the *Galicians* had their suspicions likewise, arising from their affection to the young king; so that, if the archbishop of *Compostella* had not been indefatigable in his endeavours, the army could never have been brought before *Burgos*; which city soon opened its gates, but the garrison held out a siege of several weeks, but at length was obliged to surrender on the feast of *St. John the Baptist* \*. About this time the *Moors* made an irruption into the kingdom of *Toledo*, and advanced from thence towards the frontiers of *Galicia*; but, at the pressing instances of the queen and archbishop, a numerous army marched against them; upon which they thought it more adviseable to retire with the plunder they had acquired †, than to hazard a battle against troops that would otherwise be employed in their service, that is, in weakening the king of *Arragon*.

A. D.  
1113.

THE queen, to put an end to these troubles, that had so long disturbed and distracted her subjects, called a general assembly of the states at *Burgos*; to which, at her request, *Palentia*, resorted *Don Bernard* archbishop of *Toledo*, and *Don Diego* archbishop of *Compostella*. The debates in that assembly ran quickly very high; for most of the *Castilian* nobility, and more especially the deputies of the city of *Burgos*, declared roundly for the queen's being reconciled to her husband; and, upon the archbishop of *Compostella*'s insisting on the invalidity of the marriage, they were so exasperated, that he thought it prudent to withdraw; soon after which the assembly broke up, referring the decision of this difficult point to the council that was to be held at *Palentia* ‡. This council §, held in the beginning of the succeeding year, and in which the Pope's legate presided, declared the marriage null; by which an end was put to all the king of *Arragon*'s pretensions; who, notwithstanding, raised by his emissaries a formidable rebellion in *Galicia*, which, but for the prudence and spirit of the archbishop of *Compostella*, might have been attended with very fatal consequences (M). About this time

A. D.  
1114.

Don

\* *LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.*† *RODERIC TOLETAN Hist.**Arabum.*‡ *Chron. var. antiq.*§ *Card. d'AGUIRRE**Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 319.*

(M) Those of the nobility, who now took up arms in *Galicia*, were *Pedro Gudesteo*, *Rodrigo Nugnez*, *Arias Perez*, and *Pedro Arias*; against whom the bishop of *Compostella* quickly

marched with forces so considerable, that the malecontents thought fit to separate. *Pedro Gudesteo* and *Rodrigo Nugnez* retired to their castles, which lay by the sea-side, and invited an

*English*

Don *Alvaro Fanez*, going on some occasion from *Toledo* to *Segovia*, an insurrection happened in the last-mentioned place, in which he was unfortunately killed. He was succeeded in the government of *Toledo* by Don *Rodrigo Nunez*; whether by the appointment of the king of *Arragon*, or by the choice of the inhabitants, does not appear; but by that time he was well fixed in his office, the city was invested by a numerous army of infidels, under the command of *Amazaldi*; but the place was so well defended, that he was obliged to retire <sup>b</sup>. To make himself some amends he ravaged all the adjacent country, and Don *Rodrigo Nugnez*, with the best part of his garrison, attacking him in his retreat near *Pulgar*, in hopes of recovering the booty, were thoroughly beaten for their pains. The next year *Amazaldi* returned with a great army of *Moors* into the neighbourhood of *Toledo*, when Don *Rodrigo Nugnez* had his revenge; for drawing his whole force out of the city, he gave the infidels battle in the field, and, after a long and bloody engagement, cut the greatest part of them to pieces, and their general *Amazaldi* among the rest <sup>c</sup>.

A. D.  
1115.

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.  
Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>c</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis

*English* body of troops on shore, who happened to pass at this critical juncture along the coasts of *Galicia*, on board their own vessels, and had sent to desire leave to purchase provisions. They complied readily with this invitation; and were no sooner on shore, than they began to spoil and lay waste the country on every side. The bishop of *Compostella* had no sooner notice of this, than he directed some galleys, which had been built at his own expence, to act against the *Moorish* pirates, and which were laid up in the port of *Padron*, to be equipped, and embarked on board them some of his best troops, with orders to find out and engage the *English*.

They executed his instructions very punctually, and made themselves quickly masters of the whole squadron, including some vessels belonging to the *Galician* rebels, the best part of the men being on shore. At their return, the bishop purchased all their prisoners, that he might have an opportunity of setting the *English* at liberty; practising the like generosity upon the reduction of the castles, which very quickly followed. As for *Arias Perez* and *Pedro Arias*, they were no sooner informed of the fate of their companions, than they quitted *Galicia*, and retired to Don *Alonso* of *Arragon* (1).

(1) *Histor. Compostel. lib. i. which is a proper and sufficient authority to a fact of this nature, though not supported by any other, as probably lying out of the way of other historians.*



DONNA *Urraca*, desirous of reducing the places that still *Frederic* remained in the hands of the king of *Aragon*, went to *Comblès* in order to procure the assistance of the *Galician* nobility; and conceiving some jealousy of the bishop, who had done her so many services, would have seized upon his person, if she had not been prevented by some of the lords who were his friends; after which a reconciliation was brought about, which enabled her to oblige Don *Alonso* to retire into his own dominions, who was upon the point of making a fresh irruption into *Castile*. To this singular mark of his credit with the people, and loyalty to his sovereign, that prelate speedily added another, by causing a small squadron of galleys to be built and equipped at his own expence, which not only freed the coasts of *Galicia* and *Asturias* from the insults of the *Moorish* pirates, who had pillaged and destroyed all the sea-coasts, but likewise made reprisals, by plundering their territories. Notwithstanding all this, the queen became again out of humour with him to such a degree, that she directed his friend Don *Pedro Frolaz* to secure his person; instead of which he gave him notice of his danger; and, after maturely weighing the many inconveniencies to which they were exposed from the mutability of this princess's temper, they judged it most expedient to put the government into the hands of her son, at least the kingdom of *Galicia*, to which his right seemed unquestionable, even in the life-time of his mother; which proposition was well received by all the nobility, and the design was put in execution, which occasioned new disturbances; for the queen assembled all the forces of *Leon* and *Castile*, and pretended to treat the bishop and his adherents as rebels, notwithstanding her son was with him, and approved of all he did. At length, however, by the interposition of some of the principal nobility, things were compromised; when the queen had visibly the advantage, and might have treated those who adhered to her son with great severity, or at least have obliged them to abandon their country. But as there was nothing cordial in this reconciliation, so it did not last long, both parties retaining a deep resentment of what had passed; the queen looking upon the bishop and Don *Pedro Frolaz*, as men who had seduced her son into a rebellion; and they regarding her as a princess besieged by flatterers, inordinately fond of power, and far from having those abilities that were necessary to govern so many kingdoms, in so critical and perilous a conjuncture.

d RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. • Chron.  
var. antiq. f. LUCÆ Tudenſis Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN  
de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

Several  
attempts  
made by  
the Moors  
against  
Toledo,  
without  
success.

THE Moors were so tempted by these intestine disturbances, to hope the recovery of *Toledo*, that they scarce failed either besieging or attempting to besiege it, every year. In this we are told, that *Ali* sent one of his generals, whom an antient *Spanish* chronicle calls *Acredelia*, with a numerous army, to ruin the country round about. But the Christian governor, whom the same author calls *Abbacil*, foreseeing the consequences of such expeditions would be distressing the place by famine, marched out with his forces, engaged and beat the enemy, and killed their general upon the spot. The Moors, provoked at this defeat, and still anxious to avail themselves of the troubles among the Christians, speedily drew together a fresh army, and under *Aben Haret*, a celebrated general of theirs, took the field, and marched directly towards *Toledo*. They found, however, their passage speedily stopped by the governor, and the whole force of the garrison, who immediately gave them battle, and this with success not inferior to the former; since the Moors were intirely vanquished, and *Aben Haret*, being taken prisoner, was sent to the castle of *Toledo*; while the governor, with his victorious army, ravaged the Moorish frontiers, and swept the places where he came so thoroughly of provisions, that it was impossible to assemble any third army there for that year, which, at that juncture, was indubitably a thing of infinite consequence to the cause of the Christians <sup>h</sup>.

The queen  
and the  
bishop of  
Compostella in  
great danger of  
being  
burnt in a  
commotion.

THE compromise between *Donna Urraca* and those who declared for her son, was quickly violated by the queen's besieging *Gomez Nugnez* in the castle of *Turon*, which he held for *Don Alonso Raymond*, and she was soon after besieged herself in *Soberosa* by *Don Pedro Frolaz*, at the head of the *Galician* army, assisted by the troops of *Portugal*, though that country was governed at that time by her sister *Donna Theresa*; but the great lords of *Castile* and *Leon* came with a potent army to deliver the queen, and clapped up another pacification; soon after which she returned to the royal city of *Leon* <sup>i</sup>. Some new disputes arising in *Galicia*, the enemies of the bishop of *Compostella* took advantage of them, and were on the point of securing his person; for, being a moderate and an honest man, this prelate had the honour to be very heartily hated by the bigots of both parties; so that, to provide for his own security, he was obliged to retire to *Leon*. The queen received him with equal kindness and respect, desired him to write to those worthy men, who were his friends in

<sup>h</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.  
his Chronicon.

<sup>i</sup> LUCÆ Tuden-

*Galicia*, to compose these disturbances, and to put things into such a situation, as she might with safety visit her son; which in a little time was brought about, and the bishop first, and the queen not long after, went to *Compostella* <sup>k</sup>. The populace, surmising that there was a secret intention to punish them for the insults they had offered to their prelate, surprised him with the queen and the principal nobility in the cathedral, and, failing in their attempt to force it, set that noble structure on fire, crying vehemently, let the queen come out, and let the bishop and his adherents perish in the flames <sup>l</sup>. The bishop, more concerned for her safety than his own, obliged the queen to quit the cathedral, which she did, and retired to the church of *St. Mary*, loaded, in her passage, with all the foul language that an enraged mob could bestow; and, after her departure, the bishop, not without great difficulty, made his escape in disguise <sup>m</sup>. In the midst of these disorders, the inhabitants of *Toledo* took a very laudable resolution of recalling their natural prince; and accordingly *Don Alonso Raymond* made his publick entry into that city, 1117 <sup>n</sup>.

AT this juncture there was a schism in the church of *Rome*; A. D. one party adhering to cardinal *de Gayette*, by the name of 1118. *Gelasius* the second; the other supported by the emperor *Don Ber-Henry* the fifth, to *Maurice Burdin*, archbishop of *Braga*, <sup>nard, arch-</sup> who assumed the name of *Gregory* the eighth, but was soon *bishop of* after deposed, and ended his days in prison (N). The pre-<sup>reduces</sup>lates *Alcala de*

<sup>k</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. 1 Chron. var. antiq. <sup>m</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Cron. <sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

(N) We have as hideous a picture of this *Maurice Bourdin*, or *Burdin*, in various histories, as it was almost in the power of men to invent (1). Amongst other things it is said, that, being sent to *Rome* to solicit on behalf of *Bernard* archbishop of *Toledo*, he most ungratefully traduced that prelate, to whom he had the highest obligations; and laboured assiduously to get himself raised to that dignity; which, upon the whole, however, does not appear to be true. He was a native of *Limoges* in *France*, and was carried from *Rome* into *Spain* by the archbishop of *Toledo*, with whom he was in great favour. In the year 1108, he became bishop of *Coimbra*, or *Conimbra*; after which he made a tour to the holy land, and in his return staid some time at *Constantinople*, where he was very much ca-

(1) *Mariana Historia general de España, lib. x. Maimbourg, decad. de l'Empire, lib. iv. p. 391. Mayerne, Turquet, &c.*

Henarez  
by siege.

lates of this age in general were certainly very extraordinary persons; for we find, that Don *Bernard*, archbishop of *Toledo*, whose gratitude to the memory of his protector had kept him firm to the interests of his family, and who therefore, while the place was in the hands of the king of *Aragon*, remained under a cloud, no sooner regained his own authority, than he persuaded the people to make an attempt upon the strong town of *Alecla de Henares*, the same which the antients stiled *Complutum*, and to which, from a

ressed by the emperor *Alexis*.

(2) Upon his coming back to *Portugal* he was, in 1110, elected archbishop of *Braga*. It was in consequence of this, that he came to differ with his old patron the archbishop of *Toledo*, who, as the Pope's legate and primate of *Spain*, required such submission from him, as he thought inconsistent with the rights of his see, which had always contested the primacy with that of *Toledo*. In reference to this dispute he went to *Rome*, and Pope *Pascal* the second thought him so far in the right, that by his letter to the archbishop of *Toledo*, dated *November* the third 1115, he discharged him from the exercise of his legantine power within the province of *Braga* (3). As a farther mark of his confidence in this archbishop, the same Pope sent him with the character of his legate, to treat with the emperor *Henry*, whom the archbishop ventured to crown in his absence; for which the Pope excommunicated him in the council of *Beneventum* (4). *Gelasus* the second, his successor, was exactly of his sentiments; and

the emperor, hearing that he had assumed the Popedom without his leave, caused the archbishop of *Braga* to be elected by those of his party, *March* the 14th 1114, who thereupon assumed the name of *Gregory* the eighth, and was so acknowledged in some parts of *Germany* and *England*; whereas in *France* and in *Spain* they acknowledged *Gelasus*, and in many countries they would own neither. *Calixtus* the second succeeded *Gelasus*, made peace with the emperor, and then proceeded to *Rome*; upon which *Gregory* retired to *Sutri*, whither *Calixtus* followed him with an army, and made him prisoner in the month of *April* 1121. His soldiers mounted him upon a camel with his face towards the tail, with a sheep's skin new flead and bloody about his shoulders. He sent him prisoner to the monastery of *Cava*, and from thence removed him to *Janula*, from whence his successor, *Honorius* the second, transferred him to *Fuman* near *Alatri*, where he wote out the remainder of his days, and died in such misery and contempt, (5) that the time is not known.

(2) *Vita Mauriti Burdini, archiepiscopi Bracarenfis, scriptore Stephano Baluzio in Miscellan. tom. iii. p. 471.*

(3) *Red. a Cumba in tractatu de Primatu Bracarenfis Ecclesie.*

(4) *Histoire de Papes, tom. ii. p. 598.*

(5) *Constant. Caiff. in not. ad vitam Gelas. lib. ii. p. 68. Will. Tyr. lib. xii. cap. 8.*

confux

conflux of waters, the *Moors* gave the name of *Alcala*, and distinguished it farther by the adjunction of *Henares*, the river upon which it stands; it was in all respects very considerable, but particularly in commanding a large district of country, well fortified, and had a numerous garrison; notwithstanding which, and that the *Moors* defended themselves gallantly, the archbishop reduced it, and immediately put it into the king's hands, who made a grant of it to the archbishops of *Toledo*, from which place it is distant about 18 miles.

AT the opening of the ensuing year died Pope *Gelasus*, *Discon-* who was succeeded by the archbishop of *Vienne*, uncle to *tents a-* Don *Alonso Raymond*, by the title of *Calixtus* the second, for *gainst the* which reason we mention it <sup>P</sup>. The queen, who at this *queen rise* time was upon good terms with her son, desired his *so high,* assistance for recovering the places that were still held by the *that the* king of *Arragon*; and Don *Alonso* joined her with a consi- *nobles seized* derable body of troops at *Segovia*, to which city she came *Don Pedro* with a numerous army, attended by most of the nobility of *de Lara.* *Leon*, *Castile*, and *Asturias*. In a short time, however, after the king's arrival, disputes arose; for the nobility could not bear, that Don *Pedro de Lara* should put on airs of state and dignity in the presence both of his and their master, which excited murmurs in the army; till two of the principal lords cut things short, by seizing upon the person of Don *Pedro*, and carrying him prisoner to the castle of *Man-cilla*; upon which the queen, in great discontent, retired to *Leon* <sup>1</sup>. After her departure, the king, with the forces under his command, entered upon the proper business of the campaign, and reduced most of the places that were held by the king of *Arragon*, while those two lords of the queen's army, who had seized Don *Pedro*, followed her to *Leon*, reduced that city, besieged her in the castle, which they constrained her to deliver up, and to be reconciled to her son <sup>1</sup>. The new Pope, at the request of a prelate who had deserved so well by his strict adherence to his nephew, raised the see of *Compostella* to the rank of an archbishoprick, of which dignity Don *Diego Gelmirez* took possession *July* the 25th, on the feast of *St. James*, in the year 1120; and in the succeeding year he held a council there, in which he presided as the Pope's legate, which gave no small offence to the archbishop of *Toledo*.

His cares were, however, unsuccessful, in respect to the *She is pre-* preservation of the public tranquillity; some of the nobility *vailed on*

\* Chron. var. antiq.

P LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Compostell. lib. ii.

by flatter- in *Galicia* remaining in arms under slight pretences, but with  
 ers to seize high protestations of their fidelity to the king; which brought  
 the arch- Donna Urraca thither, who had again drawn together a  
 bishop of considerable army, by the assistance of the lords of her party  
 Compo- in *Castile*. The archbishop of *Compostella* received her with  
 stella. all imaginable marks of duty and respect, and, in obedience

A. D.

1121.

to her commands, endeavoured to reduce those of the nobility who were in arms; which, with some difficulty, he performed<sup>u</sup>. The queen then declared her intention to act against her sister Donna *Theresa*, on account of her having taken *Tuy*, and some other places which belonged to *Galicia*. The archbishop did all he could to prevent this war; but finding this out of his power, he passed the river *Minho* with his forces, and the rest of the queen's army; but when Donna *Theresa*, after having abandoned all the places in question, was besieged by the queen in the castle of *Laniofa*, the archbishop was desirous of retiring with his forces into his own diocese, which revived the queen's old resentments against that prelate, to whom she ascribed most of the disappointments she had met with in her violent projects. She dissembled, however, her disposition for the present, and gave him leave to send back his troops; but, under pretence of relying wholly upon his advice, would not suffer him to retire from about her person. She could not, however, take her measures so secretly, but that her sister Donna *Theresa* gained intelligence of them, and gave notice to the archbishop of his danger, who was so much deceived by the queen's behaviour, that he considered this as an artifice to detach him from her service. He was very quickly convinced of his error; for, upon raising the siege, and the army's repassing the *Minho*, the queen caused this prelate and his three brothers to be arrested, and sent to different prisons<sup>v</sup>, without the king's consent, though he was in the army; and at the same time seized upon several castles and lands that belonged to the archbishoprick of *Compostella*. The queen's politics deceived her extremely upon this occasion; she imagined, from what had formerly happened, that this would have been pleasing to numbers of the *Galicians*; whereas it proved quite otherwise. The enemies of the archbishop were only so on account of his attachment to the queen; and therefore the news of his imprisonment was no sooner divulged, than they were the loudest in their clamours; and those who would have burnt him in his church, now took up arms, or would have taken up arms, for his deliverance. It was

The people  
 of *Galicia*,  
 supported  
 by her son  
 Don Alon-  
 so, force  
 her to set  
 him at li-  
 berty.

<sup>u</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.  
 var. antiq.

<sup>v</sup> Chron.

thought

thought more adviseable to try fair means first; and therefore four prebendaries of the cathedral, and four deputies from the city of *Compostella*, were sent to know the reason why the queen had confined their archbishop, and met with a very ill reception. The queen went, however, in person to that city; and, on *St. James's* day, proceeded in pomp to the cathedral, which she found intirely hung with black; and was met at the entrance by the principal persons of the city in mourning; who very respectfully desired, that she would lay hold of this opportunity to set their archbishop at liberty: but the queen was inexorable; upon which her son *Don Alonso* left her, and went and incamped with his forces on the other side of the river, which raised the spirits of the people, and intimidated the queen, who at length perceiving her person in danger, and that the people had seized *John Diaz*, in whose custody the archbishop was, she pretended suddenly to change her mind, ordered the archbishop to be released, declared she was satisfied of his innocence, and that she meant with the utmost severity to punish his accusers; but this had no effect; neither the populace thanked her for the archbishop's deliverance, nor could that prelate be ever afterwards brought to trust her<sup>x</sup>. So low even princes fall, when their artifices are discovered.

In a short time after this, things were on the point of *The death* coming to an open rupture; the queen and her *Castilian of Donna* lords remaining in the field with one army, and the king *Don Urraca, Alonso*, with the archbishop, *Don Pedro Frolaz*, and most of *the cause* the nobles of *Galicia*, at the head of another; but, through *of which* the indefatigable pains of the prelate, things were at length *differently* accommodated; and sixty lords of the queen's party bound *reported.* themselves for the due performance of articles<sup>y</sup>. But soon *A. D.* after all was in confusion again; *Don Alonso*, or at least the nobility about him, would have *Galicia* taken for a separate and independent kingdom, within which the queen should have no power; whereas the queen pretended, that her son held it in homage of her; and therefore very frequently committed therein most exorbitant acts of power. Some writers<sup>a</sup> say, that, wearied out with these disputes and their consequences, *Don Alonso* confined her; but the contrary is much more probable. At length on the sixth, as some<sup>a</sup> say, on the eighth, as others<sup>b</sup> affirm, and, as some<sup>c</sup> again assert, on the tenth of *March*, in the year of our Lord 1126, she

1126.

<sup>x</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. <sup>y</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. <sup>z</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. MARIANA, MAYERNE. <sup>a</sup> Hist. Compostell. lib. ii. <sup>b</sup> Annal TOLET. <sup>c</sup> Chron. ADEF. Imperat.

died at *Saldagna*, not far from *Carrión*, of the consequences of a miscarriage, as certain historians <sup>a</sup> allege; though there want not those <sup>c</sup> who affirm, that, having plundered the church of *St. Isidore*, she died suddenly as she came out, and was buried in the royal dormitory there, among the princes her ancestors, little regretted by her subjects <sup>f</sup>.

**Don Alonso VII.** THE king *Don Alonso* came to *Leon* within two days after the death of the queen his mother, and was received with all possible testimonies of affection and loyalty by the nobility of *Leon*, *Castile*, and *Asturias*, who there swore allegiance to him; only the citadel of that place, being in the possession of the adherents of *Don Pedro Lares*, and his brother *Don Roderic Gonzales*, were hardy enough to refuse giving up that fortress to the king, surrounded by his nobility <sup>g</sup>. They were quickly made sensible of their fault; for many of the great lords, and more especially the archbishop of *Compostella*, had brought troops; so that, with the assistance of the townsmen, the place was presently invested, and in a few days carried by storm; when the king might have put the rebels to death, as well by the rules of war, as by the laws of the land; but he contented himself with banishing them his dominions <sup>h</sup>. He next made a progress to *Zamora*, in order to receive the homage of the nobility in that neighbourhood; and this over, he went to *Ricorado*, which stands at the conflux of the rivers *Orbigo* and *Duero*, where he had a conference with his aunt *Donna Theresa*, and concluded a truce with her for a certain time; after which he returned to *Zamora*, to meet such of the *Galician* and *Castilian* nobility as had not hitherto sworn allegiance <sup>i</sup>. But some there were, who, hardened by that spirit of anarchy that prevailed during the late troubles, absolutely refused to acknowledge him for their prince. These were *Don Pedro Gonzales de Lara*, and his brother *Don Roderic*, who kept, with their adherents, in the mountains of *Santillana*; *Don Ximenes Iniquez*, who held the town now called *Valentia*; *Don Juan* and *Don Arias Perez* in *Galicia*, where they had seized *Castro*, *Luparia*, *de Pena*, *de Cornaria*, and other places <sup>k</sup>.

**A. D. 1126.** THERE were, besides these, some much more considerable places, that still held for the king of *Arragon*; such as *Car-*

**Concludes a peace**

<sup>a</sup> MARIANA Historia general de España, lib. x. <sup>c</sup> MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire general d'Espagne; liv. ix.

<sup>f</sup> FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. sect. 11. <sup>g</sup> MARIANA Historia general de España, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. sect. 11. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. ix. <sup>h</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. <sup>i</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. <sup>k</sup> Chron. var. antig.



*tion, Burgos, Villa Franca, among the mountains of Occa, with Don Najara, and some others; but this seems to have been Alonso, chiefly out of pique to Donna Urraca; for, as soon as the king's accession was published, they most of them opened their gates, and the people of Burgos, particularly, compelled the king of Arragon's governor to retire into the citadel, which they reduced without any assistance, and then put both the city and fortress into the king's hands<sup>1</sup>. In Galicia the archbishop of Compostella humbled Arias Perez, though not without effusion of blood. Don Ximenes was constrained to surrender Valentia, though he would not do it but to the king in person; so that, before the end of the year, the king found himself in full possession of all the dominions of his grandfather, except some few districts on the frontiers of Old Castile, which, however, troubled him more than all the rest, as the king of Arragon had some colour of title to them, which he appeared determined to maintain and make good by his sword. In the beginning of the succeeding year he marched with a numerous army, resolved to recover as much as possible, or at least to protect what was still left; the king of Castile and Leon advanced towards him with the flower of both nations, and surrounded by the principal nobility and prelates of his dominions. When the armies drew near each other, neither of those princes discovered any great eagerness to fight. The king of Castile spoke very respectfully of his antagonist, and the king of Arragon could not help having a tenderness for a prince he had been accustomed to call his son. The prelates and nobility on both sides saw this with great satisfaction; and the king of Arragon having been prevailed upon to send a message, importing, that in forty days he would order all the places in dispute to be evacuated, Don Alonso Raymond demanded a personal interview, where all their differences were amicably determined, and the two kings parted perfectly good friends<sup>m</sup>.*

A. D.  
 1127.

While the king Don Alonso Raymond was at a distance from the frontiers of Galicia, Donna Theresa, who made no doubt that the war in Arragon would find him full employment, caused the troops of Portugal to pass the Minho, in hopes of recovering Tuy, to which she pretended a right. Don Alonso had no sooner notice of this, than he marched thither with the utmost diligence; and having obliged the enemy to repass the river, followed them into Portugal,

<sup>1</sup> Chron. ADEF. Imperat.  
 lib. vii. Chron. ADEF. Imperat.

<sup>m</sup> ROD. TOL. de reb. Hispan.

where he began to lay the country waste with fire and sword; but at length, through the persuasions of the arch-bishop of *Compostella*, who accompanied him, he was prevailed upon to listen to an accommodation, and things were speedily adjusted between him and his aunt<sup>a</sup>. This was quickly followed by an alteration of government in that country, where the people were extremely dissatisfied with Donna *Theresa's* administration, and her too great regard for Don *Ferdinand Perez*, the son of Don *Pedro Frolaz*; and therefore proposed to Don *Alonso Henriquez*, her son, that, laying aside his mother, he should take the government into his own hands; to which that high-spirited young prince readily consented, and caused himself immediately to be proclaimed sovereign of *Portugal*<sup>o</sup>. His mother, however, who was not of an humour to part with her right so easily, and who had a good body of troops, under the command of her favourite, about her person, marched directly to reduce the prince and his adherents; but having the misfortune to lose a battle, and being soon after obliged to surrender a fortress, into which she had fled for shelter, she was constrained to do as her subjects would have her, and to leave the administration in the hands of her son<sup>p</sup>; and as for Don *Ferdinand Perez* he retired into *Galicia* (O).

A. D.  
1128.

DON

<sup>a</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.      <sup>o</sup> MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. x. FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.  
<sup>p</sup> ROD. TOL. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

(O) The usage which Donna *Theresa* has met with from the generality of historians, is yet harder than that of her sister. It is reported, that she had an intrigue with Don *Veramond*, the son of Don *Pedro Frolaz*; but being better pleased afterwards with his brother Don *Ferdinand*, whom she seems to have made earl of *Traстамara*, she consented that Don *Veramond* should marry the princess Donna *Elvira* her eldest daughter, and then secretly espoused the earl his brother; which excited, as it very well might, a general

clamour amongst her subjects; and produced that offer which was made to the prince *Alonso*, mentioned in the text (1). Whatever truth or falsehood there may be in the former of these facts, the latter has such a concurrence of evidence, that it may be regarded as certain; and from thence we may easily account for the conduct of this princess in respect to her sister and nephew, as well as for that intelligence which she seems always to have had with the malecontents in *Galicia*; and which she knew very well how to turn

(1) Manuel de Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iii. cap. 1.

DON *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, having at this time peace on every side, and being full two and twenty years of age, thought it time to provide for the succession by a prudent marriage; and with this view cast his eyes upon Donna *Berengara*, the daughter of Don *Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, a young princess of great beauty and distinguished merit; which marriage was concluded by the interposition of the king of *Arragon*, to the great satisfaction of all parties. The year following he held a council at *Valentia*, in which Don *Raymond*, who succeeded Don *Bernard* in the archbishoprick of *Toledo*, presided; and in which many wholesome canons were made. Soon after this the king of *Arragon*, who had not been very punctual in fulfilling his promise, formed some pretensions upon *Medina Cæli* and *Moran*, the latter of which he besieged; but the king of *Leon* marching with a numerous army to its relief, the king of *Arragon* raised the siege, and retired into his own dominions. The appearance of this war raised another rebellion; for Don *Pedro*, count of *Lara*, and his brothers, attempted to engage the city of *Valentia* in a revolt, and not succeeding in that design, fortified several places in the mountains of *Santillana*. The king followed them hither sooner than they expected, invested the fort where Don *Roderic Gonzales* was, took it by storm, and made Don *Roderic* prisoner, who, knowing he deserved no mercy, did not expect it; but the king, having degraded and stripped him of his estates, gave him his life and liberty, but banished him his dominions; and not long after Don *Pedro* died of infirmities and a broken heart. His brother was no sooner informed of this, than he returned privately into *Castile*, threw himself at the king's feet, and desired leave to live obscurely in his own country, assuring

9. Chron. ADEF. Imperat. MARIANA, FERRERAS, 1 Chron. var. antiq.

to her own advantage. We are told, that at the time she was deprived of her administration and liberty by her son, he ordered two small chains to be put upon her legs, to prevent her escape, which she resented so much, that she prayed earnestly to God his legs might not continue whole as long as he lived; and it is added, that, being defeat-

ed by the king of *Leon* he broke his leg in endeavouring to make his escape, by which accident he became a prisoner. It is also reported, that he remained ever after so lame, that, being unable to mount a horse, he travelled always in a kind of carriage (2), of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

(2) *Mayerne Turquet, Histoire generale de l'Espagne, lib. ix.*

him, that he had not in his dominions a more faithful subject. The king, touched with his repentance and humility, restored him to his honours, his estates, and his employments, which he more than merited by his future services<sup>t</sup>. The king, perceiving that his forbearance would never procure the places that were still in the hands of the king of *Aragon*, took the advantage of that monarch's absence in *France*, to reduce them by force; but he contented himself with this, and did not offer any insult to that prince's frontiers, or to his subjects. It is very possible he might have some political motive to this moderation in his conduct.

A. D.  
1130.

*The gallant behaviour of Don Roderic Gonzalez, whom the king pardoned.*

ALL this time a prædatory war was carried on between the Christians in the kingdom of *Toledo*, and the *Moors* subject to the king of *Seville*; in which Don *Roderic Gonzalez*, now restored to the king's favour, had his share; and, though he behaved very bravely, had the misfortune to be beat; but, upon the arrival of *Texefin-ben-Ali* king of *Morocco*, things began to have a more serious aspect; for he privately issued his orders to his principal officers, to assemble a numerous army in the plain of *Lucena*, on the side of *Cordova*, looking towards *Toledo*, intending to have destroyed all the towns in the neighbourhood of that city. In the mean time the Christians, vexed at their late defeat, formed a body of a thousand excellent horse, and three or four thousand foot, passed the *Tagus* on the side of *Talavera*, and after that the *Guadiana* and *Siera Morena*, with all the speed and secrecy possible, and at length threw themselves into the territory of *Cordova*; with no other intent than to plunder, and make a hasty retreat. There they received the first intelligence of the king of *Morocco*'s being on the other side of the city with a large army; upon which, giving themselves over for lost, they took a sudden and generous resolution; and, after a short repose, began their march in the afternoon, continued it all night, and, before break of day, fell into the *Moorish* camp, where they made a horrible carnage; for the troops having not the least expectation of an enemy, more especially on that side, and, being attacked in the night, were so thunder-struck, that they could make no resistance; the king himself wounded in the thigh got on horseback, and fled to *Cordova*, to which place as many followed him as escaped; the victorious Christians plundered the camp, mounted all their infantry on horseback, and, with immense riches, returned in triumph to *Toledo*, where the people were equally rejoiced at their success, and at their own happy escape from a dan-

A. D.  
1131.

<sup>t</sup> *Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Rob. Tol. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.*  
<sup>2</sup> *Rob. Tol. Hist. Arabum. Chron. var. antiq.*

ger, of which they had not the least notice, till it came, attended with that of their deliverance. A circumstance that rendered their transports the greater, and did not recommend their governor the less.

THE next year afforded the king of *Castile* and *Leon* An insur- troubles sufficient to exercise his courage and conduct. In *rebellion* in the spring a rebellion broke out in the *Asturias*, at the head Asturias, of which were the counts Don *Gonçales Pelæz* and Don *Roderic Gomez*: he marched immediately thither, and had the Galicia, good fortune to make Don *Roderic* prisoner, whom he de- and an ir- graded from his honours and banished; but Don *Gonçalez*, re- ruption of tiring into the city of *Tudela*, made there a long and vigorous the Moors. defence; but, finding it impossible to escape, he submitted to the king's mercy, who pardoned him freely; but by that time he returned to *Leon* had intelligence he had revolted again, and had made himself master of several strong places w. His attention to this misfortune was called off by a greater, which was was the news, that Don *Alonso* of *Portugal* had invaded *Galicia*. He was therefore obliged to march thither with his army, where he not only expelled the *Portuguese*, but took from them the country of *Limmia* x. While he was thus employed, advice was brought him, that the king of *Morocco* was on the point of invading the kingdom of *Toledo* with a numerous army; upon which he declared Don *Roderic Gonçales* governor of that city and kingdom. That nobleman raised a considerable body of forces; and having secured the capital, and heard that his master was advancing towards the king of *Morocco*, he threw himself into the kingdom of *Seville*, where he had the good fortune to defeat the *Moors* in a general engagement; and, having ravaged the country to the very gates of *Seville*, returned with his victorious army laden with plunder, and driving with them a multitude of slaves in triumph to *Toledo* y. The king of *Morocco*, on the approach of Don *Alonso*, after he had spoiled the open country, and taken and ruined some places of strength, thought proper to retire into his own dominions; where, meeting with a small body of Christians returning from an expedition, he surrounded them in the night, and the next day cut most of them into pieces z.

A. D.  
1132.

THE *Moorish* monarch *Taxefin-ben-Ali*, bearing still in his *Don Alonso's* mind the importance of *Toledo*, and that the recovery of this place was absolutely necessary to restore the credit and power of his nation, resolved to make yet another attempt, with an army more numerous than any he had before employed; but

\* Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. x Roderic TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. y RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. z RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

Moors,  
and tri-  
umphant  
return.

A. D.

1133.

the king of *Castile* and *Leon*, being as early in the field as he marched directly towards that city which the *Moors* had scarce time to invest, who thereupon raised their siege, and withdrew into their own country <sup>a</sup>. Don *Alonso*, having reviewed the garrison of *Toledo*, and considering that the city could be in no danger while they were in the enemy's country, resolved to proceed forthwith into the territory of *Cordova*, by one passage, while Don *Roderic*, with the troops under his command, did the same by another, appointing the castle of *Gallelo* for the place of junction. There the armies being united, the king advanced into the neighbourhood of *Cordova*, wasting all the country before him, destroying their harvest, cutting down their fruit trees, tearing up their olives by the roots, carrying off their cattle, burning their villages, ruining their mosques, killing their priests, and driving their people into slavery; which, unless it was done from a principle of retaliation, and to prevent the continuance of such a method, was certainly extreme cruelty. He advanced in this manner to *Seville*, beyond it, and even to the sea coast: on his return, however, with an immense booty, he met the van-guard of the *Moorish* army; but being at the head of his own, composed of *Castilian* cavalry, he charged them so briskly, and with such success, that the gross of the army thought proper to retire into *Seville*; so that without any farther interruption he returned in triumph into his own dominions, and at *Taravera* dismissed his troops <sup>b</sup>.

Solemnly  
crowned,  
and in-  
vested  
with the  
title of  
emperor at  
Leon.

THE brave old king of *Aragon* was far from being so fortunate; his army being defeated by the infidels, and himself killed <sup>c</sup> before *Fraga*. As he died without heirs of his body, it produced great disturbances; the people of *Aragon* electing his brother Don *Ramiro*, though a monk, and the people of *Navarre* Don *Garcia Ramirez*, a descendent from their ancient princes, for their king <sup>d</sup>. In the midst of these confusions, Don *Alonso* marched with a numerous army towards *Rioja*, where the inhabitants of *Najara* and *Callaborra* opened their gates to him, as did all the places of any consequence on the south of the *Ebro*, till he came to *Saragossa*, where he was met by Don *Ramiro*, king of *Aragon*, and the chief prelates and nobility of his dominions, to whom Don *Alonso* declared, that it was not through any motive of ambition, or with any views of conquest, that he came thither with his troops, but purely to protect them from the infidels <sup>e</sup>. While

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>b</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. Chron.

ADEFONS. Imperat.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>d</sup> MARIANA

Historia general de España, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE TURQUET.

<sup>e</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

he remained here, his brother-in-law, count *Raymond*, of *Barcelona*, repaired thither, and did him homage as his vassal, and his cousin *Don Alonso* of *Thoulouse* did the like. The king of *Arragon*, with the consent of his prelates and peers, yielded to him the city of *Saragassa*; and the bishops having, in great ceremony, bestowed upon him their benedictions in the church of our lady of the pillar, he returned with his army into his own dominions<sup>f</sup>. The new king of *Navarre* met him in his passage, and, being desirous to obtain his protection, did him voluntary homage<sup>g</sup>; after which he proceeded to *Leon* to keep his *Whitsuntide*, at which season he proposed to solemnize his coronation. There were present together at this high feast the king and queen of *Castile*, the Infanta *Donna Sancha*, the king's sister, *Don Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, with all the prelates, abbés, counts, and great lords of the kingdom. They met the first day in the cathedral church of that city, where they consulted of ecclesiastical affairs only, and of the means of restoring ecclesiastical discipline. The day following it was resolved to proclaim the king *Don Alonso* emperor; and, accordingly, a deputation was sent to bring him from his palace to the church, where *Don Raymond*, archbishop of *Toledo*, assisted by the bishops, abbots, and clergy, waited for him. As soon as he entered, the imperial mantle was thrown upon his shoulders, he was conducted up to the high altar, where, the crown being placed upon his head, and the scepter in his hand, supported on the right by *Don Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, and on the left by *Don Arias*, bishop of *Leon*, the clergy sung a solemn *Te Deum*; after which followed divine service; and, as soon as this was over, he was proclaimed emperor, all the assistants crying with a loud voice, Long live his imperial majesty<sup>h</sup> *Don Alonso*. This ceremony concluded, the emperor, with all who were present returned to his palace, where a sumptuous feast was prepared (P). WE

<sup>f</sup> Chron. var. antiq.    <sup>g</sup> Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.    <sup>h</sup> MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. ix.

(P) In the assembly of the lords and prelates, which, upon this occasion, is not stiled a council, probably because religious matters were not the subject of their deliberations, the following laws were made, or rather declared, for most of them seem to have been laws before, and to have received only on this occasion the sanction of the emperor, that his subjects might have the greater reverence for his new title (1).

(1) Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii. Chron. Adefons Imperat.

*The monarchs of Navarre and Portugal enter into a league against the emperor.*

WE might reasonably, from the number of his vassals, and the good-will expressed to him on all sides, more especially in regard to the last mentioned action, conclude, that no prince had less to fear from his Christian neighbours: but such is the nature of men, and too frequently of princes, that they oppress those that are weaker, and envy such as are stronger. Upon this principle it was that Don Garcia Ramirez, king of Navarre, and Don Alonso Enriquez, sovereign of Portugal, entered into a league against the emperor; the cause of which was, that the former was desirous of recovering the country of *Rioja*, and the latter was unwilling to render homage to the emperor for his dominions, by whom it was required. In virtue of this league, Don Alonso made an irruption into *Galicia*, where he made himself master of *Tuy*<sup>1</sup>, and some other places, partly by force and partly by corrupting the governors, who were entrusted with *Turon*

<sup>1</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

1. The people shall henceforward be governed in the same manner, and enjoy the same privileges, as in the reign of Don Alonso VI. grandfather to the reigning emperor. 2. Churches and private persons shall be restored to whatever estates they can prove any legal title to. 3. All towns and villages that have been destroyed during the late troubles shall be rebuilt, and repopled, and the country round them cultivated, by planting vines and fruit-trees. 4. The judges shall every where punish, with such severity as the law requires, malefactors of all kinds, without respect of persons. 5. Sorcerers and magicians shall be punished with death. 6. The alcaides of *Toledo*, and other frontier provinces, shall annually make excursions into the enemy's territories, and waste the country with fire and sword. These

were all the laws they passed; and it appears to have been the meaning of this last to oblige the Moors to put themselves under the king's protection, or at least it had this consequence; for we find that, upon an expedition of this nature, about five years before, a certain Moor of great quality, whose name was *Zafadola*, descended from the ancient kings of *Cordova*, and lord of *Rhoda*, in the province of *La Mancha*, submitted himself to Don Alonso, put that place into his hands with its dependencies, and, retiring with his family into the kingdom of *Toledo*, had very considerable grants of castles, houses, and arable lands, for his support; and as his castle of *Rhoda* was given by the king to his new born son, it fixes the birth of the Infant Don Sancho to Anno Domini 1131 (2), which is of some importance.

(2) *Annales Toletan.* Chron. Adefons Imperat. Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.



and *Limmia*. The emperor sent an army into *Galicia*, commanded by some of the prime nobility, to expel the enemy, but they were unfortunately defeated. As for the king of *Navarre*, the emperor was no sooner informed of his behaviour, than he entered his dominions in person, at the head of a numerous army, and wasted his country, without being able to bring him to a battle<sup>k</sup>. In this expedition he had a conference with the king of *Arragon*, to whom he restored the city of *Saragossa*, upon condition that he should hold it as his feudatory, and do him homage, which he very willingly accepted<sup>l</sup>.

ABOUT this time the emperor, upon some recollection of *Don Alon*-old distaste, dismissed *Don Roderic Gonzales* from his employ- so Enri-ments<sup>m</sup>, who thereupon went to the *Holy Land* (Q), and ques of

<sup>k</sup> LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron.

<sup>l</sup> Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

<sup>m</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

(Q) There does not appear the least trace of the motives which induced the emperor to entertain fresh suspicions of *Don Roderic Gonzales*. All we know of the matter is, that this great man no sooner perceived it, than he demanded leave to take the cross, as was common in those days, in order to make an expedition into the *Holy Land*, which was willingly granted him; and he went accordingly, accompanied by such as were either desirous of making that expedition, or inclined to follow his fortunes. He behaved in the wars against the *Saracens* with the same courage and conduct as against the *Moors*; built a fort near *Ascalon*, which he fortified, and provided with every thing necessary for its defence; but being seized with a desire of seeing his native country, he made a present of it to the knights templars. On his return to *Spain*, he went first to the court of *Don Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, afterwards to that

of *Don Garcia*, king of *Navarre*; but it does not appear that he ever thought of entering *Castile*; from whence we may conclude, that he remained still under the emperor's displeasure. We have a farther proof of this, from his withdrawing out of *Navarre*, in order to put himself under the protection of *Aben Gama*, viceroy for the king of *Morocco*, in *Spain*, who resided at *Valentia*, where he was received with all possible testimonies of kindness and respect. Yet he did not continue long in this place; for the *Moors*, for what reason it is impossible to guess, gave him a poisonous draught, which threw him into a leprosy; and being by this means convinced that he could be no where safe in *Spain*, he returned again into the *Holy Land*, and there ended his days. A memorable instance of the danger in digressing once from the right path, which it is extreme difficult, if not impossible, to recover (1).

(1) Chron. Adefons Imperat.

appointed

Portugal appointed Don Roderic Fernandez to the government of *Toledo* in his stead; who, at the first entrance into his government, had the good fortune not only to make a successful inroad in the territory of *Cordova*, but likewise to beat the king *Texefin-ben-Ali*, who attacked him in his return to *Toledo*, which gained him great reputation<sup>n</sup>. The next year

A. D. 1137. the emperor went in person against the *Portuguese*, and sent three of his principal nobility, with a numerous army, to make head against the king of *Navarre*. As his army was more numerous than that of his antagonist, he entered the kingdom of *Portugal*, and wasted the country with fire and sword<sup>o</sup>. On the other hand, Don *Alonso Enriquez*, who acted on the defensive, being extremely chagrined to see his dominions ruined, and his subjects oppressed, fought, with the utmost diligence, how he might be revenged; and perceiving that Don *Ramiro*, who commanded a great detachment of the emperor's army, was at too great a distance to be succoured, he threw himself and his forces between him and the emperor, and, attacking him with great fury, destroyed most of his troops, and made him prisoner<sup>p</sup>. This check served only to irritate the emperor, who endeavoured to force his cousin Don *Alonso* to a battle; who, upon intelligence received, that the *Moors* had made an irruption on the other side of *Portugal*, was prevailed upon by his nobility to send a deputation to the emperor, who received them very obligingly; telling the ambassadors there would not be much difficulty in making a peace; towards which there required no more than restoring the places and setting the prisoners at liberty taken on both sides. This was done on the part of the *Portuguese* at the return of their deputies, and immediately after by the emperor, who then had an interview with his cousin, and parted so good friends, that Don *Alonso Enriquez* thought proper to order the counts Don *Gomez Nugnez* and Don *Rodrigo Velloso*, who had given rise to the war, by betraying their master, to quit his dominions<sup>q</sup>; the common reward of traitors; which affected the former so much, that he retired into *France*, and became a monk; as for the second, he went to the emperor, and expressed so much sorrow for his offence, that he forgave him, and restored him to his employments<sup>r</sup>. Don *Roderic Fernandez* made another successful expedition against the *Moors* this year; and the emperor's brother-in-law, Don *Raymond*,

<sup>n</sup> Roderic TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>o</sup> Chron. var. antig.  
<sup>p</sup> Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. <sup>q</sup> Roderic TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii.  
<sup>r</sup> Chron. ADEF.

obtaining the crown of *Aragon* by the marriage of the heiress, prevailed upon the emperor to restore the places he had taken from that kingdom \*.

THE war on the side of *Toledo* continued with pretty equal fortune on both sides; but the emperor, finding himself at ease from his neighbours, resolved to make a brisk effort with all his forces against the infidels, which he accordingly did, by entering *Andaluzia* with a numerous army. A considerable detachment having passed the river without the emperor's leave, out of a desire to pillage, there fell so heavy a rain in the night, that they found the stream altogether impassable; and the very next day were surrounded by the enemy, and cut to pieces in sight of the emperor and his army, only one escaping by his great skill in swimming †. This accident so disgusted the emperor, that he returned into his own dominions, resolving to conclude the campaign with reducing *Coria*, a place of importance, and which, being in the hands of the *Moors*, gave him a great deal of trouble. He besieged it accordingly; but the place being very well defended, and *Don Roderic Martinez*, governor of *Leon*, and one of the emperor's principal generals, being killed upon the spot, the emperor caused the siege to be raised; and having bestowed upon *Don Osorio*, the son of *Don Roderic*, his father's employments, he returned to *Leon* †, by no means pleased with the operations of the year, and resolved to employ the winter in preparing for a new expedition in the spring; to which he was not a little excited, by having advice, that *Taxesin-ben-Ali* had caused the best part of the Christians, inhabiting in his dominions, to be transported to *Africa* †, where he employed them as soldiers, being well acquainted with their valour, and having no reason to distrust their fidelity, when fighting against as well as for infidels; which afflicted the emperor exceedingly; who knew well enough, that the principal motive to this ill usage was the inclination they had shewn of becoming his subjects. He took pains, therefore, to settle, in the best manner he was able, all disputes with his neighbours, and even to terminate such as had broke out between themselves; from a persuasion, that when they had no other quarrel on their hands, they would naturally employ their arms against the *Moors*; and that, whether designed or not, these would be in effect so many diversions in his favour. His scheme, as it was well laid, was prudently and happily executed; so that in the spring he found himself at full liberty

A. D.  
1138.

\* Chron. var. antiq. † RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

† LUCA Tudenfis Chronicon. RODERIC TOLET. de reb. Hispan.

lib. vii. † RODERIC TOLET. Hist. Arabum.

to pursue the plan of operation he had laid down, without any apprehension of being compelled by new disturbances to alter his measures, which had hitherto been the principal cause that his arms had not made so great an impression upon the infidels, as, from the superiority of his power, in comparison with that of his predecessors, he had just reason to expect. He certainly reasoned very right upon this head; and if he could have prevailed upon the sovereigns of *Navarre*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*, to have adopted the same principles, and to have pursued them steadily, the *Moors* had been much sooner driven out of *Spain* than they were.

*He determines to reduce the castle of Oreja on the frontiers of Castile.* THE infidels had a very strong fortress at *Oreja*, which lay to the east of *Toledo*, from whence they made frequent irruptions into the territories of that city; and the year before, the Christians, not without great difficulty, had erected the castle of *Azeca*, in order to be a check upon this place; but it seems this did not prove so effectual a remedy as the nature of the case required: the emperor, therefore, resolved to open the campaign with the reduction of *Oreja*<sup>2</sup>, that his subjects might be once for all delivered from this thorn in their sides, with which hitherto they had been continually troubled. Accordingly, Don *Roderic Fernandez* invested it with the forces under his command, in the month of *April*, and the emperor joined him soon after with a very numerous and well appointed army. The alcayd of *Oreja* was *Ali*, esteemed the best officer in the *Moorish* service; he had a very powerful garrison, and the place was well supplied with every thing necessary; so that, as his countrymen expected, he made a very brave and well conducted defence<sup>1</sup>. At length he gave notice to the alcayses of *Cordova* and *Saville*, that their out-works were ruined, his garrison much diminished, his magazines almost exhausted, and that, therefore, they must send him an effectual and speedy relief, if they expected he should keep the place. The alcayses began to amass provisions, and to raise forces, at the same time that they gave intelligence to *Texefin-ben-Ali*, who was at *Morocco*, of the situation things were in, and the apprehensions they were under; upon which he sent over a fresh body of troops, and ordered them to leave nothing untried to force the emperor to raise the siege<sup>2</sup>. Upon the junction of their forces, the alcayses found themselves at the head of thirty thousand good troops, with a vast train of waggons, laden with provisions and other necessaries. They resolved to march di-

<sup>1</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudeasis Chronicon. <sup>2</sup> RODERIC TOLET. Hist. Arabum. \* Chron. var. antiq.

rectly towards *Oreja*, and were so confident of success, that they sent instructions to *Ali* to make a vigorous sally upon the Christians when they should begin to raise the siege<sup>a</sup>. The emperor, who had perfect intelligence of all their measures, determined to wait for them, and to give them battle, if they persisted in their design, or to suffer them to besiege *Toledo*, if they proposed by that method to divert him from his enterprize.

In their march, the *Moors* took a small fort or two, and at length insulted the castle of *Azeca*, where the empress lay with the ladies of her court<sup>b</sup>. She sent a message to the alcaides, that the emperor waited for them at *Oreja*, which was the proper place for men of their birth and breeding to signalize themselves, and that little honour was to be got by disturbing a number of helpless women<sup>c</sup>. The *Moorish* generals excused themselves for their ignorance, and desired to have the honour of paying their respects to her imperial majesty. The empress, to gratify them, appeared upon the ramparts with all her ladies, richly dressed; and the alcaides, at the head of their troops, in order of battle, having paid her their military salute, retired without giving her any farther disturbance. They tried every method they could devise to draw the emperor out of his lines, or to force a passage for their succours, but to no purpose. At last *Ali* sent to the emperor, and offered to surrender, if he was not relieved in a month, upon condition that his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was escorted safely to *Calatrava*. The emperor accepted the proposal, and gave him leave to send to the king his master, who returned for answer, that he might surrender when he would, for that it was not in his power to relieve him<sup>d</sup>. When they came to march out, himself and garrison were perfect skeletons; the emperor received them very kindly, entertained *Ali* at his own expence, and ordered the garrison to be distributed through the camp. The alcaide expressed his surprise, and desired he might march to *Calatrava*. The emperor bid him be in no pain, that the articles should be punctually executed, but that he could not part with so many brave men in such a condition; and, after feasting them for a month, sent them back very well satisfied with their usage<sup>e</sup>. The fortress of *Oreja* was surrendered in the month of *October*; and, after the castle was thoroughly

<sup>a</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. <sup>b</sup> MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

<sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. <sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>e</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

repaired, and a good garrison put into it, the emperor marched in triumph to *Toledo*; where, after singing *Te Deum*, and receiving the benediction of the archbishop, he went to his palace, and sent for the empress and her court, extremely well satisfied with the success of this campaign <sup>f</sup> (R).

*Don Garcia, king of Navarre, sends himself from the emperor and the king of Arragon.* RAYMOND, prince of *Arragon*, and count of *Barcelona*, relying on his near relation to the emperor, endeavoured to engage him in a league against the king of *Navarre*, against whom the emperor wanted not some just causes of complaint; and, therefore, what the prince of *Arragon* desired was easily brought about, who made no question now that he should be able to reunite the kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, giving some places that lay convenient to the emperor for his assistance. But *Don Garcia* very judiciously set on foot a negotiation with the young king of *Portugal*, by which he was brought to discern how great his danger must be by any accession of power to the emperor, which engaged him to enter into a defensive alliance with *Don Garcia*. As soon, therefore, as the season would permit, the emperor and the prince of *Arragon* took the field; *Don Garcia* was sensible, that his forces were by no means sufficient to act against those of the two princes joined together; from whence he very wisely concluded, that it was his business to fight them separately, or rather to fight the weakest. Accordingly, having put a strong garrison into *Pampeluna*<sup>h</sup>, he left the rest of his dominions to the emperor's mercy, marching with the best body of troops he could assemble against the prince of *Arra-*

<sup>f</sup> LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon. RODERIC TOLETAN Hiſt. Arabum.    <sup>g</sup> Chron. var. antiq.    <sup>h</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de rob. Hiſpan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

(R) The emperor, after the taking the ſtreſſ of *Oreja*, returned, as we have ſaid in the text, in triumph to *Toledo*; where, as ſoon as the rejoicings for his ſucceſs were over, he applied himſelf during the winter to regulate the concerns of his civil government, to redreſs grievances, to determine diſputes amongſt his nobility, and to make the proper proviſions for ſettling and ſecuring his conqueſts. We mention this once for all in a note, that the reader

may form ſome notion of this monarch's adminiſtration, who, at the three great feaſts, but more eſpecially in the winter, cauſed his prelates and nobility to reſort to his court; where, by his authority always, and very often in his preſence, they heard and decided differences of every kind; and, when this was over, took the emperor's inſtructions with regard to the particular truſts repoſed in them, as to their reſpective governments (1).

(1) Chron. Adefons Imperat.

gon. The emperor, meeting with no resistance at *Navarre*, advanced to *Pampeluna*, and besieged it; but the place was scarce invested, before he had the news of *Don Garcia's* having beat the prince of *Arragon*<sup>l</sup>; and this induced him to raise the siege to give battle to the victorious army. *Don Garcia*, however, with his usual prudence, quitted the field, and threw his troops into the adjacent fortresses; upon which the emperor saw himself obliged to retire into his own dominions, and to defer the prosecution of the war to the next season<sup>k</sup>. In the mean time *Don Garcia* took pains to recruit and strengthen his army in such a manner, that he quickly found it in his power to give the emperor battle; but upon that monarch's entering his dominions, the nobility and prelates on both sides interposed so effectually, that a peace was concluded<sup>l</sup>. The emperor's eldest son, *Don Sancho*, espoused the Infanta *Donna Blanca*, daughter to the king of *Navarre*; and, as this princess was very young, she was sent to be educated at the court of *Castile*<sup>m</sup>. The king of *Portugal* also, who had been extremely rudely handled in his invasion of *Galicia*, judged it expedient to make peace likewise; and by this means the ambitious scheme of the prince of *Arragon* was entirely defeated, and the peace of the Christians in *Spain* restored<sup>n</sup>.

A. D.  
1140.

THE war with the *Moors* continued all this time as hot as *The* ever, and the alcaides, *Aben-Azuel*, of *Cordova*, and *Aben-Moors*, by *Ceta*, of *Seville*, having united their forces, resolved to undertake an expedition of importance; the consequences of which might prove more favourable to their nation than those prædatory excursions that were commonly the business of their summers. Accordingly, having taken all the precautions that they thought necessary, and assembled the utmost force of their respective governments, they directed their march, with as much secrecy as possible, towards the fortress of *Mora*, between the rivers *Guadiana* and *Tayo*, and at no great distance from *Toledo*; a place of infinite importance, as it covered the Christian frontier on one side, and opened a passage into the *Moorish* territories on the other; where the Christian governor, *Muna Alonso*, through an inexcusable indolence, was so ill provided, that the place was easily surprised, and himself, with some difficulty, made his escape to *Toledo*<sup>o</sup>. The

<sup>l</sup> *Lucæ Tudensis Chron. FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.* <sup>k</sup> *Chron. var. antiq.* <sup>l</sup> *RODERIC TOLETAN*

*de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Lucæ Tudensis Chron.* <sup>m</sup> *MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. ix.* <sup>n</sup> *Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.*

<sup>o</sup> *RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.*

*Moors* instantly furnished it with all things necessary, and a numerous garrison; and, having recommended the support of it to the alcaide of *Calatrava*, to whom it served as a barrier, returned home in triumph <sup>p</sup>. The emperor was very much affected at this news, and therefore sent immediate orders to build a new fortress over-against that of *Mora*, and to place in it a good garrison, under the command of Don *Martin Fernandez*, to which new castle they gave the name of *Piedra Negra*, or the Black Stone <sup>q</sup>. As for *Muna Alonso* he was so much ashamed of his late disgrace, that, putting himself at the head of such forces as his friends were content to furnish him with, he made repeated inroads, in order to recover his reputation; and the emperor, who was naturally of a mild disposition, did not send for him to reprimand him as he expected for so capital an omission, but willingly allowed him leisure to repair his fortune <sup>r</sup>.

A. D.

1141.

*Coria, after a short siege, is recovered from the Moors by the emperor.*

As the *Moors* had lately received great reinforcements, and seemed to threaten some expedition of importance, the emperor, being first well apprised of the strength of his frontiers, ordered Don *Roderic Fernandez* to make an excursion from *Toledo*, and with a good body of troops that were under his own command, and were intended for the war in *Portugal*, suddenly invested *Coria*, which hitherto had defended itself against all attempts by the strength of its situation, and the care taken to keep the garrison always complete, and in good order. It was for this reason, perhaps, that they were less alarmed than otherwise they would have been at the news of this siege, which the emperor prosecuted with great judgment; for, having made a breach on one side of the place, and finding the enemy numerous, and bent upon an obstinate defence, he remained quiet till famine had brought the *Moors* so low, that they offered to capitulate, in case they were not relieved in thirty days; to which he consented <sup>s</sup>. But the governor of *Toledo*, being informed of the situation that things were in, made his irruption just at this juncture, which put it out of the power of the alcaides of *Cordova* and *Seville* to succour the place; which, at the close therefore of the thirty days, surrendered; upon which the emperor caused the breach to be immediately repaired, filled the magazines with provisions of all sorts, and, leaving a strong garrison, returned to *Salamanca*; and then sending for *Muna Alonso*, commended his services highly, and declared him

A. D.

1142.

<sup>p</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

var. antiq.

<sup>q</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb.

<sup>r</sup> RODERIC

<sup>s</sup> Chron.

lieutenant



lieutenant to Don *Roderic Fernandez* in the government of the city and kingdom of *Toledo*\*, rewarding his good, and passing by the ill consequences that had attended his imprudent behaviour.

THIS promotion inspired Don *Muna Alonso* with so warm a desire of signalizing his gratitude, as well as his courage, that, on the first of *March*, in the ensuing year, he made an incursion, with nine hundred horse and a thousand foot, into the territory of *Cordova*, where his troops acquired a great booty†. But the alcaydes, *Aben-Azuel* and *Aben Ceta*, intending an expedition of the same kind, had just joined their forces, when they had intelligence of Don *Muna Alonso's* retreat, whom they followed with such diligence, that they quickly came up with him, and surrounded his troops, laden with booty, with forces far superior to those which he commanded. Don *Muna* divided his forces into two battalions, and, having recommended themselves to the protection of God, began the fight with great courage, which they prosecuted with such intrepidity, that the *Moors* were not only beaten, but both the alcaydes slain, and their heads carried in triumph to *Toledo*; where, after they had for some time been placed on the palace, the empress caused them to be taken down, and sent to *Cordova* in a silver box, that they might be restored to their wives, in remembrance of the civility she had received from those alcaydes in their life-time‡.

THE emperor, having assembled a numerous army, and being on the point of making an irruption into the enemies country, sent orders to *Muna Alonso* and to *Martin Fernandez* to put themselves, with a strong corps of troops, into the fortress of *Piedra Negra*, with strict injunctions to cover his own territory from the incursions of the enemy, and to hinder them from making any additions to the castle of *Mora*. On the other hand, *Texefin-ben-Ali*, monarch of the *Moors* in *Africa* and *Spain*, had sent express orders for providing the fortress of *Mora* with every thing necessary, and for augmenting the works of that place; with the performance of which service, his viceroy charged *Farax-Adali*, alcayde of *Calatrava*, who, after making all the preparations necessary for that purpose, marched towards *Mora* with a numerous body of troops. *Muna Alonso*, in pursuance of the emperor's instructions, issued with a small troop of horse from the fortress of *Piedra Negra* to scour the country, and by accident picked

\* RODERIC TOLETAN, Hist. Arabum. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

† RODERIC TOLETAN, de reb. Hispan. l vii. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

‡ RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

up a straggling *Moore*, who gave him intelligence of the al-cayde's approach. Upon this, advancing to an eminence, he met the van of the *Moorish* troops, and charged them so briskly, that he drove them back in confusion upon their main body; of which, when he had taken view, he returned to the fortress to consult with his colleague. On his report, *Martin Fernandez* proposed marching out and meeting them in the field; to which *Muna Alonso* readily consented. When they had proceeded as far as the wells of *Agador*, they found the *Moors* drawn up in good order, whom they attacked with great spirit, and were received with much firmness. The dispute was sharp, and by no means decisive, both parties finding it requisite to retire in order to gain a little repose. But *Muna Alonso*, perceiving that his colleague was wounded, advised him to retire to *Piedra Negra*, with such as were in the same condition, or had lost their horses, to take the necessary measures for the security of the place; while he, with the remainder of their forces, should endeavour to give a check to the *Moors*, in case they attempted to attack it by surprise \*.

After a  
most gal-  
lant de-  
fence is  
killed in an  
action by  
the infidels.

A. D.

1143.

*FARAX ADALI*, having received a reinforcement, marched speedily to find out the Christians; who, perceiving their great inequality in number, marched to an eminence, called *Pegna de el Zeirbo*, where they might have some advantage of ground. The *Moors* quickly invested them; and, after harrassing them with distant attacks, at length charged them on all sides with such fury, that, being already weakened and fatigued, they were quickly broken and cut to pieces; which, however, had not happened so soon, if their gallant leader had not been slain at the beginning of the general attack. The al-cayde, as soon as his body was found, caused his head, his left arm, and his right leg, to be cut off, and sent to the widow of *Aben-Azuel* at *Cordova*, who was to transmit them to the widow of *Aben-Geta* at *Seville*, by whom they were to be conducted to the king of *Morocco*; the rest of the dismembered body he restored to the Christians; who, with sorrowful solemnity, caused it to be buried at *Toledo*. The emperor received this unwelcome news at *Talavera*, to which city he was returned after a glorious campaign; which, however, did not console him for the loss of this gallant commander, which he resolved to revenge, and repair the ensuing year, and gave orders that all his forces should assemble for that purpose early in the spring †.

The king  
of Na-

At the time *Don Alonso* deliberated on the proper object of this expedition, his subjects complained to him so loudly

\* Annal. TOLETAN.

† Chron. APOSTOLIS Imperat.

of the disturbance given them by the *Moorish* garrison in the *varrem.* fortrefs of *Mora*, that he determined with himself to pluck *ries Donna* that thorn from their sides before he made an irruption into *Urraca*, the enemies country; and, having accordingly invested the *natural* place, he proceeded to the siege in form; but the garrison, *daughter* perceiving little or no hopes of relief, thought proper, by an *to the em-* early capitulation, to procure for themselves the best terms they *peror.* could; by which means this place came again into the hands of the Christians<sup>2</sup>. It was, in all probability, some intelligence that the emperor received during the time he was in camp before *Mora*, which induced him to alter his plan, and to assemble all the forces of *Castile* and *Leon* towards the middle of the month of *May*, in the neighbourhood of *Najara*, with a full resolution to reduce the monarch of *Navarre* so low, that it should not be in his power to disturb him, and his brother the prince of *Arragon* in haste. But when he was on the point of entering that king's dominions, Don *Garcia* sent some of his prelates and nobility to inform him of his great respect for his person, his sincere desire to live with him upon good terms for the future, and his inclination to marry *Donna Urraca*, the emperor's natural daughter<sup>2</sup>. This proposition disarmed the emperor, who, as he had nothing in view but to be quiet on that side, readily granted all he asked; and, having dismissed his troops, returned to *Leon*; to which city came the empress *Donna Berengara*, with most of the nobility of the two kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*; thither also came the princess *Donna Sancha*, the emperor's sister, bringing with her her beautiful niece *Donna Urraca*; and soon after arrived Don *Garcia*, attended by the flower of his nobility<sup>b</sup>. The marriage was celebrated with all imaginable pomp and magnificence, on the 24th of *June*; the emperor gave his daughter a large sum of money, made very rich presents to the king of *Navarre* and his nobility at their departure, and sent several persons of the first quality to accompany them to *Pampeluna*<sup>c</sup>. These rejoicings over, the emperor returned to *Toledo*; and, in the month of *September*, made an irruption with all his forces into the *Moorish* territories, ravaged the country as far as *Granada* and the sea coast, and returned with an immense booty, and a prodigious number of slaves, to his capital, in the beginning of winter<sup>d</sup>.

A. D.

1144.

<sup>2</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>2</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hisp. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. <sup>b</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. Annal. TOLETAN. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. <sup>c</sup> Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. <sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

Civil  
wars, and  
great re-  
volutions,  
amongst  
the Moors  
settled in  
Spain.

THE affairs of the *Moors* at this time were in the utmost confusion; for *Texefin-ben-Ali* found himself so distressed in *Africa*, that instead of yielding his subjects in *Spain* any assistance, he was continually requiring such supplies from thence as exhausted them; insomuch that the *Spanish Moors* determined at length to throw off the yoke, and to render themselves once more independent. It was with this view that they demanded of the emperor *Don Alonso*, *Zafadola* his vassal, on account of his being descended from their antient kings of *Cordova*, to whom they joined *Mohammed*, who was sprung from the same blood, and put them in possession of a great part of the country<sup>e</sup>; while the viceroy, *Aben-Gama*, could only preserve the castle of *Cordova*, the city of *Seville*, and two or three other places; and soon after one *Haben-Fandi*, a pretended saint, seized *Cordova* and *Calatrava*; while *Jaen*, *Granada*, and *Mercia*, remained to *Zafadola*; *Seville*, and the rest of *Andaluzia*, to *Aben-Gama*; *Mortala*, *Valentia*, *Merida*, and *Tortosa*, to *Mohammed*<sup>f</sup>. *Zafadola*, not contented with his share, requested assistance from the emperor, who sent three of his generals with a considerable body of forces to his aid, with whom, after they had done him much service, he quarrelled, and attacked them with his *Moorish* troops, but was quickly beaten and taken prisoner; and the soldiers, not being able to agree whose prisoner he was, killed him to put an end to the dispute<sup>g</sup>. *Aben-Gama* took this opportunity to recover *Cordova*, which he did, and obliged *Haben-Fandi* to fly to *Andujar*, and soon after delivered it up to the emperor *Don Alonso*, from whom he received it again as his feudatory. That monarch also took the advantage of these troubles to besiege and render himself master of *Calatrava*, a place of great importance; and by which he acquired the command of the best part of *La Mancha*, which removed the *Moors* so much farther from *Toledo*.

A. D.  
1147.

By the assistance of the French, Genoese, and Pisans, the emperor takes Almeria. THE distractions of the *Moors* induced the emperor to hope for success in an expedition of still greater importance, which was the reduction of the city, fortress, and port of *Almeria*, at that time by much the strongest place the *Moors* had in *Spain*; from whence their privateers, which were exceedingly numerous, not only troubled the coasts inhabited by their Christian neighbours, but gave equal disturbance to the maritime provinces of *France*, *Italy*, and the adjacent islands. But for the reduction of this place a maritime force, superior to that of the enemy, was absolutely necessary,

<sup>e</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.  
<sup>f</sup> Chron. var. antiqu.    <sup>g</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

which

which induced him to negotiate supplies from his brother-in-law the prince of *Aragon*, the duke of *Montpellier*, the republic of *Genoa* and *Pisa*, who gave him the strongest assurances, that if he took the proper measures for investing the place by land, their squadron should not fail to block up the port by the first of *August*<sup>h</sup>; and *Don Alonso*, relying on this engagement, was no sooner reinforced by the troops of *Navarre*, than he entered upon this great undertaking with all the forces of his dominions, and invaded *Andaluzia* in the beginning of the month of *May* (S). He first of all reduced *Banas* and *Cazlona*, and then proceeded to invest *Baecca*, which made a vigorous defence, and did not surrender before the middle of *June*. He put into the place a strong garrison, commanded by *Don Manrique de Lara*, and, marching thro' the territories of the *Moors*, invested *Almeria* on the land side completely by the first of *August*, his confederates, with four

<sup>h</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

(S) It is supposed by some, that the place, since called *Almeria*, rose upon the ruins of the antient town of *Abdera*; though others conceive, that *Abdera* lay somewhat farther to the east (1). It lies within a fine bay, at the mouth of a pleasant river, close by the sea shore, and was in those days all that it is said to be in the text; and, upon its reduction under the power of the Christians, became a bishoprick; whereas at present it is very little better than a village, but indifferently inhabited, and has nothing to testify so much as the probability of its former greatness, except it be certain circumstances that cannot be lost or effaced even by the indolence of the *Spaniards*. What these are, an ingenious countryman of our own thus elegantly describes (2): "Its climate," says he, "is so peculiarly blessed, that one really wants words to express its charms and ex-

cellence. Its fields and meads are covered with flowers all the year round; they are adorned also with palms, myrtles, plane trees, oranges, and olives; and the mountains and promontories near it are as noted for their producing a great variety of precious stones, inasmuch that the next promontory to it is called the *Cape of Gates*, which is a corruption from the word *agates*, the hills thereabouts abounding in that sort of precious stones, as well as in emeralds and amethysts, granates, or coarse rubies, and extreme curious alabaster in the mountain of *Filaures*. And what is also very singular, there is a considerable river that runs directly under the town, and then immediately discharges itself into the sea." Such is the site of *Almeria*, which was once so strong and magnificent a place.

(1) *Indic. Rer. ab Aragon. Regib. gest. lib. i. Portugal, by Udalap Rbyr, p. 172.*

(2) *Tour through Spain and*

fine

five squadrons, lying before the bay. The city being strongly fortified, having a noble castle, a numerous garrison, and being excellently provided with every thing necessary, made a gallant and glorious defence; but at length the emperor took it by storm, on the 17th of October<sup>1</sup>, putting all the inhabitants to the sword who were found in arms; after which the victor distributed the best part of the plunder amongst his allies, whom he sent away thoroughly satisfied; and the *Getaese* particularly, who acquired, here that emerald vessel<sup>2</sup>, which still remains in their treasury, and is esteemed invaluable; yet the emperor, who remained master of the place, and delivered his subjects from the continual apprehensions they were under from this nest of corsairs, was by much the greatest gainer, and very wisely looked upon this campaign as the most glorious, as well as the most advantageous, with which Providence had favoured his arms.

Aben-Gama, the Moorish viceroy, forms a conspiracy against the emperor's life,

THE joy which this important acquisition gave to the Christians, however great, did not at all exceed the sorrow, vexation, and terror, with which the infidels were affected by so great a loss, but more especially *Aben-Gama*, who felt so sensible a regret on this account, that from the apprehension of the consequences that might, or rather must attend it, and despairing of any other method to ballance it, he projected, contrary to his faith and duty, as he was his vassal, against the dictates of honour and the principles of religion, the murder of the emperor<sup>1</sup>. In order to effect this, he threw himself into the strong city of *Jaen*, and sent Don *Alonso* a message with great secrecy, that if he would advance towards him with a small body of chosen troops, with as much privacy as possible, he would open the gates, and admit him into the city, as he had done into *Cordova*<sup>2</sup>. The emperor was very near falling into the snare; but some of his nobility, to whom he communicated this proposition, dissuaded him earnestly; so that he sent Don *Manrique de Lara*, with part of his garrison, to demand of the *Moorish* chief the performance of his promise; and he had no sooner admitted that nobleman into *Jaen* than he attempted to secure him, and those who attended him; but the populace, either not understanding his scheme, or fearing the resentment of the emperor, raised a tumult, in which *Aben-Gama* was stabbed<sup>3</sup>, and Don *Manrique*, and those who were to have been the

<sup>1</sup> ANNAL. TOLETAN. Chron. ADEPHONS Imperat. \* RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. <sup>2</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEPHONS Imperat. <sup>3</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>4</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

victims of his treachery, were either permitted to withdraw by the inhabitants, or found means in the midst of this confusion to open a passage for their escape<sup>o</sup>; by which disappointment, and the death of the *Moorish* governor, the disturbances amongst the infidels were very much increased, as in some places there was scarce any form of government left (T).

The year following began with mourning; for on the *The death* third of *February* died the empress Donna Berengara, ex- of the im-  
tremely regretted by Don Alonso and all his subjects, and her press Be-  
body was interred with all the pomp and ceremony due to rengara,  
her high rank in the apostolic church of St. James at Com- or Beren-  
pafella P. In the beginning of *March* the emperor held the guela, and  
great assembly of estates at Leon, where he declared his sons disturb-  
Don Sancho and Don Ferdinand kings<sup>9</sup>, the former of ances a-  
Castile, the mountains of Burgos, Biscay, and Toledo; the mong the  
latter of Leon, Asturias, and Galicia, according to their an- Moors.

<sup>o</sup> Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Ara-  
bum.

P RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. ALPHONSI a Car-  
thagena reg. Hisp. ANACEPHALÆOSIS FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de  
reg. Hispaniæ.

<sup>9</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

(T) We are assured by some eminent historians, amongst whom we may reckon *Mariana*, that the emperor had received a former specimen of the temper and fidelity of *Aben-Gama*, who, at the time he surrendered *Cordova* into the hands of that prince, suffered him at the instance of Don Raymond, archbishop of *Toledo*, to reconsecrate the cathedral, esteemed the largest and finest in the whole kingdom; and this only with a view that he might not leave a garrison behind him, which might have put him under great difficulties. But when the emperor had once lost this opportunity, *Aben-Gama* took care he should not recover it, by repairing the fortifications, and placing there the best part of his forces (1). He had, therefore, good

reason to doubt his sincerity at *Jaen*; but as that also was of much importance, the emperor was exceedingly desirous of making the most of these confusions while they lasted: he was very near being made the victim of his own ambition. It is very uncertain how Don Manuel de Lara, and those who were with him, escaped, which, the nature of this adventure considered, we cannot think strange. Amongst the singular events, however, attending this enterprize, we may discern, in the death of *Aben-Gama*, that sooner or later fraud becomes fatal to itself; and that he, who is intent upon over-reaching his neighbour, finds himself, when he least expects it, the miserable contriver of his own destruction (2).

(1) *Mariana, Historia general de España, lib. x. Imperat. Ferreras, &c.*

(2) *Chron. Adefons.*

tient

A. D.  
1149.

tient limits ; which remarkable event some historians place earlier, and some later ; but public inscriptions, and their signatures to privileges and charters by this new title, are the circumstances which have determined us to this date \*. The new dynasty of *Almohades*, which, after overturning that of the *Almoravides* in *Africa*, had likewise gained most of the places they possessed in *Spain*, and particularly *Cordova*, treated the few remaining Christians in *Andalusia* according to their bigotted maxims, with unrelenting severity ; so that, in a very short space of time, all who worshipped God according to the lights of the Gospel, were either transported to *Africa*, or utterly extirpated ; which cruelty, joined with the sending over several bodies of *Moors*, and the known ambition of the new conqueror of *Morocco*, obliged the emperor not to wait till the *Mohammedans* were in a condition to attack him, but to prosecute those expeditions, by which he had hitherto so successfully weakened these implacable enemies †.

*A glorious  
victory ob-  
tained  
over them  
by the em-  
peror and  
Don Gar-  
cia.*

As soon, therefore, as the assembly of the estates was over, he gave instructions to his principal nobility to make their levies in the winter, and to bring their respective quotas into the neighbourhood of *Toledo* early in the ensuing spring. Count *Manrique*, who commanded the forces of that kingdom, in obedience to the emperor's command, took the field in the beginning of the month of *March*, and was very speedily joined by the king *Don Garcia*, at the head of a chosen body of his forces ; the count *Ferdinand Perez de Trava* appeared at the head of the *Galicians*, those of *Asturias* and *Leon* were led by *Don Ramiro Prolax*, *Don Guitterex Fernandez* was at the head of the *Castilians*, and *Don Ponce* brought the whole strength of the country of *Estremadura* ‡. The emperor put himself at the head of the army as soon as it was assembled, entered the enemy's territories, and proposed to besiege *Cordova*, but received intelligence in his march, that the enemy had formed the like design against *Toledo* ; and, upon news of his invasion, were in full march to attack him. *Don Alonso* immediately made the proper dispositions to receive them ; and it was not long before the *Moorish* army appeared, and charged the Christians with great fury. Their impetuosity at first occasioned some disorder ; but as the troops of *Don Alonso* and *Don Garcia* were men accustomed to service, they quickly repaired this disaster ; and perceiving that the enemy began to

\* FERRERAS Historia de Espana, P. v. §. 12.  
TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. Annal. TOLETAN.  
ADEFONS Imperat.

† RODERIC  
Chron.



relent, attacked them in their turn on all sides with such firmness and intrepidity, that the *Moors* were quickly broke, and those in the rear began a precipitate retreat towards *Cordova* <sup>u</sup>. The emperor and the king of *Navarre* pursued them so vigorously, that the whole army was obliged to have recourse to the same measure, and, not without very great loss, retired into that city, which the Christians quickly invested. But the emperor, perceiving that the siege would be long and bloody, and that when it was over his forces would not be in a condition to undertake any thing of importance, and perhaps find it no easy matter to preserve the place, he very prudently raised the siege <sup>w</sup>. He then marched to *Jaca*, which was in no condition to resist so great a force, plundered it <sup>x</sup>, and would have proceeded to *Seville*, if the *French*, who had promised to send him a fleet to assist him in the reduction of that city, had not obliged him to put an end to a campaign already sufficiently glorious. At his return to *Toledo*, he found the archbishop, Don *Raymond*, dead, who was succeeded by Don *John*; and on the 21st of *November*, the same year, Don *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, ended his life at *Pampeluna*, soon after his return thither, to the great regret of his father-in-law <sup>y</sup>.

A. D.  
1150.

In the beginning of the ensuing year the emperor caused great preparations to be made for solemnizing the marriage, long before concluded, of his son the Infant Don *Sancho* with the Infanta Donna *Blanca*, daughter to the deceased, and sister to the reigning, king of *Navarre*; which was accordingly performed at *Najara* on the twenty-fourth of *February* <sup>z</sup>, with very great magnificence. At the same time this marriage was celebrated, Donna *Urraca*, queen dowager of *Navarre*, returned to her father's court, and received from him the principality of *Asturias*, the government of which she was to hold by way of appennage from the crown, for her subsistence, in a manner suitable to her birth; from whence we find her commonly stiled by the antient *Spanish* writers, Donna *Urraca* the *Asturian* <sup>a</sup>. There was the same year an interview between the emperor and the prince of *Arragon*; but those who infer from thence, that a league was then made between these princes for the destruction, or at least the conquest, of the kingdom of *Navarre*, seem to

A. D.  
1151.

<sup>u</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

<sup>w</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>x</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>y</sup> Annal. TOLETAN, MAYERNE

TURQUET Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. ix.

<sup>z</sup> LUCÆ

Tudensis Chronicon, ADEFONS Imperat.

<sup>a</sup> FERRERAS

Historia de Espana, p. v. §. 12.

be mistaken; since, on the one hand, it is highly improbable that the emperor should meditate the ruin of a prince so nearly and lately allied to him; and, on the other, it is not consistent with facts, since we find nothing of the execution of this league, either within the compass of this or the next year. It is indeed true, that the emperor left the *Mohammedans* undisturbed for about eighteen months, and then made an irruption into *Andalusia*, where the Infant Don *Alonso* gained great reputation, by defeating a body of *Moors*<sup>b</sup>, who attempted to disturb the emperor in his siege of *Jaén*; which, however, he found so strongly fortified, and so well defended, that he was obliged to raise it; and, leaving the army, returned to *Toledo*, while his troops continued to harass the *Moors*, though without any remarkable success, even in the depth of winter, which disabled them from making incursions in the spring, according to custom.

A. D.  
1152.

Other  
marriages  
of the em-  
peror, and  
in the im-  
perial fa-  
mily.

THE emperor having judged it expedient to marry a second wife, and the king Don *Sancho*, of *Navarre*, having signified his desire of espousing the Infanta Donna *Sancha*, the emperor's daughter, the town of *Soria* was made choice of as the most convenient for the celebration of both their nuptials. The princess, of whom the emperor had made choice, was named *Rica*, the daughter of *Ladislaus* the second, king of *Poland*, and the princess *Inez* of *Austria*, who, being conducted thither, the emperor espoused her on the fourth of *June*, in the presence of the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*; the king Don *Sancho*, when he married the Infanta, was, according to the custom of those times, made a knight by his father-in-law, and reconciled to Don *Raymond* of *Arragon*, at least for the present<sup>c</sup>. Some time after *Louis* the seventh, king of *France*, concluded a marriage with Donna *Constança* the emperor's daughter, having been a little before divorced from his first queen *Eleonora*, duchess of *Aquitaine*<sup>d</sup>. These marriages seem to have occupied the attention of the court, and to have prevented the war from being carried on against the *Moors* with the same vigour as in the former years. However it was still kept on foot, and served to hinder those infidels from undertaking any thing of consequence against the Christians, in conjunction with their intestine disputes, which at this time were as high and fierce as ever; and perhaps the not attacking them might increase them.

A. D.  
1153.

A. D.  
1154.

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.  
Chronicon, Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

<sup>c</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis  
<sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN  
de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

BUT, as soon as the situation of his affairs would give him *The ar-*  
leave, the emperor, with a numerous army, passing through *rival of*  
that part of *La Mancha* which belonged to the *Moors*, and *Louis VII.*  
travelling the *Sierra Morena*, after taking several places of *king of*  
small force, set down before *Andujar*, which was so well *France, at*  
fortified, that it had escaped hitherto, though besieged by *Toledo,*  
numerous armies. Yet this monarch took his measures so *and his*  
well, and his reputation was so great, that, after a gallant de- *reception*  
fence, the besieged judged it expedient to provide for their *by the em-*  
own safety by a timely capitulation, which was granted *peror.*  
them. We have good reason to believe, that the emperor  
had set his heart very much upon this conquest, since, while  
he lay before the place, he had the news, that his son-in-law  
king *Louis*, and his daughter *Donna Constança*, were arrived  
in *Spain* with a design of visiting the tomb of the apostle *St.*  
*James* at *Compostella*. He sent to compliment them, and to  
desire, that, after they had performed their devotions, they  
would repair to *Toledo*, where he promised to meet them;  
which he did after the conclusion of the campaign, and en-  
tertained them with great magnificence, and caused them to  
be accompanied at their return by the two kings his sons,  
and by *Don Sancho* king of *Navarre*. On the eleventh of  
*November*, the same year, the king *Don Sancho*, of *Castile*,  
had a son born to him, who was named *Alonso*, and in pro-  
cess of time became one of the greatest princes that ever  
reigned in *Spain*; but the queen *Donna Blanca*, his mother,  
died a few months after. This, as it created great grief  
in the imperial family, so it seems to have been fatal to her  
own; for the emperor having consented to a match be-  
tween *Don Alonso*, son to *Don Raymond* of *Aragon*, and his  
daughter *Donna Sancha*, who was hardly out of her cradle, *A. D.*  
was prevailed upon, in consequence of this alliance, to in- *1056.*  
vade the kingdom of *Navarre*.

WE know little of the progress of that war, at least with *The death*  
regard to the emperor, who seems to have been diverted *of Alonso*  
from it by the news of a powerful invasion meditated by the *VII. who*  
*Moors*. He resolved to prevent this by marching with all *alone wore*  
his forces into *Andalusia*, accompanied by his son *Don San-*  
*cho* king of *Castile*, and by the principal lords and prelates *the glori-*  
of his court, amongst whom was the archbishop of *Toledo.* *ous title of*  
emperor.  
He advanced directly towards the enemy, whom he attacked  
with the utmost vigour, and, after an obstinate and bloody  
resistance, totally defeated them with great slaughter. But,

\* RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

f Chron. var. antiq.

z FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. §. 12.

h Chron.

ADEFONS Imperat.

i RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

before he had time to prosecute this glorious victory, he found himself attacked by a disease, which made him sensible that his end was quickly approaching. He quitted therefore the command of the army to his son *Don Sancho*, and set out on his return towards *Toledo*. His distemper, however, continually increasing, he stopped at a little place called *Fresneda* on the frontiers, where, on the twenty-first day of *August* in the year 1157, he resigned his soul to his creator, being assisted in his last moments by the archbishop of *Toledo*<sup>k</sup>. He was indisputably one of the greatest monarchs *Spain* ever had to boast of. He extended his dominions from the mountains of *Biscay* to those of the *Sierra Morena*, had the singular honour of receiving the homage of the kings of *Navarre* and *Aragon*, and of acquiring, in consequence of that, the glorious title of emperor<sup>l</sup>, which has indeed been ascribed to some of his predecessors, but without due proof. He loved, and was beloved by, his nobility; but at the same time he justly acquired, by his paternal care and strict maintenance of the laws, the title of the father of the commons, whom he protected from all oppression, and rendered far more happy and easy in their circumstances, than they had formerly been. He was a consummate and successful general, and withal the ablest politician of his time; and did more towards the recovery of *Spain* out of the hands of the infidels, than any of the princes who had reigned before him, his grandfather of the same name only excepted. He was highly respected by his neighbours, and even by the *Moorish* princes, amongst whom *Mohammed Abenzel*, king of *Murcia*, became his vassal but a few years before his death<sup>m</sup>. His son, *Don Sancho*, no sooner understood that he had breathed his last, than he quitted the army to attend his corpse to *Toledo*, where it was interred in the royal chapel of the cathedral, with a pomp suitable to the melancholy occasion<sup>n</sup>. In one respect this great prince may be esteemed more happy than his ancestors, that all his great actions were both fairly and fully recorded, in a *Latin* chronicle that bears his name, and was written in or near his time, which is that we have cited after *Ferreras*, and has supplied us with many particulars, and rectified many dates, that must otherwise have remained perplexed or doubtful.

<sup>k</sup> Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. ix. <sup>l</sup> FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. §. 12. <sup>m</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>n</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. ALPHONSI a Carthagena de reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

As soon as the funeral of the emperor was over, Don *Sancho* repaired to *Burgos*, where he was unanimously acknowledged and received as king of *Castile*, his brother, Don *Ferdinand*, being with equal unanimity admitted to the sovereignty of the kingdom of *Leon*, *Asturias*, and *Galicia*. But, like young princes, they were more attentive to the ceremony and pomp of their inaugurations, than to the high and arduous functions of kings. In consequence of this, though the death of Don *Alonso* did not affect the civil government, yet it had a very great influence on their military affairs. The *Moors* were no sooner acquainted with it, than they flattered themselves the fortune of *Spain* was departed, the terror impressed by his name wore away, and, assembling in crouds, they offered themselves to their commanders; who, making a proper use of this alacrity, fell upon *Pedraches*, *Andujar*, *Baeza*, and all the places they had lately lost, which they recovered with great facility, and drove the Christians in one autumn campaign out of all that the emperor had acquired in *Andalusia*; upon which happy success, they addressed themselves to *Abdulmenon*, king of *Morocco*, beseeching him not to let slip this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and the dominions of the *Moors*. He received this application so favourably, and promised such speedy and prodigious succours, that the *Knights Templars*, who held the town of *Calatrava* as a fief from the crown, resigned it as a place they should not be able to defend; upon which Don *Sancho* published an edict, in which he offered to give that place to any of his nobility, who would undertake to maintain and support it; the consequences of which will be hereafter seen at large P.

DON *Ferdinand* was hardly seated on the throne of *Leon*, before he found, like most young kings, his person besieged by flatterers, to whom he was but too accessible; so that the first acts of his government were such as had an evident tendency to overturn it; for, in consequence of the bad advices given him, he discarded Don *Ponce de Minerva*, and most of the old officers and statesmen that had been the friends and favourites of his father; who, finding themselves removed from all their employments, retired to the court of *Burgos*, and were received with extraordinary respect and kindness by the king of *Castile*. Don *Sancho* was no sooner acquainted with the motives which had induced

\* *MARIANA* Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. *FERRERAS* Historia de Espana, p. v. §. 12. *MAYERNE TURQUET* Histoire generale d'Espagne, liv. ix. P Chron. var. antiq. q *RODERIC TOLETAN* de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. *LUCÆ Tudenf.* Chron.

them to take shelter under his protection, than he marched with a considerable army into his brother's dominions; of which Don *Ferdinand* no sooner received intelligence, than he set out to meet his brother with a small retinue; for they had hitherto lived together with so much friendship and affection, that he could not apprehend any danger in the presence of one to whom he had been always dear. He met him at the abbey of *Sabazon* just as he was going to dinner, and the brothers, as soon as they had embraced, sat down to table<sup>r</sup>. After they had done, Don *Sancho* told him, "that he was glad to see him in that condition; for that, finding his principal nobility retired out of his dominions, he apprehended he stood in need of his assistance; he added, that their father was a wise man, as well as a great prince; that the former enabled him to make choice of such officers and counsellors, as raised him into the latter condition; and that he had given him little in giving a kingdom, if he had not likewise left him these; that he must therefore take them home with him, listen to their advice, discard his flatterers, and rely upon it, that, if his own forces were not sufficient, himself and his *Castilians* were ready to assist him upon any proper occasion." Don *Ferdinand* taking all this in good part, Don *Sancho* left him his old servants, and returned into *Castile* with his army<sup>s</sup>. The king of *Navarre* conceived this a fit time to recover the province of *Riaja*, which he looked upon as with-held from him by force, and which therefore he had a right to reduce, whenever it was in his power; but Don *Sancho* had intelligence of his design before he marched against his brother, and therefore appointed the count Don *Ponce* to command the troops intended for the defence of that province; in which command he behaved in such a manner, that the king of *Navarre* thought proper to retire into his own dominions, without coming to action.

He complains all differences with the king of Arragon, and concludes with him a treaty.

UPON his return into his own territories, the first thing the king of *Castile* did, was to put the monarchs of *Arragon* and *Navarre* in mind, that the former was his uncle, the latter his brother-in-law; that, besides this, he had never offended either; and that it would not recommend them in the sight of God or of man, to take advantage of that invasion with which the *Moors* threatened his dominions; but that, if they conceived any injustice on his side, he was ready to meet them either together or apart, and to give

<sup>r</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
v. §. 12.

<sup>s</sup> FERRERAS Historia de España, p.

them any reasonable satisfaction. Both monarchs accepted this proposal; in consequence of which he had an interview with the king of *Navarre* at *Almazan*, where a peace and defensive alliance was concluded between them<sup>t</sup>. He went thence to *Osma*, where he met his uncle *Don Raymond*, who expostulated freely with him on the acquisitions made by his father, at the expence of the crown of *Aragon*, alleging, that the emperor ought to have been content with his homage, which he rendered him freely, and not have curtailed his dominions. *Don Sancho* told him, that what he liked he would keep, and what he disliked he would restore; and accordingly consented by a treaty, that all the country on the right of the river *Ebro* should belong to the king of *Aragon* as in times past, upon condition that he did homage to the king of *Castile*, and assisted him with his sword drawn at his coronation; which conditions were readily accepted, and *Don Raymond* promised him a choice body of his troops<sup>u</sup>. About this time *St. Raymond*, abbot of *Vitro*, undertook the defence of *Calatrava*, without any other force than that of another monk, whose name was *Diego Velasquez*, who, as well as himself, had borne arms many years before they wore frocks; and without any other fund than that of their zeal and piety. The king granted the fortress without scruple; and, in the space of a few weeks they by their sermons raised twenty thousand men, and the means of subsisting them; upon which *St. Raymond* gave the rule of the *Cistercian* order a military turn, from whence arose that order of religious chivalry, which has been since distinguished by the name of *Calatrava*<sup>w</sup> (U).

ABEN-

<sup>t</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
España, lib. xi. Chron. var. antiq.  
de España, p. v. §. 12.

<sup>u</sup> MARIANA Historia general de  
<sup>w</sup> FERRERAS Historia

(U) In respect to points that depend upon records, there is a degree of certainty superior to most others; and therefore we find almost all the historians agree in placing the institution of this order anno 1158. This whole transaction is very fully and very elegantly related by *Mariana*, who observes, that the Knights Templars dishonoured themselves extremely by so base a proceeding; which however so far discouraged the nobility,

that notwithstanding the offers made, and the temptation of so rich and noble a fief, there was not one of them who had the courage to accept the king's offer, and undertake the defence of the place; which reduced that monarch to the necessity of promising it to any who would engage to keep it. *Don Diego Velasquez*, an old experienced officer, who had taken the *Cistercian* order, framed in his own mind a scheme for compound-

K 2

ing

*He dies suddenly, to the universal grief of his subjects, after a short reign.*

ABEN-JACOB, the son of *Abdumenon* king of *Morocco*, having brought over a great number of *Moors* from *Africa*, began to make vast preparations for attacking the kingdom of *Toledo*; upon which the inhabitants of *Avila* and the *Estremadurians*, with the consent of *Don Sancho*, assembled a great body of troops, with which they fell into the district about *Seville*. *Aben-Jacob*, as soon as he received intelligence of this, joined his forces with those of *Dalegen* and *Aben-Gamar*, and marched immediately to attack the Christians. The action was obstinate and bloody, but at length victory declared on the side of the Christians, and the *Moors* were not only beaten with great slaughter, but lost also their

ing the two professions he had himself sustained; and being strongly persuaded the thing might be accomplished, importuned *Don Raymond*, abbot of *Vitero*, to challenge the king's promise, which at length he did. *Diego Velasquez* procured from *John* archbishop of *Toledo*, in whose diocese *Calatrava* lay, a large sum of money; which enabled him to repair the fortifications. He then preached to the young nobility, that instead of retiring into convents, to pass an idle and inactive life, it would be far more glorious in the sight of God and man to dedicate themselves to the service and defence of their faith and country, in a manner suitable to their birth and breeding; and having by this means drawn eight or nine thousand men together, he insinuated to the common people the great strength and happy situation of *Calatrava*, now so well fortified, and provided with such a garrison, as afforded them a prospect of greater security than in most other places; adding, that the delightful villages along the *Guadiana*, under its jurisdiction, might be easily repaired, and be held from the knights upon very

moderate terms; by which he brought together ten or twelve thousand citizens and peasants; and in the course of a few years so fully executed his plan, that the order had an ample revenue, and the people from whom it arose thought themselves happy. In this conjuncture, therefore, a better expedient could not have been desired; and pope *Alexander* the third, by his bull in 1164, declared as much: but, as *Mariana* well observes, by degrees this noble institution has degenerated, the commanderies, which were formerly the reward of military merit, being frequently bestowed upon minions and favourites. Modern writers assure us, that the order has at present thirty-four commanderies and eight priories, which produce an annual revenue of 120,000 ducats. The knights wear on their upper garment a red cross, to distinguish them from other orders: and as that of *St. James* is distinguished by the epithet of the *rich*, and that of *Alcantara* is styled the *noble*, so this of *Calatrava* is entitled the *gallant*, which, how it accords with its original institution, is not easy to discern.



two generals *Dalegen* and *Ahen-Gamar*, so that the victory was equally glorious and compleat <sup>1</sup>. But the joy they received from thence was of short continuance, since, on the last day of *August* 1158, *Don Sancho*, king of *Castile*, breathed his last at *Toledo*, when he had worn the crown but one year and ten days <sup>2</sup>. His body was interred by that of the emperor his father; his loss was sincerely deplored by all his subjects, and by his allies; his actions, even in so short a space, having raised such hopes as could not have been easily satisfied; so that, how immature soever his death might appear to his people, it came at a juncture favourable to his glory (X).

THE crown of *Castile*, devolved on his son *Don Alonso*, *Don Alonso* then but three years of age, whom his father left to the care so III. *suc-* of *Don Guitterez de Castro*, whom he declared sole regent <sup>2</sup>, *ceeds him* and forbid the removing any of his father's governors or of- *under the* ficers before his son was at full age, unless from some indis- *tuition of* pensible cause. This appointment excited the envy of many *Don Guit-* of the most puissant nobility, but more especially of the house *terez de* of *Lara*, of which *Don Manrique* was the chief, and who *Castro*. perhaps had not forgot the misfortunes of *Don Pedro*, at the beginning of the emperor's reign <sup>2</sup>. *Don Guitterez* however, deserved all the confidence his master had reposed in him: he was a nobleman far advanced in years, but not infirm; of great prudence, and of untainted probity. He committed the education of the king to *Don Garcia de Aza*, the son of *Don Garcia de Cabra*, who was killed at the battle of

<sup>1</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN. Hist. Arabum. <sup>2</sup> RODERIC SAN-  
TII Hist. Hispan. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hisp. Ana-  
cephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. <sup>2</sup> FER-  
RERAS Historia de España, p. v. §. xii. <sup>2</sup> Chronic.  
var. antiq.

(X) This young monarch was surnamed *el Desfado*, or the *De-* *sired*, and is justly allowed to have the most unspotted character in the whole *Spanish* history. It is given us in few words, by the archbishop of *Toledo* and the bishop of *Tuy*; the latter tells us, that in religion he was sincere, and gallant in the field, distinguished by the sweetness of his temper, and adorned with every royal virtue. He adds, that he was alike dear to the populace

and to the nobility, because he made it the whole study of his life to please God and good men. *Mariana* assures us that he died of grief for the loss of his wife, queen *Blanch*, and at the very time when he should have marched against the infidels, having assembled for that purpose a numerous army, better provided in all respects than any body of troops had been by most of his predecessors.

*Ucles* with the infant *Don Sancho*, and this notwithstanding he was brother by the mother's side to *Don Manrique de Lara*, who from the beginning had declared himself his enemy, and who quickly corrupted *Don Garcia*, and engaged him to put the person of the young king into his hands, contrary to his honour, and in breach of that trust which had been reposed in him<sup>b</sup>. *Don Gutierrez* laboured all that was in his power to have this matter compromised, and the person of the young king restored; but finding this impracticable, he was about to have recourse to arms, when providence withdrew him from all these troubles to eternal rest<sup>c</sup>, though his competitor would not allow his corpse peace in the grave.

His uncle  
the king of  
Leon  
claims the  
regency,  
but at  
length com-  
promises  
the dispute.

*Don Manrique de Lara*, and the lords of his family and faction, thought themselves now in a good measure secure, from having the sole government of the kingdom, during a long minority, disputed with them; and in order to make this absolutely sure, they took the only step that could render it precarious, which was breaking through the king's will, and depriving *Don Ferdinand*, and all his brothers, of their respective employments<sup>d</sup>, merely because they were of the family of *Castro*, and the nephew of the deceased regent, who thereupon applied himself to *Don Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, who at their request declared himself tutor and regent of his nephew, and with a numerous army entered the kingdom of *Toledo*, where the people very readily submitted, and even the inhabitants of the capital upon the first summons opened their gates<sup>e</sup>. The king, encouraged by this success, entered *Castile*, and *Don Manrique*, and the lords of *Lara*, perceiving an unwillingness in the people to fight against the uncle of their sovereign, retired to the fortress of *Soria*, carrying the young prince with them. At length finding themselves menaced with a siege, they entered into a negotiation with the king, and offered to deliver up the person of their young king to his uncle upon certain terms; but this was pure amusement; since, as soon as king *Ferdinand* listened to their request, they sent the king out privately, and carried him from place to place with such secrecy, that *Don Ferdinand* was at last obliged to come to their terms, which was to keep the best part of the kingdom, as well as the king, in their possession, and to leave the rest to be administered by him. A compromise that was by no means acceptable, either to the populace or to the nobility<sup>f</sup>.

A. D.  
1159,

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

<sup>c</sup> MAYERNE TURQUEST, Historia general de España liv. ix.

<sup>d</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>e</sup> Annales

Toletan.

<sup>f</sup> FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. §. xii.

THOUGH

THOUGH this agreement was more in favour of the faction than they could either desire or expect, yet they were so far from being contented with it, that Don Ferdinand was no sooner retired into his own dominions than they attempted to dispossess him by force of those places which they had put into his hands. But though the king of Leon was in all respects a good-natured prince, yet he resented this behaviour so much, that in the month of March following, he advanced with an army against them, gave them battle, and defeated them, which threw their affairs into great confusion<sup>s</sup>; and towards the close of the year the Moors entered Castile, and gained some advantages. On the other hand, Don Sancho, king of Navarre, judging no time so proper to revive his pretensions to the country of Rioja, entered it with a powerful army, and reduced the best part of it, before Don Manrique, and his associates, were in any condition to provide for its defence<sup>h</sup>. But as soon as they were able to draw a competent number of troops together, and found that he was engaged in a war with the Mahomedans, they entered that country in their turn, and recovered it again in as little time as it was lost. Other expeditions of the like kind happened in succeeding years with various fortune; but upon the whole Don Sancho of Navarre kept almost all the places that he claimed<sup>i</sup>.

It might be naturally apprehended, that the Moors would not fail to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity to repair the losses they had sustained, and to recover at least some of the important places that had been taken from them by the Christians; more especially, as they were sure of constant and considerable supplies from their countrymen in Africa, and saw the power of the Christians as much divided, depressed, and distracted, as they could wish; and yet it does not appear, that they made any great advantage of so favourable a juncture. The Spanish historians have not given us a very clear account of this matter<sup>k</sup>; but as far as we can judge from a comparison of facts, it may be ascribed, at least in a great measure, to three different causes. The first was, that though the Christian princes were not well agreed amongst themselves, yet they did not employ their arms against each other, so that the forces destined for the protection of the frontiers of the kingdoms of Castile and Toledo, were not withdrawn; and though they seldom acted offensively, yet being com-

<sup>s</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon, RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>h</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>i</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN

de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET,

<sup>k</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

manded by able officers, it is likely they would have defended themselves with spirit, if attacked. A second cause was the new militia established on purpose to act continually either offensively, or defensively, against the infidels, by which we mean the new orders of chivalry; for, besides those already mentioned, there started up at this time another, which proved of double advantage to the Christians. There was in the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile* a considerable number of wild debauched young gentlemen, who, by indulging their passions, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the law, that they had no security but what they derived from their swords. These people had lived long in the mountains, and had been gradually brought under the command of Don *Pedro Fernandes*, who being both older and wiser than when he took up this dangerous trade, bethought himself of an expedient to set things right again, and to reconcile himself and his dependants to the civil government. The method he took was this; he bound all who submitted to his authority by oath never to injure any Christian, but to devote themselves to the protection of their country against the *Moors*; and having converted the rule of St. *Augustine* into a military institution, he made it that of his new order, which, with the licence and under the protection of the king Don *Ferdinand*, assumed the apostle St. *James* for their patron, and had lands given them by the crown<sup>1</sup> for their support (Y). Another cause was the

<sup>1</sup> FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. sect. xii.

(Y) It is true, that some writers carry the institution of this order much higher, viz. to A. D. 827; and it is also true that many who have rejected this date as fabulous, are nevertheless persuaded that there is evidence sufficient to prove this order of chivalry actually subsisted A. D. 1030, and must have been instituted some time, tho' they cannot say how long before it. But notwithstanding these authorities we agree with *Ferreras*, and in good measure also with *Mariana*, that the true and genuine origin of this order of knighthood ought to be placed

where it is in the text; and that Don *Pedro Fernandes*, called also from the place of his birth. Don *Pedro de Fuente-Enclalada*, which is a town in the diocese of *Astorga*, was its founder and first grand-master. In order to give the reader some satisfaction upon this head, it will be requisite to represent to him, though very succinctly, the true state of the case. When the tomb of St. *James* at *Compostella* first became famous, and from the spirit of devotion that reigned in those times drew gradually a vast resort of pilgrims thither, it was found requisite to erect a kind

the civil wars amongst themselves, in which some of the Christian princes wisely took part, and by constantly assisting the weaker side, without enquiring into the merits of the dispute, kept their quarrels on foot, and contributed not a little to weaken both. To all which we may add, that Don *Alonso*, king of *Portugal*, employed his arms against them all this time, and not without success, the king of *Arragon* also making occasionally some prædatory incursions.

kind of hospitals or public places of reception for these pilgrims at every proper stage, from the borders of *France* to the city of *Compostella*. This was *Fornò*, taken by the canons of *St. Eloy*, who likewise took care of these hospitals, and of such as lodged in them, by which they acquired the good will of the neighbouring nobility, who furnished them liberally with money for so pious and prudent a work. But amongst all these hospitals, that in the suburb of the city of *Leon*, dedicated to *St. Mark*, was by far the largest and best endowed. In these troublesome times, however, the pilgrims, in spite of all the charitable pains taken for their relief and support, were liable to great inconveniencies from the excursions of the *Moors*, and from the robberies that were frequently committed on the road; and this it was that induced *Don Pedro Fernandes de Fuente-Enclalada*, when he had formed his companions into some degree of order, to make a tender of his services to the canons of *St. Eloy*, to cover and protect these pilgrims in their passage: as this again induced the pope upon granting his bull of confirmation to assign the hospital of *St. Mark*, in the suburbs of *Leon*, for the capital residence of the grand master and his knights; and it is

from confounding these knights with the old canons that those difficulties have arisen as to the original of this institution. The ensign of this order is a cross, terminating like the blade of a sword, the hilt crossleted and fashioned after the ancient manner; whereupon it was called *La Orden de Santiago de la Espada*, as also *Ordo militaris Sancti Jacobi enfigeri à qualitate insignium*. And the reason why this ensign is always painted red rather than any other colour, is thus given by *Don Rodrigo Ximenes*, archbishop of *Toledo*. *Rubet ensis sanguine Arabum*. But these knights assumed not only the sword in form of a cross, but also the symbol of *St. James*, which, though it cannot be directly determined what it is, yet it seems to be the Escallop shell: For that the Escallop is generally among the *Spaniards* taken for the badge of *St. James*, and worn by pilgrims in their voyages to his sepulchre at *Compostella*. At present there are eighty-seven commanderies of the order of *St. James* in the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, which yield an annual revenue of two hundred and seventy thousand ducats, and about three score commanderies in the kingdom of *Portugal*, which are also of great value.

DON

*Don Ferdinand of Leon marries the infant Donna Urraca of Portugal.* DON *Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, finding himself exceedingly disturbed by the intrigues of the family of *Lara*, and that *Leon* was in continual danger of losing the places he held in the name of his nephew, caused a negotiation to be set on foot with *Don Manrique*, in which he shewed so strong an inclination to compromise their differences, that this nobleman at length invited him to *Soria*, where he had a conference with his nephew, and adjusted every thing with *Don Manrique*.<sup>m</sup>

A. D.  
1163.

He took advantage of this calm, in order to repair and settle several great towns in the heart of his dominions, as well as on the frontiers, which were either fallen through time to decay, or else were but indifferently built and peopled at first; and to this he attended with so much care and vigilance, that they were very soon in as good a condition as he could wish. He granted also new privileges to the people, and neglected no means that could be devised to make his dominions flourish, and his people happy. Amongst other methods that were thought necessary for this purpose, one that was held of the greatest consequence by his father's old ministers, was his speedy marriage; that by allying himself with some powerful prince, he might the better secure assistance in case of foreign invasion, and defend his people from the miseries that might be apprehended from an unsettled succession. *Don Ferdinand*, moved by these suggestions, cast his eyes upon the princess *Donna Urraca*, daughter to *Don Alonso*, king of *Portugal*, and accordingly demanded her in marriage. *Don Alonso* very readily consented to the match, and soon after sent the princess to *Leon* with a splendid retinue, where she was espoused by the king *Don Ferdinand* with great solemnity, and to the universal joy of the people of both nations, who concluded that this must of necessity keep the two kingdoms in friendship and peace.<sup>n</sup>

A. D.  
1164.

*Rebuilds the city of Merobriga and Bletisa, which occasions an insurrection.*

As soon as the ceremonies of the marriage were over, the king *Don Ferdinand* resumed the cares of government with his usual application, and casting his eyes upon *Merobriga* and *Bletisa*, places large and considerable in ancient times, though they were then little better than heaps of ruins, he gave orders that they should be rebuilt and fortified; it is evident enough, that he meant this to strengthen his territories on that side against *Portugal*, and took a very convenient time to do it. But the people of *Salamanca*, who considered these places as lying within their jurisdiction, and not at all de-

<sup>m</sup> RODERIC TOLET. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

<sup>n</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA epitome das Historias Portuguezas. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, liv. x.

sirous of seeing them in a better state than they were, assembled several thousand men, with an intention to prevent by force the execution of the king's project. The king Don Ferdinand had acquired more experience, and was upon better terms with his nobility, than in the first part of this reign, and would not therefore submit to the dictates of the populace; but drawing out the forces of *Leon*, *Tamora*, and *Astorga*, marched against the rebels, defeated them in a bloody engagement, and then proceeding to *Salamanca*, chastised those who had been the authors of these troubles; after which things remained very quiet °. As soon as these places were restored and in some measure peopled, the king laid the plan of taking several others from the *Moors*; but first of all thought proper to conclude an alliance with the king of *Navarre*, that, in case his nephew, whom he discerned to be of a very brisk and active temper, should give him any disturbance, he might not be without an ally capable of making a diversion in his favour; and this precaution being taken, he added *Alcantara*, *Albuquerque*, and *Elvas*, to his dominions, without meeting with any great resistance from the enemy, or disturbance from his neighbours P. But let us now return to the affairs of *Castile* (Z).

Don *Manrique de Lara* paid so little regard to the soft counsels given him by the king of *Leon*, that instead of endeavouring to compose amicably those disputes that had been so fatal to the interests of the young king his pupil, he bent all his endeavours to inflame the mind of the young prince against the family of *Castro*, and at length raised an army with which he marched to dispossess Don *Ferdinand de Castro*.

*The young king of Castile, by the advice of Don Manrique seizes Toledo.*

° Chron. var. antiq. P RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii.

(Z) The town of *Blatifa*, which, after it was rebuilt, as the reader has seen in the text, received the name of *Ledesma*, stood upon the river of *Tormes*, and was so happy in point of situation, that ever since the time of which we are now writing, it has been looked upon as a place of great consequence, and its fortifications kept in good repair. *Merobriga* lies south from thence and within four leagues of the frontiers of *Portugal* upon the little river *Agujar*, in the

midst of a spacious plain, equally fertile and pleasant. It received the name of *Ciudad Rodrigo* from the nobleman under whose direction it was repaired, and very quickly became so populous as to be made the seat of a prelate as well as a garrison. It has continued to flourish ever since, and has been always a principal rendezvous or a place of arms for the Spanish forces, when that crown has been engaged in a war with *Portugal*.

of

of the government of *Toledo*, and his friends of the places they possessed; and to give the better colour to this he carried the prince with him <sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, *Don Ferdinand de Castro* opposed force to force; and marching with a numerous and well appointed army, met that of his competitor between *Garcinarro* and *Huete*, where, after an obstinate and bloody action, *Don Manrique* being killed, his forces fled and left *Don Ferdinand* master of the field of battle <sup>2</sup>. Yet notwithstanding this great blow, *Don Nugnez de Lara*, brother to the late count *Manrique*, chiefly by the influence of the royal person, soon raised another army, and laid siege to the castle of *Zurita*, which was very gallantly defended by *Lopez de Arenas*, placed therein by the *Castro's*, and had not been taken at last, if one of the governor's domesticks had not, for a sum of money, basely undertaken, and as barbarously executed, the murder of his master <sup>3</sup>. The pecuniary reward in all probability came from the minister; but the young king *Don Alonso* thought so eminent a service should be accompanied also with a royal reward, for which reason he ordered his eyes to be put out <sup>4</sup>(A). This method having succeeded in a place of

A. D.  
1166.

<sup>1</sup> *LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. Annal Toletan.* <sup>2</sup> *Chron. var. antiq.* <sup>3</sup> *RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.* <sup>4</sup> *FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v: sec: xii.*

(A) We have a large account of this siege, and of the most remarkable passages therein, by *Mariana*, who gives us amongst other particulars this, that the governor *Don Lopez*, being driven to extremity, offered to treat; and that *Don Nugnez de Lara*, and another great general of the king's, went into the place upon his parole, and were immediately arrested; upon which recourse was had to that expedient, by which, as we have shewn in the text, the place was taken. The traitor stabbed his master while he was shaving him, and made his escape out of the town, before the death of the governor was known. By laying all these circumstances together, there seems to be good reason to suspect that this con-

spiracy was both formed and executed, during a cessation of arms; and perhaps some incidents forged in order to save the reputation of *Don Nugnez de Lara*, and his associates; for, if it had been as *Mariana* represents it, one cannot easily account for the besieged suffering these persons, who were in their hands at the time this treacherous murder was committed, to escape unhurt; to which we may add, that there was evidently in this transaction, something that so much wounded the king's honour, as induced him to hazard the imputation of cruelty, rather than not testify to his subjects that it was a measure which, though he might adopt, he could by no means approve.

less



less consequence, it was judged expedient to practise the same arts with regard to *Toledo*; and a person of distinction in that city having been prevailed upon to let in the king's troops secretly, Don *Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro* had the first notice of this treachery from the acclamations of the people, at the sight of their young king: upon which having no other resource left, he mounted his horse immediately, and, attended by a few friends, made his escape into the territory of the *Moors* <sup>u</sup>. The capital thus taken by surprize, the rest of the cities, castles and towns, in the kingdom of *Toledo*, opened their gates, and submitted to the king, or rather to Don *Nugnez de Lara*, who governed all things with almost royal authority <sup>w</sup>. About this time deceased *John*, archbishop of *Toledo*, and was succeeded in that high dignity by *Cenebruno*, who had been tutor to the young king *Alonso*, a person eminent for his learning and great abilities <sup>x</sup>. *Mohammed*, king of *Valencia*, became at this time vassal to the king of *Castile* <sup>y</sup>.

It quickly appeared that Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, *King of* had formed a right judgment when he fortified his frontiers on *Portugal* the side of *Portugal*, for notwithstanding he had married the daughter of Don *Alonso*, that monarch made a sudden irruption into *Galicia*, and possessed himself of *Limmia* and *Turon*, *invades Leon, and* into which he put strong garrisons <sup>z</sup>. The next year, elated *prisoner by* with this success, he marched with a numerous army and *king Fer-* vested *Badajoz*, upon the news of which Don *Ferdinand*, *dinand.* who had assembled a good army at *Ciudad Rodrigo*, marched to its relief. It is necessary to observe, that this city was in the hands of the *Moors*, but in all probability was a feignory held by homage from the king of *Leon*, who therefore found himself, from principles of justice as well as policy, interested in its defence. Yet before he could arrive within sight of the place it was surrendered; upon which Don *Ferdinand* took a resolution of besieging the king of *Portugal* in his new conquest, which Don *Alonso* no sooner perceived than he endeavoured to draw out his forces into the field. Though he was then between seventy and four-score, he was himself on horseback, and pushing forward at the head of his guards to get out at the gate, struck his leg with such vehemence against one of the bolts as shattered it to pieces. This accident occasioned such confusion, that the troops of *Portugal* were easily beaten, and Don *Alonso* taken prisoner <sup>a</sup>. He was ex-

A. D.  
1167.

<sup>u</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Histor. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

<sup>w</sup> Annal Toletan. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

<sup>x</sup> Annal Toletan. <sup>y</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Historia Arabum.

<sup>z</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispaniæ, lib. vii.

<sup>a</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, epitome de las Hist. Portuguesas.

credibly mortified by this disgrace, and had no reason to expect very kind treatment from his son-in-law, after the usage he had given him, and therefore made him large offers to procure his liberty. The king of *Leon* behaved towards him with the most profound respect, and the greatest affection possible; he desired him to lay aside thoughts of business and attend to his cure; but finding him restless and impatient, he assured him that he expected nothing more than to have things put into the same condition as before the war, and that they might live in peace and friendship for the future, to which the king of *Portugal* most willingly assented, and before his cure was perfected returned to his own dominions, which was the reason that he remained lame during the rest of his life <sup>b</sup>. As soon as the *Portuguese* had evacuated the place, Don *Ferdinand* ordered his troops to quit it likewise, and receiving the homage of the *Mohammedan* governor, he left it in the same situation as before the war begun. He then returned to his capital of *Leon*, and applied himself assiduously to the affairs of his civil government, which he brought into better order than they had ever been in the times of his predecessors, who by having more extensive territories were less at leisure to look into things of this nature for the ease and benefit of their subjects <sup>c</sup>.

Don Alonso of Castile marries the king of England's daughter Eleonora.

THE disputes between the *Almohades* and the independant *Moors* of *Spain*, if these could be properly so styled, who were the subjects of *Mohammed*, king of *Valencia*, who was the vassal of Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, still continued <sup>d</sup>. The king of *Morocco* judged it impossible for him to prosecute the war against the Christians with any great effect; while any of the *Moors* disputed his authority; and on the other hand, the Christians judged it infinitely more expedient for them to act against the *Moors* as auxiliaries of *Moors* than as direct enemies, till it should be in their power to crush them effectually by a general confederacy. The people of *Castile*, and more especially the partizans of the house of *Lara*, were very desirous that the young king should marry, though he was not at this time above fourteen; and as this was a point of great concern to the nation, an assembly of the states was called at *Burgis* to settle this and other weighty affairs <sup>e</sup>. In consequence of their deliberations, ambassadors were sent to *Henry* the second, king of *England*, at that time in *Guianne*, to de-

A. D.  
1169.

<sup>b</sup> Chron. var. antiq. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA epitome de las Historias Portuguesas. <sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. <sup>e</sup> LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon, RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

mend

mand in the name of Don *Alonso* the princefs *Eleanor* his daughter, by the duchefs of *Aquitaine* of the same name <sup>f</sup>. While this treaty was on the carpet, the young king had an interview with the king of *Arragon* upon the frontiers, in which all old disputes were settled, and a new treaty offensive and defensive made between the two crowns, with an exchange of fortresses on both sides, for the better security of its being punctually performed <sup>g</sup>. At the same time, the king of *Castile*, as he was not at this juncture upon very good terms with the king of *Navarre*, stipulated with the monarch of *Arragon* for the safe passage of his queen, which was cheerfully granted and performed <sup>h</sup>. The king, as soon as he heard of her arrival in *Arragon*, sent the archbishop of *Salamanca*, the count of *Lara*, and several persons of the first distinction to receive her, met her in person at *Terrazona*, where their marriage was solemnized in the presence of the king of *Arragon* and the prime nobility of both nations; after which the king and queen of *Castile* proceeded to *Burgos*, being every where welcomed by the loud acclamations of their subjects <sup>i</sup>; and in the month of *August* in the succeeding year the queen was brought to bed of an infant, who was named *Donna Berengara*, after her great grandmother <sup>k</sup>.

A. D.  
1170.

IN order to give a new turn to his affairs in *Spain*, *Joseph* <sup>The Moors</sup> king of *Morocco* sent over a very numerous body of troops, which, joined to those he had before, were put under the command of *Omar*, esteemed one of the ablest officers that had and the in this age commanded the *Moorish* armies. He marched with them against the king of *Valentia* in person, and at the same time sent a strong detachment to besiege *Santaren*, which had been many years in the possession of the king of *Portugal*; but against the former he was able to do little through the assistance that he received from the king of *Castile*; and the forces before *Santaren* were attacked and defeated by the *Portuguese* monarch, who obliged them to raise the siege and retire in great disorder <sup>l</sup>. This advantage was no sooner obtained, than Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, appeared in sight of the city with a numerous army, which alarmed the king of *Portugal* much more than the former invaders. He was however, soon out of his pain, upon receiving a message from

<sup>f</sup> ROGER HOVEDEN, GERVASE TILBUR, &c. <sup>g</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>h</sup> FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, p. v. sect. xii.

<sup>i</sup> RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

<sup>k</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

<sup>l</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

his

A. D.  
1171.

his son-in-law, to compliment him on his victory, and to assure him, that he came with no other view than to lend him his assistance; upon which under the like circumstances he might always depend. This was so acceptable to the *Portuguese*, that they could not help testifying their satisfaction in the warmest terms possible, and it likewise made a very favourable impression upon the Christians throughout *Spain* in general <sup>m</sup>.

Joseph,  
king of  
Morocco,  
makes him-  
self master  
of Murcia.

THESE misfortunes, however, irritated *Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, to such a degree, that he took a resolution of carrying on the war in person; and in the summer of the ensuing year invaded the territories of *Don Alonso* of *Castile*, and besieged *Huete*, which he reduced to the last extremity; but upon the approach of the king *Don Alonso* with the whole force of his dominions, he thought proper to retire into his own territories; where, having intelligence of the death of his old enemy *Mohammed*, king of *Valentia*, he made himself some amends for his former disappointment, by an irruption into his countries; where, without much difficulty, he conquered the kingdom of *Murcia*, and added it to his empire <sup>n</sup>. He might have done more if the situation of his affairs in *Africa* had not obliged him to return thither; and he might have been prevented from doing so much, if the kings of *Arragon* and *Castile* had not turned their arms against the king of *Navarre*, tho' with little success, except harrassing his dominions, out of which they were, at length, obliged to retire, without making themselves masters of one considerable place, or coming to any action <sup>o</sup>.

A. D.  
1172.

Don Fer-  
dinand of  
Leon  
gains a  
great vic-  
tory over  
the Moors.

UPON the return of *Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, into *Africa*, *Aben-Jacob* was appointed his lieutenant, and commander in chief in *Spain*; who, to signalize the first year of his government, made an irruption into *Portugal*, where he besieged *Forres Nevas*, and took it by assault <sup>p</sup>. He then suddenly entered the territories of *Leon*, of which the king, *Don Ferdinand*, no sooner received intelligence, than he marched with a body of troops he intended to have sent to the assistance of his father-in-law, and threw himself into *Ciudad Rodrigo*, just time enough to prevent that place from being invested. He was quickly convinced that the army of *Aben-Jacob* was much more formidable than he imagined; and what chagrined him most, was, that *Don Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro* had a share in this expedition, with a very considerable corps of brave men, who had followed his fortune. The king apprehended his

<sup>m</sup> Chron. var. antiq.    <sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.  
<sup>o</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan.  
lib. vii.    <sup>p</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

condition to be very dangerous if he should be shut up in a place scarce able to contain his troops; and therefore took a wife, as well as generous resolution, of first trying his fortune in the field<sup>1</sup>. The enemy were much embarrassed with the spoil they had taken in *Portugal*, and had separated their army into several bodies, with a view to prevent any relief from being given to the place; so that being suddenly attacked by Don *Ferdinand*, they were quickly thrown into confusion, which, in a short time, produced a total defeat<sup>2</sup>. The king improved this victory, by making such offers to Don *Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro*, as induced him to quit the party of the *Moors*, and to depend upon the protection of the king of *Leon*, who received him with great affability and kindness, and assigned him lands sufficient for the subsistence of himself and all his dependants<sup>3</sup>.

A. D.  
1173.

THE kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* were still busied in their *As big* war against the king of *Navarre*, a prince far inferior to them *difference* in force, but superior in his knowledge of the art of war; by *arises be-* which he kept them from making any conquests that were *tween the* worth maintaining, and still preserved those places which had *kings of* given birth to these disputes, in spite of repeated invasions; in *Arragon* which, though the confederates promised themselves much, *and Cas-* they were able to effect little. At length, as he wisely fore- *tile.* saw, they grew dissatisfied with each other, and from secret murmurs and complaints broke at length into open hostilities, begun by the king of *Castile*, who retook one of the castles which he had yielded as a pledge for the due performance of treaties, but continued by the king of *Arragon*, who at length declared he would have nothing farther to do with the *Castilian*. As the highest proof of his resentment, he refused to celebrate his marriage with the Infanta *Donna Sancha*, daughter to the emperor *Alonso*, aunt to the king of *Castile*, and sister to the king of *Leon*; and, to shew how much he was in earnest, sent ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to obtain the princess *Eudoxia*, daughter to the emperor *Emanuel*<sup>4</sup>. This not only alarmed the court of *Castile*, but that of *Leon* also; Don *Ferdinand* making no secret that he could not be a tame spectator of such an insult offered to his sister; so that the king of *Arragon* had now the war with *Navarre* still open, and himself upon bad terms with the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*; the consideration of which, soon brought him to alter his measures, though even then with some degree of reluctance and discredit.

<sup>1</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii. MAYERNE TURQUET.

<sup>2</sup> LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon. RODERIC TO-

LETAN Hiſt. Arabum. <sup>3</sup> RODERIC TOLET. de reb. Hiſpan.

lib. vii. <sup>4</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

*The houses  
of de Castro  
and Lara,  
bring their  
disputes to  
the decision  
of a battle.*

IN the mean time, the old quarrel between the families of *Castro* and *Lara* revived, and that to such a degree as to disturb the peace of the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, almost all the noble families in both taking part either on one side or the other; but, which was thought very extraordinary, the Count *Don Osorio*, though *Don Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro* had married his daughter, took part with the house of *Lara*, and actually joined himself with his vassals to the friends of that family, when a resolution was taken to determine, once for all, these implacable resentments by a general action, at a place assigned in the province of *Tiero de Campos* <sup>u</sup>. It is true that *Mariana* <sup>w</sup> represents this war, as if it had been between the uncle and the nephew; but all the ancient historians consider it in quite another light <sup>x</sup>. It may be, that a great part of those who attended *Don Ferdinand de Castro*, might be subjects of the king of *Leon*; and it is very probable they were; but this might be out of respect to his person, or from a liking to his cause, which, from the beginning, the king *Don Ferdinand* had espoused. However this may be, the battle was fought on the spot assigned, and at the day appointed, not only with great vivacity and spirit, but with all the rage and fury that inveterate hatred could inspire. In the end, *Don Ferdinand de Castro* gained a compleat victory <sup>y</sup>, the count *Don Alvaro* and the count *Don Osorio* being killed upon the spot, and the count *Don Nugnez de Lara* and the count *Don Rodrigo Gutierrez* were made prisoners, whom *Don Ferdinand* generously dismissed, that they might take care of the funerals of their friends (B). He shewed not long after, that his resentment

was

<sup>u</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sec. xii.  
general de Espana, lib. xi. <sup>x</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
TOLETAN de reb. Hisp. lib. vii.

<sup>w</sup> Historia  
<sup>y</sup> RODERIC

(B) This passage in the *Spanish* history, shews us the true temper of the *Gothic* nation; and it would be no difficult matter to prove, that this method of determining great quarrels by combat was in general use, under the notion of an appeal to God. It is true, that the relation given us by *Mariana* is certainly inconsistent with this notion, since he makes it a war between the two kings, and speaks of *Don Ferdinand de Castro* as acting

only in quality of governor and commander in chief of the king of *Leon's* forces; who, he asserts, gave him his sister in marriage, as the only suitable reward for so great a service. We have observed in the text, that this is against the authority of all the old historians, some of whom must have been perfectly acquainted with every circumstance that attended this fact, and could be under no temptation to misrepresent it, though this alone

suffi-

was not at all abated, by repudiating his wife for her father's offence<sup>2</sup>, notwithstanding he had paid for it with his blood; and the king of *Leon*, that he might attach him the more strongly to his service, gave him in marriage Donna *Tiennetta*, the natural daughter of the emperor, and his own sister<sup>2</sup>. A circumstance which, compared with that monarch's own match, will shew he was no despicable politician.

THE king of *Arragon*, perceiving that his own subjects were extremely offended at his breaking off the match with the Infanta Donna *Sancha*, and being informed that the courts of *Leon* and *Castile* meditated an invasion of his dominions, suddenly altered his purpose, and demanded that princess as his wife, to which Don *Alonso* readily assented, and the marriage was solemnized on the eighteenth of *January*, at *Saragossa*<sup>b</sup>, in the presence of the Pope's legate, and of all the prelates and nobility of that kingdom. This naturally engaged them to return to their former measures, in respect to the king of *Navarre*, upon whom they continued to make war for several years, but with as little success as before; till at last, upon the repeated interpositions of the clergy and nobility, all the three kings were prevailed upon to suspend hostilities, and to refer the matters in dispute, once for all, to the decision of the king of *England*, to whom each of the kings sent ambassadors, properly instructed to support their respective pretensions; and the king accordingly, after a solemn hearing

<sup>a</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>b</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ. <sup>b</sup> MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sec. xii. MAYERNE TURQUET.

sufficiently justifies the preference we have given them: yet it may not be amiss to observe, for the reader's satisfaction, that *Mariana* does not contradict them more than he contradicts himself; for had this been a war between the two kings, how come we to have no account of its causes, commencement, and of its conclusion? How came Don *Ferdinand* to resent so much his father in law's being in the field, when that was his duty? and lastly, which is indeed the strongest of all, both in point of fact

and because it is related by *Mariana* himself, how came Don *Ferdinand de Castro* to set Don *Nugnez de Lara* at liberty, after exacting from him an oath that all former quarrels should be buried in oblivion? These are circumstances that evidently prove it was not a public, but a private quarrel; and therefore Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, after so glorious a victory, thought himself at full liberty to put an end to it, for which he is very justly commended by this historian.

of all parties, pronounced a very equitable award, with which however none of them were satisfied<sup>c</sup>; though, after some new disturbances, they were at length content to determine things amongst themselves, upon pretty near the same conditions which the king had prescribed, after wasting much of the blood and treasure of their subjects to no purpose, unless it was to serve the interests of the *Moors* (C).

*Don Ferdinand of Leon compelled by the Pope's censure to part with his queen.*

THE king Don *Ferdinand* of *Leon* had lived for many years in the greatest harmony with his queen, and, for all that appears to the contrary, was inclined to live with her according to the laws of God and of his kingdom during his life; but the Pope's cardinal legate at his court, having found out that the king and the queen stood in an equal degree of relation, or in other words, were both of them great grand children to the king Don *Alphonso* the Sixth, he gave notice of it to his master, who thereupon enjoined the king to put away his wife, though he had by her a son, the Infant Don *Alonso*, who was to be the heir of his dominions<sup>d</sup>. It is said that the king demurred a little to this, and that he even went so far as to keep his wife a year, notwithstanding all the exhortations and even menaces of the Pope; nay, it is even asserted that he was not brought to a compliance till his subjects felt the thunder and lightning of *Rome*, by the kingdom's being put under

A. D.  
1175.

<sup>c</sup> ROGER HOVEDEN. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sec. xii. <sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudenſis Chronicon.

(C) This remarkable embassy and reference is taken notice of by our ancient historians, particularly *Roger Hoveden*, who assures us, that there were several lords sent by each of the kings to support their pretensions. The king of *England* having called together his prelates and peers, appointed the first *Sunday* in Lent, A. D. 1177, to have this matter fully discussed before them; and after having heard all that could be alleged on either side, and collected the opinion of the bishops and nobility, met together for that purpose, he decreed that

the king of *Navarre* should restore to the monarch of *Castile* certain places which he had taken from him; and that the king of *Castile* should make the like restitution, and should also pay, for ten years together, the sum of three thousand marvadies in gold, in compensation for the expences of the war. This judgment of award appeared very equitable to the ambassadors on both sides, who signed it; and having finished the business of their embassy, returned again into *Spain*, to render an account of their proceedings to their respective masters.

an



an interdict: then, for his subjects ease and his own, he parted with his wife Donna *Urraca* <sup>e</sup>; and about a year after, espoused Donna *Theresa*, the daughter, though some historians call her the widow, of Don *Nugno de Lara* <sup>f</sup>. This is more particularly mentioned, because there is not the slightest hint in any ancient historian, that this monarch was in the least dissatisfied with his wife, or entertained any distaste of his son, but quite the contrary; so that if there was any thing in this transaction repugnant to morality or the laws of God, it must not be ascribed to the humour, appetite, or policy of Don *Ferdinand*, but to the Pope's absolute will and pleasure, which, though a powerful and independant monarch, Don *Ferdinand* durst not resist.

A. D.  
1176.

DON *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, no sooner found himself freed from the war of *Navarre*, by the reference to the king of *England*, which had been accepted by all parties, than he resumed his former intention of imitating his illustrious predecessors, by turning his arms against the infidels. With this view he caused great magazines to be erected at *Toledo*, where, having assembled a numerous army, and amongst them the flower of the several orders of knighthood, he marched into the enemies country, and laid siege to *Cuenca*, a place seated on the top of a hill, at the confluence of two little streams, which, after they have joined their waters, form the river *Xeucax*. Strong as this place was by situation, the *Moors* had rendered it much more so by labour and art; so that it held out till provisions were scarce in the Christian camp, and till the monarch of *Morocco* was apprised of the fidelity as well as of the distress of his subjects, upon which, he directed levies to be made throughout all his dominions in *Spain*, for their relief: the king of *Castile*, in this situation of things, thought it requisite for him to ask the assistance of Christian princes, upon which, his old ally, the king of *Arragon*, marched with a body of good troops, and joined him before *Cuenca*. The *Moors* advanced with their forces in order to raise the siege; but believing that too hazardous an undertaking, they made an irruption into the district of *Toledo*, and marched directly towards that capital, as if they meant to besiege it. But the alcaides Don *Gudiel* and Don *Alonso* prevented this, by marching out with such forces as the city could raise, and giving them battle on the twenty-eighth of *July*, in which they obtained a glorious victory, or rather their fellow citizens,

King of  
Castile  
takes Cu-  
enca and  
beats the  
Moors  
who at-  
tempt its  
relief.

<sup>e</sup> FERRERAS *Historia de Espana*, p. v. sec. xii. <sup>f</sup> ALPHONSI, a *Carthagena*, reg. *Hisp. Anacephalaosis*, RODERIC SANTII *Hist. Hispan.* FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. *Hispaniæ*. <sup>g</sup> RODE-  
RIC TOLETAN *Hist. Arabum*.

for both those brave men fell in the field <sup>b</sup>. The garrison of *Cuenca*, notwithstanding they had been so long and so hard pressed, and that by this blow they were deprived of all hopes of relief, held out to the twenty-first of *September*, and did not even then surrender, but in consequence of a good capitulation <sup>i</sup>. The king of *Castile*, to manifest his just sense of the friendship and service rendered him by the king of *Arragon*, released him from the homage due to the crown of *Castile*, for the city of *Saragossa*, and all the territory on that side the *Ebro* lying next to his dominions <sup>k</sup>.

A. D.

1177.

Forced by  
the king of  
Arragon  
to make  
peace with  
his uncle  
the king of  
Leon.

WE are told by some historians, that while the king, Don *Alonso*, was employed in the siege of *Cuenca*, his uncle Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, invaded and made himself master of some part of his dominions; which may be true, but is certainly very improbable. Upon this, the king of *Castile*, in conjunction with the king of *Portugal*, entered the dominions of *Leon*, and committed great outrages (D). The king,  
Don

<sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. <sup>i</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>k</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>l</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

(D) There is a passage related by *Mariana*, which happened during the siege of *Cuenca*, that well deserves the reader's notice. Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, finding the place hold out so much longer than he expected, left the king of *Arragon* before it with the army, and returned to *Burgos*, in order to hold an assembly of the states, his finances at that time being in much disorder. In this assembly, by the advice of Don *Diego de Haro*, who seems now to have gained an ascendancy in the king's favour, and whose sister was married to his uncle the king of *Leon*, he proposed, that since the people were already exhausted, and that if any tax was laid upon them it could not be levied so soon as the public exigence required, the nobility should for once, and without

creating a precedent, consent to a small imposition upon themselves, which being immediately paid, might supply the demands of the army. The states were on the point of consenting to this proposition, when Don *Pedro de Lara* stood up, and declared he would defend the immunities of the nobles of *Castile* to the last drop of his blood, and that those would follow him who were of his opinion. Upon this he went out, attended by the majority of the assembly, by which the king's proposition was totally defeated; and it seems the nobility conceived this bold opposition so great and so well-timed a service, that they resolved to perpetuate the memory of the obligation they were under, by giving Don *Pedro* and his successors a splendid dinner annually upon the day  
on

Don *Ferdinand*, engaged the Infant Don *Sancho*, of *Portugal*, who intended to have besieged *Ciudad Rodrigo*, and totally defeated his army, but discovered a great unwillingness to engage with his nephew, of whose proceedings he immediately complained to the king of *Arragon*, who had been guaranty of their last treaty, which surely he would not have done if himself had broke it. On the other hand, the king of *Arragon* sent two prelates, and a gentleman of his court, ambassadors to *Castile*, in order to demand of the king the castle of *Ariza*, and to forbear all hostilities against the king of *Leon*, threatening that, if he did not, he would join with his own troops those of his uncle<sup>m</sup>, which seems to render it certain that Don *Ferdinand* was not so much in the wrong as historians suppose him to be, and an additional proof seems to be furnished from the conduct of the king of *Castile*, who complied with his friends request, by which the peace of *Spain* was once more restored, at least among the Christian powers, at a very critical juncture<sup>n</sup>.

A. D.  
1178.

In order to strengthen that harmony which reigned at present between the two nations, Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, and Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, had an interview at *Tordesillas*, in order to remove all subjects of jealousy and dispute<sup>o</sup>. About this time died Donna *Theresa Lara*, queen of *Leon*, and soon after Donna *Tiennetta*, the wife of Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, by whom she had a son of the same name, commonly stiled Don *Ferdinand* the *Castilian* <sup>present at the glorious victory of Santa-</sup> *p*; and the year following, Don *Ferdinand* espoused Donna *Urraca Lopez* <sup>q</sup>, the daughter of the count Don *Lope de Haro*, one of the principal lords in the province of *Biscay*; and on the twentieth of *April* was born at *Burgos*, Don *Sancho*, son to Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile* <sup>r</sup>. That monarch made for several years together, incursions into

A. D.  
1181.

<sup>m</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>n</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sec. xii. <sup>o</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. <sup>p</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. <sup>q</sup> ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hisp. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. <sup>r</sup> MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. <sup>s</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sec. xii.

on which this transaction happened. *Mariana* relates this story with great spirit, though he censures it as an indecency to the crown; other historians have perhaps expressed their sentiments more strongly by burying

it in silence. We thought it inconsistent with our duty, either to follow his example in deciding, or theirs in concealing, and have therefore stated the fact, and leave our readers to judge for themselves.

A. D.  
1184.

the territories of the *Moors*, with great success, and in one of them he made himself master of *Alarcon*, by which *Cuenca* was so well covered, that he thought fit to erect it into a bishop's see \*. About the same time Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, besieged and took *Caceres* from the infidels, so that it is evident, whenever the Christian princes were at peace amongst themselves, they never failed to carry the terror of their arms into the countries still subject to the *Moors* †. On the twenty fourth of *July*, Don *Ferdinand* was likewise present, as an auxiliary to the king of *Portugal*, at the glorious victory of *Santaren*, when the whole force of the *Moors*, commanded by their monarch *Joseph*, was totally routed without fighting ‡. The death of that monarch by a fall from his horse just as the battle began, intimidated his subjects to such a degree, that they immediately quitted the field of battle to place all their safety in flight, which afforded the Christians an opportunity they did not neglect of quitting scores with the *Moors*, for their recent severities w.

Repeated  
expeditions  
of Don  
Alonso of  
Castile  
against the  
Moors in  
Andalu-  
sia.

A. D.  
1186.

Don *Alonso* of *Castile* had the next year the misfortune to be beaten by the *Moors*, in the neighbourhood of *Sotillo* in *Estremadura* †, which however did not hinder his taking the field again in the succeeding spring; and, after having enriched his troops with a great booty, he returned triumphant, and went afterwards to an interview with the king of *Arragon*, with whom he concerted the means of continuing the peace which had already lasted for some years amongst the Christian powers, and of prosecuting the war against the infidels, points which these two princes had equally at heart, and, by concurring therein, contributed greatly to their own reputation and the good of their subjects †. The next year Don *Alonso* was in the field again, and made himself master of some small places; but his chief design seems to have been the security of his own dominions, by keeping the *Moors* in such a state of apprehension and distraction, as might hinder them,

A. D.  
1187.

from undertaking any thing to the prejudice of his territories, without which it would have been impossible for the people to have enjoyed that degree of peace and safety, that was necessary to cultivate and improve their lands.

\* Chron. var. antiq.

† RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

‡ EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, Epitome de las Historias Portuguezas, MATYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

w RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

\* LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

† Chron. var.

antiq.

IN the autumn of this year, Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, *The death* went to pay his devotions at the tomb of the apostle St. *James*<sup>2</sup>, *of Don* in the church of *Compostella*; and at his return to *Benavente*, *Ferdinand of* which is ten leagues from *Leon*, found himself extremely in- *Castile,* disposed: he lingered however through the remaining months *and his* of that year, and to the twenty-first day of *January* in the *posterity,* next, when he breathed his last, to the great regret of his subjects. *Mariana* says that he was fitter for the general of an army, than for the government of a kingdom<sup>2</sup>: but if we consider his actions, we may, with equal reason, believe that there have been very few kings fitter for both; for he was a prince of great virtue and generosity, and as remarkable for piety as for valour. He left at his death three sons, Don *Alonso* by his first queen the Infanta of *Portugal*, with whom, as the reader has seen, the Pope forced him to part, and Don *Sancho* and Don *Garcia*, by Donna *Urraca*, who survived him<sup>b</sup>. *Mariana*, and after him other historians<sup>c</sup>, have suggested, that at the time of his decease, Don *Alonso* was on the point of flying into *Portugal*, being weary of the continual ill usage of his mother in law, who reflected on him for his mother's misfortune, and pretended to treat him as a bastard; but this is very improbable, since even these historians allow that his mother in law's hatred arose from his father's affection to him; neither does it appear that the Pope pretended to bastardize the issue of those marriages, which they declared null on the score of consanguinity. The body of Don *Ferdinand* was buried in the cathedral of St. *James*, near that of his mother Donna *Berengara*, and of his grand-father Don *Raymond*<sup>d</sup>. His successor was present at the solemnity, and some days after went to pay a visit to his mother in law, with whom it appears that he was inclined to live at least upon fair terms, notwithstanding her intentions to have deprived him of the succession, to have placed her son Don *Sancho* on the throne of *Leon*, and to have bestowed the crown of *Galicia* on Don *Garcia*, are said to have been generally known; so that the moderation of the young monarch deserved to be highly admired<sup>e</sup>. But as he was universally acceptable to the

A. D.  
1188.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Compostel. Annal Compostel.      <sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. ALPHONSI a Carthagenæ reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. Historia general de España, lib. xi.      <sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.      <sup>c</sup> FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.      <sup>d</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.      <sup>e</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

people, and sure of support from the crown of *Portugal*, there seems to be good reason to doubt whether the queen Donna *Urraca Lopez* could ever entertain such notions, more especially considering the age of her children, and her having no protector capable of affording her the least degree of assistance towards the execution of such a design. It is therefore more than likely that these conjectures took rise from succeeding events, with which, when the reader is acquainted, he will be enabled to form a better judgment.

Don Alon-  
so the  
ninth, his  
son and  
successor,  
knighted  
by the king  
of Castile.

THE king of *Castile* held this year the general assembly of the states of his kingdom at *Carrion*, to which, through a desire of expressing his great affection for his cousin, and that, according to the custom of those times, he might be made a knight by a monarch in so high reputation for wisdom, courage, and all other royal virtues, the king of *Leon* resorted; and having in that assembly, purely from a spirit of politeness and complaisance, kissed the hand of the king of *Castile* as he took his seat, this was afterwards wrested into an act of solemn homage, and was the true cause of that distaste which quickly succeeded to this superabundant kindness between these princes <sup>f</sup>. The next year however they acted as confederates against the *Moors*, and with great success, recovered out of their hands abundance of places in *Estremadura*; not content with which they passed the *Sierra Morena*, and wasted all the territory of *Seville* with fire and sword to the sea side; One would have imagined that nothing could have contributed more than the issue of this campaign, to convince the monarch of *Castile* of the expediency of living upon good terms with his cousin of *Leon*; yet this was so far from being the case, that it proved the cause of a rupture between them; for though the latter had shared in the danger and fatigue, yet the former kept all the conquests, though some of them, from their situation, were very convenient for his cousin, and of little consequence to him. This was resented by Don *Alonso* of *Leon*, like a young man; for he immediately sought the friendship of the king of *Portugal*, with the same zeal that he shewed in embracing that of the king of *Castile*, and as the strongest proof of his sincerity, married the Infanta Donna *Theresa* <sup>g</sup>, who was his cousin *German*, by the mother's side, without reflecting on what had happened to his father.

<sup>f</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. sec. xii. <sup>g</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum, Annal Toletan. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

AMONGST other circumstances that contributed to inspire *The in-* the king of *Castile* with unreasonable haughtiness, one was, *tended* that the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa* had concluded a treaty *marriage* of marriage between his son prince *Conrad*, and the Infanta *between* Donna *Berengara*, daughter of the king of *Castile*, and had *the emper-* sent the young prince into *Spain*, that their nuptials might be *Conrad,* celebrated at *Toledo*<sup>b</sup>. Don *Alonso* received him in that city *and the* with the utmost magnificence, and with all the marks of *Infanta* respect he could desire, signed the contract of marriage which *Berengara,* had been before subscribed by the emperor, and made his intended son-in-law a knight. Yet after all this was done, the nuptials did not take place<sup>i</sup>. Most of the *Spanish* historians<sup>k</sup>, for the honour of their country, ascribe this to the Infanta's terror of so long a journey, a distaste to the climate of *Germany*, and a prejudice against the manners of the people: but *Ferreras*<sup>l</sup> has assigned, if not a more certain, at least a much more probable cause: he observes, that Donna *Eleonora*, queen of *Castile*, was, during the stay of prince *Conrad*, brought to bed of the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, which entirely spoiled the scheme of the *German* prince, who, as the king of *Castile* had no male issue living, expected to have succeeded him in the throne, in consequence of his marriage; of which, perceiving that there was now little hopes, he took leave of the king, the queen, and the Infanta, and returned into *Germany*<sup>m</sup>. Soon after this, the monarch of *Castile* presuming on his cousin's youth and his own great power, committed acts of hostility in the kingdom of *Leon*; of this the king of *Aragon* was no sooner informed, than he made an irruption into *Castile*; upon which Don *Alonso* turned his arms against him, but with very indifferent success. By the interposition of the nobility and prelates of both kingdoms, the peace was quickly renewed, upon a<sup>n</sup> promise that the king of *Castile* should do nothing to the prejudice of his cousin of *Leon*, whom, because he had injured, he hated.

THE Pope's legate in *Spain*, cardinal *Gregory*, who was sent to promote peace amongst the Christian princes, gave a singular specimen of his abilities that way, by insinuating to the kings of *Leon* and *Portugal*, that the marriage of Don *Alonso*, with the Infanta Donna *Theresa*, was void, and that

Don Alonso, his queen Theresa, and four

<sup>b</sup> ALPHONSI a Carthagenæ reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ. Annal Toletan.

<sup>i</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

<sup>k</sup> MARIANA Historia general de España, lib. xi.

<sup>l</sup> Historia de España, p. v. sec. xii.

<sup>m</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. x.

<sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN, de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

there-

prelates,  
excommu-  
nicated,  
and his  
marriage  
null'd.

therefore they ought to part; but none of the parties inclin-  
ing to obey, he summoned a council at *Salamanca* <sup>o</sup>, in which  
the point was determined as he would have it; but the bishop  
of *Leon*, *Astorga*, *Salamanca*, and *Zamora*, who did not affi-  
ce at this council, protested against the decree, alleging, that  
marriages of this sort were not prohibited by the divine, or  
even by the ecclesiastical law, but by the civil, and for certain  
political reasons; and that therefore princes, who had a power  
of establishing this law, must likewise have the power of dis-  
pensing with it. The cardinal legate effectually refuted this  
pernicious doctrine, by excommunicating the four prelates  
and threatening both the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Portugal* with  
an interdict; and very soon after he carried his threats into  
execution <sup>p</sup>, which were attended with most dreadful conse-  
quences, the people in both kingdoms being extremely pro-  
voked at the obstinacy of the king of *Leon*, who, in spite of  
the express will and pleasure of the Pope, would needs live  
with his wife. That monarch in vain sent the bishop of  
*Zamora* to *Rome*, to prevail upon the Pope to remove the im-  
pediment as to the legality of his marriage; the pontif would  
hear nothing upon that head, but at the earnest suit of the  
bishop took off his excommunication and the interdict, al-  
lowing divine service and the sacraments to be administered  
every where, except in the presence of the king and queen  
of *Leon* <sup>a</sup>, who were left to the most desperate courses if their  
own piety had not guarded them.

A. D.  
1193.

Archbishop  
of Tole-  
do's expe-  
dition  
against  
the Moors  
excites a  
dreadful  
war.

DON *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, was all this while engaged in  
continual expeditions against the Infidels; and this very year  
had sent a potent army, under the command of Don *Martin*,  
archbishop of *Toledo*, into *Andalusia*, where he had acted with  
unexampled severity, destroying the corn and the vines, tear-  
ing the olive-trees up by the roots, putting multitudes of men,  
women, and children in chains, sweeping away all the cattle;  
and, to compleat this scene of destruction, laying every village  
and open town he passed through, in ashes. The reader  
must not imagine that we are guilty of any exaggeration, for  
we transcribe not only the fact, but the very words, from a  
*Spanish* historian <sup>r</sup>. The report of this cruel proceeding was  
no sooner brought to *Jacob Aben-Joseph*, king of *Morocco*,  
than he wrote a letter to the king Don *Alonso*, in which he  
expostulated on this new way of making war, in a manner  
barbarous beyond all example; to which Don *Alonso* gave so

<sup>o</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sec. xii. <sup>p</sup> Chron.  
var. antiq. <sup>q</sup> LUCE Tudensis Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN  
de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. <sup>r</sup> Historia de Espana, p. v. sec. xii.



haughty an answer, that the *Moor* immediately published the *Gacia*<sup>s</sup>, which answers to our croisade, and insures to every *Mussulman*, who either kills a Christian or is killed himself, a plenary absolution from all his sins, and an immediate entrance into Paradise. This called every man that was able to bear arms into the field, and the king of *Morocco* himself, coming over with a prodigious army from *Africa*, ordered a general rendezvous of the whole forces of his empire at *Seville*<sup>t</sup>. Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, upon this, condescended to ask the assistance of the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*, representing it as a war of religion, and in which the common cause of all the Christians in *Spain* was at stake; as they were convinced of the truth of the fact, they did not enquire nicely into the cause, but readily promised him, not only all he asked, but that they would march with all the forces of their respective kingdoms, to join him at *Toledo*, and began immediately to make the necessary levies for that purpose, not doubting that this confederacy would secure both his and their own dominions.

JACOB ABEN-JOSEPH found his army so numerous, that he was obliged to order part of them to rendezvous at *Cordova*, where having joined them with the rest of his forces from *Seville*, he entered the kingdom of *Toledo*, and encamped within sight of *Calatrava* and *Alarcos*, both places of great strength, and which might have found employment for some time, even for his prodigious army<sup>u</sup>. But the king of *Castile*, who had assembled all his forces, advanced, without waiting for his allies, within a small distance of the enemy. The principal officers of his army suggested to him that he ought either to retreat in time or fortify his camp, since both the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* were within a few days march, and not adventure on a battle with such a vast disproportion of forces. But the king could not be brought to relish these wholesome counsels; he had treated the *Moor* with contempt, and to retire before him would be a perpetual disgrace: besides, he was unwilling to share the honour of a victory, and he looked upon his troops and himself as invincible. On the eighteenth of *July*, the two armies came in fight, at a small distance from the town of *Alarcas*, and the engagement quickly began. The Christians behaved with great intrepidity; but, after a warm and obstinate dispute, they were

*The king of Castile obliged to ask succours, and fight imprudently before he received them.*

<sup>s</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum.

<sup>t</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire general de Espagne, liv. x.

<sup>u</sup> Annal Toletan. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

overborn by numbers <sup>w</sup>. Don *Alonso* perceiving that they began to give way, and apprehending the loss of that high reputation which he had acquired, grew perfectly furious, and would have thrown himself into the midst of the enemy, but the nobility about his person restrained him, and carried him off by force <sup>x</sup>. The *Moors* upon this occasion gained one of the completest victories that history records <sup>y</sup>. There fell upwards of twenty thousand *Castilians* upon the spot, amongst whom was the flower of the nobility: the military orders, their camp and their baggage fell likewise into the hands of the enemy, and the shattered remains of the army retreated with difficulty to *Toledo*, and shut themselves up under cover of the extended fortifications.

*Dismal consequences of his defeat at Alarcos, and insolent behaviour afterwards.*

A. D.  
1195.

DON *Alonso* had scarce entered this city, before the king of *Leon* arrived with a numerous army: he went immediately to visit his cousin, and mildly expostulated with him the imprudence of his conduct <sup>z</sup>. The *Spanish* historians, for the honour of their country, have unanimously suppressed the answer of the monarch of *Castile*; but it is nevertheless certain, that he endeavoured to throw that blame, which belonged wholly to himself, upon the two kings <sup>a</sup>; and this in such coarse terms, that Don *Alonso* of *Leon* immediately quitted *Toledo*, and returned into his own dominions, ravaging those of *Castile* as he passed; and the monarch of *Navarre* did the like <sup>b</sup>. Upon this, the king of *Castile*, having provided for the security of *Toledo*, repaired to *Burgos*, leaving *Jacob Aben-Joseph* to make the best use of his victory, who reduced *Calatrava* and *Alarcos*, though with some difficulty, and afterwards made a furious irruption into *Portugal*, where he murdered all the *Monks* and ecclesiastics that fell in his way, and wasted all the country with inexpressible barbarity, as far as appears from the histories of these times, in which Don *Roderic de Ximenes*, then bishop of *Sigüenza*, and afterwards primate of *Toledo*, flourished, he met with little or no resistance; for the Christian princes were more intent on punishing the insolence of the king of *Castile*, than cautious in protecting their own dominions, which, how gross soever the provocation they had received might be, was beyond all doubt to the full as inexcusable. At length they were awakened from their lé-

<sup>w</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. Annal TOLETAN.

<sup>y</sup> MARIANA Historia general de España, lib. xi. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. sec. xii. MAYERNE TURQUET.

<sup>z</sup> ROD. TOL. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

Historia de España, p. v. sec. xii.

<sup>b</sup> FERRERAS

ROD. TOL. Hist. Arabum. ROD. TOL. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

thargy, and began, though a little too late, to assemble their forces, and to provide for the chastisement of an enemy, who, in respect to them, had met with nothing that could justify the brutality of his behaviour.

THE kings Don *Alonso* of *Leon*, and Don *Sancho* of *Portugal*, *Inva-*  
no longer able to resist the importunities of their subjects, sub- *the king-*  
mitted to the papal decree, and the Infanta Donna *Theresa* of *dom of*  
*Portugal*, queen of *Leon*, returned home to her father, leaving *Leon*,  
behind her the two princesses, her daughters; and there is reason to *while his*  
believe, that this event threw the affairs of that kingdom into *own domi-*  
great disorder <sup>d</sup>. This induced the king of *Castile*, who had *nions are*  
now collected a great body of forces, to fall with them into *ravaged*  
the kingdom of *Leon*; though the *Moors*, with the mirama- *by the*  
molin at their head, had actually invaded his own dominions, *Moors.*  
penetrated as far as *Toledo*, and remained ten days before that  
city, which, however, they found so well fortified, and the  
people so much disposed to make a vigorous resistance, that  
at length, loaded with pillage, and fated with revenge, they  
thought fit to retreat <sup>e</sup>. In the mean time, Don *Alonso* of *Castile*  
took many places of small strength in the kingdom of *Leon*,  
ruined one of the suburbs belonging to the capital, which was  
inhabited by *Jews*, and at last besieged the city of *Astorga*,  
but without effect; which provoked him to such a degree, that  
he wasted all the open country with as little mercy as if he  
intended to copy, in his cousin's dominions, the dreadful lesson  
which had been set him by the infidels in his own <sup>f</sup>; and having  
done this, he returned to *Toledo*, with an army laden with  
spoils taken from their fellow Christians, through a country  
miserably ruined by the infidels, merely for want of that  
defence which it was his and their duty to afford <sup>g</sup>.

A. D.  
1196.

IT might be naturally apprehended that his own reflections, *They over-*  
the advices of great and good men about him, joined to the *run the*  
clamours of the common people, which were loud, in pro- *kingdom of*  
portion to the evils they had endured, must have wrought *Toledo*  
upon the mind of the king of *Castile*, and brought him back *again, but*  
to a just sense of things. It happened however far otherwise; *at length*  
he spent the winter in negotiating with Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*,  
and prevailed upon him to send a strong corps of *retire into*  
auxiliaries to assist in his next campaign, while the king of *their own*  
*Leon* on the other side was indefatigable in raising forces in *territories.*  
*Galicia* to resist him; so that it looked as if the Christian  
princes had acted in concert with the *Moors*, and were bent

<sup>d</sup> ROD. TOL. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

<sup>e</sup> Annal Toletan, MORALES.

<sup>f</sup> ROD. TOL. de reb. Hispan.

lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.

<sup>g</sup> Annal Toletan.

upon

A. D.

1197.

upon each other's destruction<sup>a</sup>. In all probability this had been brought about, if the *Moorish* emperor, *Joseph*, had not taken the field with an army so numerous, as to threaten the conquest or destruction of the king of *Castile's* dominions; which constrained that monarch to suspend his resentment against his cousin, that he might prevent the loss or total ruin of his own countries. He did not find himself in a condition, even with the succours of *Aragon*, to act offensively against the *Moors*; and experience had taught him not to hazard battles with a handful of troops against thousands. He did therefore what it became him to do; he put stout garrisons into all the strong places in his territories, and kept himself in the mountains, with a flying camp, which prevented the *Moor* from taking any place of importance, though he attempted several; and at length, his army being much reduced by fatigues and sickness, was compelled to retire into *Andalusia*, with many slaves and much booty, but with diminished forces, and their reputation rather declining than increased<sup>b</sup>. So little did he profit by his important victory.

A peace  
concluded  
between  
the two  
kings of  
Castile  
and Leon.

As soon as his territories were delivered from the *Moors*, Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, having drawn out part of his garrisons, fell, with a potent army, into the dominions of *Leon*, where he took some places of no great strength, and ruined all the open country<sup>c</sup>. The king of *Leon*, having an army not at all inferior to his, marched towards him, with a design to give a check to his proceedings by a battle. The person upon whose advice and abilities he chiefly relied, was his cousin, Don *Pedro Fernandez de Castro*, the son of that great hero of the same name, who had commanded the forces of the king his father, who had served the *Moorish* emperor *Joseph*, and who, it is even more than probable, was at the head of a corps of *Mohammedan* auxiliaries at this very time, and by him he was dissuaded from fighting<sup>d</sup>. He observed that the event of a battle was in all respects uncertain, except one, which was the ruin of both parties, let the victory fall where it would, since the *Moors* were ready and waited to take the advantage. He proposed therefore a treaty, to which, though the king was backward, he found the nobility and prelates of *Castile* were unanimously inclined. He went therefore to *Valladolid*, in person, to negotiate with queen *Eleanor*, and having proposed a marriage between the Infanta Donna *Berengara*, and Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*<sup>e</sup>, the

<sup>a</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon.<sup>b</sup> Annal Toletan.<sup>c</sup> Rod.

TOL. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

<sup>d</sup> Lucæ Tudensis Chron.<sup>e</sup> Rod. TOL. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

treaty

treaty was quickly concluded, and the marriage soon after solemnized in the same place, though the king of *Castile* was not present; and shewed thereby, that what he did, he did with reluctance, against his own sense of things; for in his temper united qualities that rarely meet, haughtiness and obstinacy.

At the entrance of the ensuing year, the king of *Castile* found himself freed from all apprehensions of the *Moors*, by an application from their monarch, either for a peace or a long truce; the reason of which was, that his affairs had taken a wrong turn in *Africa*, where several of his governors had revolted, and set up for themselves. The king of *Castile* was not ignorant of this; and yet he acted as if he had been so; and concluded a peace with the *Moorish* prince, upon the very same terms, that might have been prudently accepted when he was in the full career of his victories<sup>a</sup>: the reason of this was, that the king of *Castile* meditated, in conjunction with the king of *Arragon*, to over-run the territories of the king of *Navarre*, who, from the sense he had of the implacable enmity of these two monarchs, had suffered himself to be strangely deceived by the *Moorish* emperor, who pretended to give him his daughter in marriage, and with her all his dominions in *Spain*<sup>o</sup>. This war the two kings accordingly prosecuted, but with little success, though they had great superiority, as will be shewn in another place.

*The former concludes a peace also with the miramolin of Africa:*

A. D.  
1197.

In the mean time, Pope Innocent the third, succeeding *Pope Innocent III.* in the see of *Rome*, took umbrage at the marriage of the king of *Leon*, with his cousin the Infanta of *Castile*, and sent peremptory instructions to his nuncio to part them, and, if they refused to part, to put the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon* under the censures of the church; which the nuncio, less violent or more afraid than his master, was not inclined to do; but gave time for the two kings to send their ambassadors to *Rome*, in order to pacify, if possible, this haughty successor of *St. Peter*<sup>p</sup>; but notwithstanding this was attempted, with all imaginable humility, the Pope remained fixed to his point, and sent fresh orders for separating the king and queen, or for putting all the churches in *Castile* and *Leon* under an interdict; the very thoughts of which, it was well known, would terrify the common people almost to madness, and consequently expose the state to such dangers, as were most likely to fright, even crowned heads, into obedience<sup>q</sup>. The arms of *Castile* were this year more successful

*insists upon the annulling the marriage of the king of Leon,*

A. D.  
1198,

<sup>a</sup> LUCE TUDENSIS Chron. <sup>o</sup> MORALES, FERRERAS. P Epist. Pap. INNOCENT III. lib. i. <sup>q</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sec. xii.

in *Navarre*, the king of that realm being absent in *Africa*, and had reduced the city of *Vitoria*, and some other places of importance, to a state of such distress, that a kind of provisional capitulation was made, dependent upon the orders of the king of *Navarre* for their surrender, which orders soon after arrived, that monarch being at this time in no condition to vindicate his own rights, or to defend those of his subjects, which left it in the power of *Don Alonso* to gratify his ambition in a very extensive degree: so that this ancient and once powerful kingdom was reduced within an hair's-breadth of destruction.

*The Infanta Donna Blanca espouses prince Lewis of France.*

THE satisfaction he derived from thence must have been very much heightened, by an honourable event, in respect to his family, which fell out soon after, and which, for some particular reasons, we are obliged to represent at large. *John*, king of *England*, finding himself under a necessity of making a disadvantageous peace with *Philip*, king of *France*, his mother, queen *Eleanor*, contrived to lessen the discredit of this transaction, by a very singular expedient, which she no sooner proposed, than it was by all parties very readily embraced. According to her scheme, the places conquered by *France* were to be restored to her son, who was then to make a voluntary cession of them, as the dowry of his niece, the Infanta Donna Blanca, or, as the *French* call her, *Blanche*, who was to marry prince *Lewis*, heir apparent of the crown of *France*; and to carry all this into execution, she offered to go herself into *Spain*, to fetch the young prince. Upon her arrival at the court of *Castile*, she was received by *Don Alonso*, her son-in-law, and by her daughter, queen *Eleanor*, with all possible marks of respect and affection, and her proposal readily accepted, the young prince put into her hands, whom she carried to her son, the king of *England*, in *Normandy*, where the peace being signed upon the twenty-second of *May*, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-third, at a place called *Purmor*, in that dutchy, the ceremony being performed by the archbishop of *Bordeaux*; the reason of which was, that the king having incurred the displeasure of the Pope by a divorce, the kingdom of *France* was then under an interdict. The marriage thus concluded, the young prince was conducted to the court of her father-in-law, there to be brought up, till such time as herself and her spouse were of a fit age to consummate; which circumstance seems to

A. D.  
1200.

\* P. MORET *Investigaciones historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.* \* ROG. Hoveden *Annal.* \* Nic.

TRIVET. *Annal*, vol. i. p. 140.

\* ROG. Hoveden *Annal.*

W P. DANIEL *Histoire de France*, vol. iii. p. 481.

be

be a sufficient refutation of that notion, which passed for ages as a point of true history, that this Infanta was the eldest daughter of *Castile*, and with which some very eminent *French* writers seem at this day very unwilling to part<sup>\*</sup>, notwithstanding the clear proofs that may be brought of the contrary. But the following history will shew nothing like it was surmised in some ages after the event.

THE same year Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, had, by the Birth of Infanta Donna *Berengara*, his son *Ferdinand*; the day of his St. Ferdinand, after the month of *August*, and baptized with great solemnity afterwards king of *Castile* in the cathedral church of *Leon*, to the great joy of both courts<sup>†</sup>. About this time, the disputes between the king of *Leon* and his mother-in-law produced a kind of rupture; for the late king *Ferdinand*, having bestowed upon her some fortresses of great importance to the safety of his dominions, Don *Alonso* did not think it consistent either with his dignity or interest, to leave them any longer in her hands, and therefore demanded them<sup>‡</sup>. On the other hand, the queen dowager Donna *Urraca*, by the advice and with the assistance of her brother Don *Diego Lopez*, fortified them; and that nobleman also applied himself to the king of *Castile*, in hopes that he would have interposed with his son-in-law, to prevent things from coming to extremities. But that monarch, either judging the thing in itself unreasonable, or being unwilling to take part in any thing against his son-in-law, rejected this demand; and the places not long after were taken by the king of *Leon*, which so highly provoked Don *Diego Lopez*, that he retired to his own estates, exceedingly exasperated against both kings, and consequently disposed, whenever any occasion should offer, to sacrifice his duty to his resentment<sup>§</sup>. Such was the situation of things in *Spain*, at the opening of the thirteenth century, when the Christians were indeed become more potent than in former times, but were as little united as ever.

DON *Alonso* of *Castile* was extremely provoked at this *Kings of* haughty behaviour in one for whom he had done so much, *Castile and* and for whose sake he had disobliged so many; but his resent- *Leon join* ment, in some measure, received a justification from Don *their forces* *Diego's* wasting his country, as soon as he found himself safe *against* in *Navarre*, with a considerable body of desperate people *Don Diego*

<sup>\*</sup> See the notes on the French translation of Mariana. y Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. <sup>†</sup> Annal Toletan, LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon, <sup>‡</sup> Rod. TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. var. antiq.

Lopez  
de Haro.

who had followed his fortunes. His insurrection became in a short time so formidable, that the king of *Castile* requested the assistance of his son-in-law to reduce him; accordingly both princes took the field, at the head of a numerous army. Don *Diego* had not forces sufficient to give them battle; but, having fortified *Estella* in *Biscay*, and provided it with all things necessary to sustain a siege, after harrassing the royal armies in the field, he gradually withdrew his forces thither. The two kings invested the place, and battered it with great fury, and as soon as the breaches were practicable, made repeated assaults, but to no purpose; so that in the end they were constrained to raise the siege<sup>b</sup>. About this time, the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon* concluded a truce for three years with the king of *Navarre*, in order more at leisure to negotiate a peace.

A. D.  
1201.

The king  
of Leon  
obliged to  
part with  
his second  
queen, by  
the Pope.

THE steadiness shewn by Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, in keeping his queen, contrary to the decrees of Pope *Innocent* the third, so provoked that zealous head of the church, as to induce him to execute what he had threatened, by putting the kingdom of *Leon* under an interdict, upon which a schism arose, some of the bishops adhering to the king, and some to the Pope<sup>c</sup>. But the king of *Castile* prevented this thunder from falling on the heads of his subjects, by declaring that he was ready to receive the Infanta, his daughter, whenever the king of *Leon* should think fit to send her home. While things continued in this state, queen *Eleanor* of *Castile* was brought to bed of a son, on the 14th of *April*<sup>d</sup>; and not long after this, in pity to their subjects, and, so far as appears, without any distaste or dispute between themselves, the king and queen of *Leon* resolved to separate. The Pope, in consideration that the marriage was entered into and consummated on both sides with sincere and laudable intentions, declared the children legitimate: these were the Infants *Ferdinand* and *Alonso*, and the Infantas *Eleonora*, *Constantia*, and *Berengara*. As for the dowry which had been settled by the king of *Leon*, the Infanta *Berengara* generously gave it up. All these great points being adjusted, *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, threw in a proposition, too weighty and too reasonable to be rejected; this was, that the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, and his daughter's eldest son, should (in case of his brother's demise) be declared heir apparent of the kingdom of *Leon*<sup>e</sup>. An assem-

A. D.  
1204.

<sup>b</sup> P. MORET, Investigaciones historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra. <sup>c</sup> MORALES, RODERIC TOLETAN de reb.

Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>d</sup> Annal Toletan.

<sup>e</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Epist. INNOCENT III. et HONOR. III.



bly of the estates was accordingly called, who unanimously swore to the succession; and this ceremony over, queen *Berengara* returned to her father's court, leaving all her children at that of the king her husband<sup>f</sup>. Thus, through the pious application of the papal power, Don *Alonso* was once more declared a single man, though with two wives living, and six or seven children (E).

At the time of the concluding the truce between the kings *Which, in of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre*, Don *Diego Lopez de Haro* spite of all was restored to his old master's favour, who also interceded precautions taken for him with the king of *Leon*. The great military skill which he had shewn in defending *Estella*, had its merit even to prevent it, occasionally a war, with those monarchs, against whom he defended it; and they could not help esteeming and admiring the courage and

<sup>f</sup> *Lucæ Tudenſis Chronicon.*

(E) It may not be amiss to observe here, that, so long as the common people had amongst them a real spirit of religion, the interdict was such a weapon as no prince, however potent, could resist. It was so called, because it implied a prohibition of all public worship, and the administration of all sacraments, so that, while it lasted, a whole Christian nation was deprived of every kind of spiritual comfort. But by having recourse to this violent remedy too often, the Popes very much weakened its force, and by degrees brought the people, not only to despise that, but to be very cold and indifferent even as to the essentials of religion, which is the necessary and inevitable consequence of pious frauds and ecclesiastical tyranny. While the old Gothic church subsisted, Spain was exempted from every thing of this kind; for, though the church made use of censures, and sometimes excommunicated persons of high rank, and some-

times considerable bodies of people, yet this was, always for their own offences; whereas the interdict punished multitudes, for the crimes or the supposed crimes of individuals, contrary, not only to the practice of the primitive church, and to the whole current of the scriptures, but also to the common sense of mankind. However, since they had submitted to the papal authority, and were resolved, at all events, to adhere to the spiritual monarchy, as it was styled, of *Rome*, the Spanish kings found themselves as much and as effectually subjects, or rather more so, than their people were to them; for these monarchs were by no means absolute, they governed according to the laws and customs of their country; whereas the Pope governed without law, or, which came to the same thing, was believed to have a power of declaring those laws, by which he would be pleased to govern.

conduct of this nobleman, though exerted against them. The case is singular enough to deserve notice; but besides this, it is necessary that we should have an idea of the character of Don *Diego*. It is uncertain whether he commanded in that war, which, at the solicitation of *Philip Augustus* of France, Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, carried on in *Aquitaine* against king *John* of *England*, of the reality of which we cannot doubt, though passed over in silence by the *English* and *French* historians; since we find it recorded by two grave *Spanish* prelates, who lived in those times<sup>c</sup>. The birth of the Infant Don *Henry* might possibly lessen the respect which had been hitherto paid by Don *Alonso* of *Castile* to the king of *Leon*; and this was still more diminished upon his sending back his daughter, though with her own consent, and with great reluctance on the part of that king. That this was really the case, appears from the refusal of the *Castilian* governors to surrender the places assigned for the queen's dower, which she had relinquished by an act of her own, and this act confirmed by the Pope<sup>b</sup>. The king of *Leon* resenting this, attempted to reduce them by force, which gave beginning to a war that lasted for three years, but with the interposition of some truces; and at this period, his affairs making it necessary, the king of *Castile* shewed a desire of peace, and that it might be well kept left the terms of it to the king of *Leon*<sup>1</sup>. This afforded that monarch an opportunity of shewing, that, when he parted with his queen, he did not part with his affections for her. He had stipulated the delivery of the places in question, and he had made a war to acquire them; now he was left to dictate the peace, he consented that the best part of them should remain in the condition they were, and that the Infanta Donna *Berengara* should enjoy the revenue<sup>k</sup>. About this time, the king of *Castile* gave his second daughter Donna *Urraca* in marriage to the Infant Don *Alonso*, prince of *Portugal*; and at the request of Don *Roderic Ximenes*, the historian, founded a university at *Palencia*, which in the succeeding reign was, as some say, transferred to *Salamanca*<sup>l</sup>.

*This with* THE truce was now on the point of expiring, which the *some difficulty ended,* king of *Castile* had concluded with the miramamolin, and it was this that made Don *Alonso* so extremely solicitous to

<sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron. <sup>b</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>1</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN

de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron. <sup>k</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>l</sup> De reb. Hispan. liv. vii. LUCÆ TUDENSIS

Chron.

put an end, not only to the wars, but to the quarrels and disputes amongst the Christian princes in *Spain*. It was with this view, that he prevailed once more with the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* to meet him; and the great generosity he shewed in abandoning several places of great importance to the last of these princes, had an extraordinary good effect; so that at length they parted perfectly good friends, with mutual promises of assistance and support against the *Moors*<sup>m</sup>. Things being thus settled, Don *Roderic Diaz*, grand master of the order of *Calatrava*, for so it was still called, though the place was in the hands of the *Moors*, made an irruption into their territories, and by taking several places began the war. The next year, the Infant Don *Ferdinand* received the order of knighthood with great ceremony, in the cathedral church of *Burgos*, that he might be qualified, according to the notions of those times, to take the field<sup>n</sup> with his father, against the infidels; who, while they were preparing to resist the *Castilians*, found themselves suddenly attacked by the king of *Arragon*, who made this summer some conquests at their expence. Don *Alonso* of *Castile* did not take the field till the following spring; and then, with a numerous and gallant army, advanced as far as *Alcala*, which place, when he had reduced, he proceeded next to over-run the best part of the kingdom of *Murcia*, in which he met with no considerable resistance, till the extreme heat of the season obliged him to retire<sup>o</sup>. *Mohammed*, then king of *Morocco*, had assembled a numerous body of troops in *Andalusia*; and having passed the *Sierra Morena*, invested *Salvatierra*, the residence for the present of the knights of *Calatrava*. Though the town was not very strong, the knights defended it so well, that they had time to give Don *Alonso* notice of their distress, and that without a speedy relief it was impossible to preserve the place. Upon this the Infant Don *Ferdinand* was sent with a very strong detachment to make an irruption into the *Moorish* territories on the side of *Estremadura*, which he performed very gallantly, but it did not produce what was expected, the miramamolin persisting in the siege; so that the prince returned to his father's camp in the month of *August*, and the place having no other relief to expect, was surrendered in the ensuing month<sup>p</sup>. This certainly chagrined the king of *Castile* not a little; but an event which followed soon after affected him much more. The royal Infant, either over

A. D.  
1210.

<sup>m</sup> P. MORET, Investigaciones historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra. <sup>n</sup> Chron. var. antiq. MORALES. <sup>o</sup> Annal Toletan. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hisp. lib. vii. <sup>p</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Annal Toletan.

fatigued by the operations of the campaign, or from some other cause, fell ill of a fever soon after his return with his father to *Madrid*, of which he died there *October 14*, A. D. 1211, to the universal sorrow, not only of his royal parents and the court, but of the whole nation in general<sup>1</sup>.

A prodigious army assembled by the miramamolin against the Christians.

THE king could not allow himself much time to grieve, as he had certain and indisputable intelligence, that the miramamolin, having pacified the troubles in *Barbary*, had brought the whole force of his empire together, with an intention to conquer the kingdom of *Toledo*, at least. Being sensible from experience, that the power of *Castile* was by no means capable of supporting him against such an enemy, he sent the bishop elect of *Segovia* to *Rome*, the archbishop Don *Roderic* and other bishops into *France*, while himself managed a conference with the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, in which he obtained from them all that he could desire or expect<sup>2</sup>. Don *Sancho*, king of *Portugal*, dying about this time, was succeeded by his son Don *Alonso*<sup>3</sup>, who involving himself in some disputes with the king of *Leon*, the monarch of *Castile* could not promise himself much help from either of those princes, with the want of which, however, he might dispense, since multitudes inrolled themselves for this holy war in *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, the pontif at *Rome* using the same methods to excite Christians in all places to enter into the *Spanish* war, as in other croisades, and with better reason.

The monarchs of Spain have recourse to a croisade for their defence.

A. D. 1212.

THE rendezvous of the Christian troops was appointed at *Toledo*, about *Easter*; but it was a considerable time before so numerous an army, and that too composed of so many different nations and languages, could be brought into any tolerable order. Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, with the forces under his command, arrived on *Trinity Sunday*; the foreigners in a short time after; and to prevent the inconveniences that must have happened, if they had been admitted into the city, all these forces were encamped in the field, as soon as they arrived, which did not, however, hinder the foreigners from falling upon the *Jews* in the suburbs, and committing many other irregularities, which cost the king of *Castile* a great deal of trouble to correct<sup>4</sup>. At last, on the twentieth of *June*, the army began to move, the Ultramontans or foreigners, from beyond the *Pyrenees*, had the van, composed of ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, under the command of Don *Diego Lopez de Haro*; the king of

<sup>1</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Toletan, Epist. INNOCENT III.

<sup>2</sup> ANNAL ZURETA. ANNAL ARRAGON. <sup>3</sup> ERANDAON. <sup>4</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

*Castile* and the king of *Arragon* moved next, but in separate bodies, that they might not incommode each other; the rest of the army formed a rear-guard, and took post upon the frontiers<sup>w</sup>. The first place that felt the weight of their arms was *Malagon*, which the foreigners took by storm, and put all the *Mohammedans* therein to the sword. The next place they attempted was *Calatrava*, in which there was a very good garrison, commanded by the alcaides *Abenaliz* and *Almoad*, officers of great reputation, and who lost none of it by their behaviour upon this occasion. The town notwithstanding, being attacked on all sides, was quickly taken by assault; but the *Moorish* generals retired into the citadel, which being strong and well supplied, they made a gallant defence; at length they offered a capitulation, in case they had leave to retire where they pleased, which the foreigners violently opposed, professing, that they meant to give no quarter to any infidels: but the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* were of another mind: they knew the importance of the place, and of the magazines which were in it, and therefore they readily signed the capitulation; and Don *Diego Lopez de Haro*, with his own troops, escorted the *Moors* till such time as they arrived in a place of safety<sup>x</sup>. The strangers were so much offended at this instance of moderation, and the not giving up the place to be pillaged, that, pretending they were not able to endure the heats which began to come on, they decamped with their forces, in spite of all the solicitations and prayers of the Christian monarchs, and marched back towards *Toledo*, the troops under *Arnold*, archbishop of *Narbonne*, and *Thibaud Blacon*, only excepted<sup>y</sup>.

THIS loss, though it diminished, did not discourage, the Christian army, or the kings who commanded it, and who soon after attacked and reduced *Alarcos*, and other small places in places. While they were thus employed, the king of *Arragon* received a considerable reinforcement, which gave the army fresh spirits; and before their rejoicings on this subject were over, Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, with most of the nobility of his kingdom, and a very gallant corps of troops, joined them likewise; upon which, being again in motion, they advanced to *Salvatierra*, where they made a general review of the army, and resolved to march on towards the enemy, notwithstanding the desertion of the foreigners<sup>z</sup>. This resolution was indeed very gallant and heroic, but at the

<sup>w</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. Annal Toletan.

<sup>x</sup> LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. Annal Toletan.

<sup>y</sup> ROBERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>z</sup> ZURETA, P. MORET, Annal Toletan.

same

same time extremely hazardous, as they had that rugged ridge of mountains, stiled the *Sierra Morena*, to pass, before they could reach the infidels, who they knew waited for them, and would be sure to give them all the trouble that was possible in their passage. The *Moorish* monarch *Mohammed*, who from his wearing a turbant of that colour, had acquired the surname of the *Green*, acted through this campaign like an able general, and an officer of great experience<sup>a</sup>. He had drawn together his forces early in the neighbourhood of *Jaen*, amounting to fourscore thousand excellent horse, and a body of troops so numerous, that no historian has ventured upon a calculation. He advanced slowly, as he heard of the progress of the Christians, resolved not to waste his forces in skirmishes, or to venture a general and decisive engagement, before the fatigue of the several sieges and the usual heats should have abated the ardour of the enemy. At length he took post at *Baeza*<sup>b</sup>, marked out the field of battle at his leisure, and caused all the narrow passes in the mountains to be occupied by strong detachments, with express orders to his officers to maintain their respective posts as long as it was possible; so that, all things considered, it seemed almost an impracticable project for the Christian army to reach that of the *Moors*, and still more impracticable to defeat troops more numerous than their own, that had served long, and with great reputation, fresh, well supplied with every thing, and in posts of their own chusing, and of consequence very advantageous.

*Pass the  
Sierra  
Morena  
by a route  
never till  
then  
known,  
and stiled  
the royal  
passage  
ever since.*

THE Christian army arrived at the foot of the *Sierra*, on *Thursday* the 12th of *July*, when a small corps of troops, under the command of *Don Diego Lopez*, after a brisk dispute, possessed themselves of the pass of *Muradal*, and the next day, after an obstinate resistance, drove the *Moors* from some of the eminences about it; but perceiving that the pass was very narrow, of a considerable length, and the enemy in a condition to cut them off as fast as they appeared at the opening on the other side, they judged it impossible to pursue their design, and at the same time could not bear the thoughts of returning to *Toledo*, without seeing an enemy<sup>c</sup>. In this distressed situation, a person altogether unknown, but who from his appearance seemed to be a shepherd, desired to speak with the kings, and after some importunity was conducted into their presence. He proposed to shew them a passage hitherto very little known, and which never had been

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

<sup>b</sup> Annal Toletan. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

<sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

passed

passed by any army, through which they might march without difficulty, and at the same time without being observed by the *Moors*. The monarchs were very desirous of accepting so seasonable an offer; but at the same time afraid to trust to a guide whom nobody knew. At length, Don *Diego Lopez* and Don *Garcia Romero*, offered to follow him with a corps of troops, and he led them according to his promise, by a winding passage, which has ever since born the name of the *Royal Passage*<sup>d</sup>, to the summit of the mountains, where they found a fair and spacious plain, where the whole army might be ranged conveniently in order of battle.

ON *Saturday* the 14th of *July*, the Christian army, in consequence of this happy discovery, took possession of the plain beforementioned, and disposed their troops in proper order: the *Moors* were infinitely surprised when they beheld them in so advantageous a situation; but as soon as they had recovered themselves a little, neglected nothing that might have provoked them to fight immediately; but in this they were disappointed, for the Christians having secured the advanced posts, and provided in the most effectual manner possible, in case of an attack, rested that day and the next, which they spent in devotion, and preparing themselves, in a Christian manner, for whatever event Providence might design them<sup>e</sup>. On the 16th, in the morning, the whole army was disposed in order of battle, the right wing was commanded by the king of *Navarre*, who, besides his own forces, had some battalions of *Castilian* troops, the foreigners under the archbishop of *Narbonne*, and the volunteers; the king of *Aragon* and his forces were on the left; Don *Alonso* of *Castile* in the centre, his troops being divided into four brigades, the first commanded by Don *Diego Lopez de Hara*, the second by Don *Gonzalez de Lara*, in which were the troops of the military orders, the third by Don *Roderic Diaz*, composed of the flower of the *Castilian* nobility, the last was under the king in person, who had about him all the prelates, and the whole force of the kingdom of *Toledo*<sup>f</sup>. The *Moors* were likewise disposed in very exact order, and in the center the choicest troops were covered by a strong barricade of iron chains; the miramamolin was there in person, dressed in a rich robe, with the khoran in one hand and a sabre in the other<sup>g</sup>. The battle was begun by Don *Diego Lopez de Hara*, and soon after both the wings engaged. This attack

*The glorious victory of Toloso, which entirely breaks the power of the Moors.*

<sup>d</sup> Annal Toletan, LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. <sup>e</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>f</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon. Annal Toletan. <sup>g</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

was made with all imaginable vigour, and the *Moors* received them with the utmost intrepidity. The dispute continued long, without any sensible variation of fortune; but the loss of the *Moors* being continually supplied with fresh troops, the Christians began to lose ground in every part of the line.<sup>b</sup> The *Moors* perceiving this, made a great effort, which had a very sensible impression, insomuch that Don *Alonso* of *Castile* cried out, that there was nothing now left, but to secure the honour of the nation, by dying gloriously; and was on the very point of throwing himself into the thickest of the enemy, if the archbishop *Roderic* of *Toledo*, and Don *Ferdinand Garcia*, had not restrained him<sup>c</sup>. The latter told him things were not yet desperate, if he did not make them so, by precipitation, and advised him to support his retiring troops by seasonable and well disposed supplies. This had its effect, and the Christians having recovered their spirits, pushed the infidels in their turn, broke them, and advanced to the barricade of iron chains, where things were in danger of taking a new turn, the infantry being unable to do any thing. But the king of *Navarre*, at the head of his own cava'ry, attacking them in full career, with a desperate resolution, leaped the barricade, and having driven the *Moors* from their first posts, opened a passage for the *Castilians*<sup>k</sup>. It was then no longer a battle, but a carnage. The miramamolin, by the persuasion of his brother, quitted the field; and the Christians pursuing their flying enemies, continued the slaughter till it was night: the army then took possession of the enemies' camp; and the archbishop of *Toledo*, assisted by all the bishops and ecclesiasticks, sung *Te Deum*<sup>l</sup>. The next day, Don *Diego Lopez de Hara* made a distribution of the spoils, and gave almost the whole to the auxiliaries and strangers, telling the *Castilians*, that they were sufficiently rewarded by the victory itself, since all the advantages derived from it would be theirs; and, which is not a little singular, his conduct met with universal applause<sup>m</sup>. The *Moors* lost upon the field, and in the pursuit, 200,000 men; the Christians, if you will believe archbishop *Roderic*, but 25, and but 150 in the course of the whole campaign<sup>n</sup> (F).

AFTER

<sup>b</sup> Epist. Reg. ADEOPHONS ad Innocent III. <sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.  
<sup>k</sup> Epist. Reg. ADEOPHONS ad Innocent III. Annal Toletan.  
<sup>l</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Epist. Reg. ADEOPHONS ad Innocent III. <sup>m</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
<sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

(F) The date of this battle is the unanimous consent of historians, to Monday, July the 16th.



AFTER the army had rested three days, they resumed their progress, and reduced all the country as far as *Baexa*, which they found slighted and without inhabitants, except a number of infirm and aged people, who had taken shelter in the great mosque, to which they cruelly set fire<sup>o</sup>. They marched from thence to *Ubeda*; a place of strength, to which the re-

*Consequences attending this memorable battle,*

• Chron. var. antiq.

16th, *A. D.* 1212; as to the place, there is not, as we observed, the same concurrence; and yet such as are well acquainted with the country, may possibly find that the differences about it are but of very little consequence. Some stile it the battle of *Muradal*, from the pass of that name, through the *Sierra Morena*; others the battle of *Loça*, from a great rock of that name; but it is most commonly known by the title of, the battle of *Tolosa*, from a little town of that name, in the open country, beyond the mountains. Some writers have reported, that, at the very beginning of the action, a most resplendent cross appeared in the heavens, a sure presage of victory to the Christians: but this is not to be found in the letter written by the king of *Castile* to the Pope, in that of *Arnold*, archbishop of *Narbonne*, or in the history of *Don Roderic*, archbishop of *Toledo*; and is, therefore, justly suspected by *Mariana*, as well as *Ferreras*. But it is unanimously asserted, that *Dominic Paschal*, the archbishop of *Toledo*'s cross-bearer, and who, in process of time, became himself both dean and archbishop of the same diocese, passed several times through the enemy's line, without receiving any hurt. Some have attempted to assign a physical reason, why no blood ap-

peared upon the field of battle; viz. from the heat of the weather and the dryness of the soil. Some have also corrected the numbers said to be slain in this battle, and instead of 25 Christians, would have us read 25,000. This, however, is utterly irreconcilable to the archbishop of *Toledo*'s relation, who maintains the fact to be true, however incredible it may seem: he adds farther, that the quantity of spears, javelins, and arrows, found upon the field, was so great, that they served the Christian forces for two days, as fewel for dressing their provisions, though during that space they burnt nothing else. The value of the spoil was immense, as we may guess from the number of horses, which are said to have amounted to 35,000. But the most signal advantage of all was, the breaking the power of the miramamolin, which revived that spirit of independency natural to the *Spanish Moors*, put them upon revolting, setting up separate principalities, and destroying each other, which made their total expulsion a work much easier to the Christians than otherwise it would have been, and opened a way also to the declension of this dynasty in *Africa*, which weakened the *Mahammedan* power in general.

mains

and return  
of the  
kings of  
Arragon  
and Na-  
varre.

main of the *Moorish* army and most of the inhabitants of *Baeza* had retired, and to which the Christians laid siege. They met there with a stubborn and obstinate resistance, yet on the side of the *Arragonian* attack things were pushed so far, that the besieged offered a million of crowns, by way of ransom <sup>P</sup>; but the prelates persisting in opposing all capitulations, the besieged found their safety in despair, behaving afterwards with such desperate resolution, that famine and diseases breaking into the camp, all the three monarchs concurred in opinion, that the only proper step to be taken was, to raise the siege, which they accordingly did; and, having put strong garrisons into their new conquests, repassed the mountains, and continued their march to *Calatrava* <sup>2</sup>. There they met the duke of *Austria*, with a great number of troops coming to their assistance, who finding their campaign over, joined his forces to those of the king of *Arragon*, who here took leave of Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, in order to return into his own dominions <sup>3</sup>. Don *Alonso*, accompanied by Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, proceeded to *Toledo*, into which city they entered in triumph; and at the departure of the last mentioned monarch, Don *Alonso*, as a mark of his gratitude and esteem, restored to him fifteen of the most considerable places that he had taken during the long war; he also instituted an annual festival on the 16th of *July*, which was stiled the triumph of the holy cross, and it was long kept with great solemnity, through both the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, in memory of an event which, in a great measure, determined the fate of the *Moors* in *Spain* <sup>4</sup>.

Don *Alonso*'s sacrifices, in order to settle a lasting peace with the crown of *Leon*.

WHILE Don *Alonso* of *Castile* was employed in this important war, the troops of the king of *Leon*, under the command of Don *Pedro Fernandez*, recovered all the places that had been conquered by the *Castilians* <sup>5</sup>. After this, the king of *Leon* turned his arms against *Portugal*, where the king, Don *Alonso*, was labouring to dispossess his sisters, one of which was Donna *Theresa*, once queen of *Leon*, of the places which his father had left them by his testament for their subsistence. It was at the request of these distressed princesses, that the king of *Leon* made a diversion in their favour, offering, however, to retire, if Don *Alonso* of *Portugal* would desist from his enterprize. But that king, who from his infancy hated his brothers and sisters, marched against him with a superior army, and forced him to battle, in which, however, the king of *Leon* was victorious, and

<sup>P</sup> ZURETA, Annal Arragon.  
RETA, Annal Arragon.  
Tudensis Chron.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
<sup>3</sup> Annal Toletan.

<sup>4</sup> ZU-  
<sup>5</sup> LUCÆ

would,

would, perhaps, have availed himself in another manner of his success, if the apprehensions of being attacked by the king of *Castile* had not withheld him<sup>u</sup>. Don *Alonso* of *Castile* behaved, upon this occasion with great magnanimity; for, instead of committing any hostilities, he invited him to *Valladolid*, and there, in a personal conference, convinced him of the necessity of their living upon good terms, in order to which, he not only relinquished all the places he had taken, but gave him several others that he knew he much desired, together with the castles of *Carpio* and *Monreal*, in the territory of *Salamanca*, upon condition that they should be demolished, and a considerable town and district in *Asturias*, merely because it lay conveniently for him<sup>w</sup>; so that the king of *Leon* left him in sentiments of the most perfect friendship; and Don *Alonso* of *Castile* thought a secure peace very cheaply purchased by these sacrifices, being desirous only of extending his dominions at the expence of the *Moors*, and by making a proper use of the great advantage he had gained. It was in order to this, that he stipulated with the king of *Leon*, as an equivalent for the concessions he had made, that he should restore to the king of *Portugal* the places he had taken from him, and conclude a peace with that monarch, upon fair and equal terms<sup>x</sup>. Upon this peace, the Infant Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, perceiving that he had no Christian court to which he could fly, and dreading the implacable disposition of the king his brother, retired to the miramolin. On the other hand, that monarch, perceiving how much he was lessened in the opinion of his subjects by his late defeat, went over to *Africa*, where he passed the remainder of his days under that cloud which usually attend sovereigns that are unfortunate<sup>y</sup>.

DON *Alonso* of *Castile* took the field again early the next *A famine* year, with a competent army, and having reduced *Duegnos*, in *Castile*, at the foot of the *Sierra Morena*, and some other places, by which though not without resistance, soon after invested *Alcaros*, the people where the *Moors* had a good garrison, and flattered themselves are reduced to very great distress. that it was impregnable; but the king continued before it so long, and took such precautions for supplying his troops with provisions, that at length, on the 22d of *May*, the place was surrendered<sup>z</sup>. After putting a strong garrison into it, the king returned in triumph to *St. Torcaz*, where he met his queen, with the Infant Don *Henry*, his daughter queen *Berengara*,

<sup>u</sup> Epist. INNOCENT III.      <sup>w</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. . . <sup>x</sup> Annal Toletan. <sup>y</sup> BRANDAON.      <sup>z</sup> Annal Toletan.

and her two sons Don *Ferdinand* and Don *Alonso*, and there kept his *Whitsuntide* <sup>a</sup>. Some other actions of less importance happened in this year, with different success; but the most remarkable event was, a great scarcity of provisions, arising from the excessive consumption made by the great armies the year before, and the people being also hindered, by the continuance of the war, from attending in a proper manner to the cultivation of their lands.

*The Infant* As Don *Alonso* of *Leon* had made no diversion in favour  
*Don Fer-* of the king of *Castile* this campaign, and as, upon applica-  
*dinand,* tion to him the next year, he imputed his slowness to his de-  
*beir of* fect of cavalry, Don *Diego Lopez de Haro* was sent to him  
*Leon, dies* with 600 excellent horse, and, by the assistance of these and  
*unexpect-* his own infantry, he made himself master of *Alcantara* <sup>b</sup>, and  
*edly.* had taken some other places, if the extreme heat of the  
 weather had not obliged him to put his troops into quarters of  
 refreshment. This was a great disappointment to the king  
 of *Castile*, who thereby lost the opportunity of taking *Baeza*,  
 which the *Moors* had repeopled and fortified; and which he  
 besieged for three months, till sickness and famine obliged him  
 to retire <sup>c</sup>. Soon after the return of the king of *Leon* from  
 his campaign, his heir apparent, the Infant Don *Ferdinand*,  
 whom he had by Donna *Theresa* of *Portugal*, died, and was  
 buried in the cathedral church of St. *James* at *Compostella*,  
 near the remains of Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, his grand-  
 father <sup>d</sup>. This accident exceedingly afflicted his parents, and  
 might well excuse the king, his father, for not making an  
 autumn campaign. About this time, the archbishop *Roderic*  
 of *Toledo* finished his fortress of *Milagro*, now known by the  
 name of *Almagro*, the capital of one of the districts in the  
 province of *La Mancha*, into which he put a competent gar-  
 rison, to restrain the incursions of the *Moors*, which he had  
 hardly done, before it was besieged by an army of 5000 horse  
 and foot, under the command of a *Moorish* officer of great  
 reputation; but the prelate, its founder, took such care to  
 supply those within with all kinds of necessaries, that at  
 length, not without great loss, the enemy found themselves  
 obliged to raise the siege and to retire <sup>e</sup>.

A. D.  
1214

*Death of* THE king, Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, being still very solicitous  
*Don Alonso* about the affairs of his cousin the king of *Leon*, and apprehen-  
 so, king of five that he did not clearly comprehend what considerable ac-  
 Castile, at quisitions might be made to his own territories, by entering

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. <sup>b</sup> Chron.  
 var. antiq. <sup>c</sup> Annal Toletan. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

<sup>d</sup> Annal Toletan. <sup>e</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN, de reb. Hispan.  
 lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

heartily into a war with the *Moors*, invited him to an interview at *Placentia*<sup>f</sup>. This was as readily accepted as proposed; but in his journey thither, Don *Alonso* of *Castile* was attacked by a malignant fever, of which he died at a little village on the way, on the fifth or sixth of *August*, in the year 1214<sup>g</sup>. He had the comfort of having his queen, and most of his children about him, as well as the archbishop Don *Roderic* and several other prelates, in his last moments; and by his will appointed the queen dowager *Eleonora*, regent<sup>h</sup>, during the minority of her son; but this provision, though very prudent, did not avail much, since she also died in the month of *October* the same year; in which also expired the two greatest men in *Castile* and *Leon*, Don *Diego Lopez de Haro*, and Don *Pedro Fernandez*<sup>i</sup>. Such a series of unexpected events had, as the reader will easily conceive, a very great effect on the minds of the people, and made way for those troubles and disturbances that very speedily ensued, and of which, if they had been under any settled form of government, and had acted with any proper degree of prudence, the *Moors* would certainly have availed themselves more than they did (G).

DON

<sup>f</sup> Anna! Toletan. <sup>g</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudenſis Chron. <sup>h</sup> Anna! Toletan. <sup>i</sup> Anna! Compoftel. et Toletan.

(G) This great monarch was, to ſpeak correctly, *Alonso* the third, of *Caſtile*; for though, after the union of the two kingdoms under his grandſon, Don *Ferdinand*, the ſucceeding kings were reckoned in the order of thoſe of *Leon*, ſo that his ſucceſſor was ſtiled Don *Alonso* the tenth, and not Don *Alonso* the fourth, yet this manner of computing did not or could not take place before. He was, at the time of his demife, in the 59th year of his age, and in the 56th of his reign. It is true that the old hiſtorians differ about theſe dates, and that, even in the printed copies of Don *Roderic*'s hiſtory, it is ſaid to have been but the 53d year of his reign;

yet we ought to conſider that tranſcribers miſtake in nothing ſo much as dates; and therefore we muſt not ſuffer ourſelves to be miſled by ſuch ſlips of theirs, when viſibly repugnant to the current of hiſtory. There is another difficulty that ought to be cleared, which relates to the occaſion of that journey which coſt the king his life; for, in the printed copies of the archbiſhop of *Toledo*'s hiſtory, it is ſaid, that the king was going to an interview with the king of *Portugal*, his ſon-in-law, at *Placentia*; whereas *Ferreras*, whom we follow, aſſerts, that his deſign was to confer with the king of *Leon*, which ſeems to be much more probable,

MOD. HIST. VOL. XX.

N

bable,

Henry succeeds his father in that kingdom in the 11th year of his age. DON Henry, the young king of *Castile*, was in the 11th year of his age; and having lost his mother in two months after his father, the regency, according to the direction of the king's testament, devolved on the queen Donna *Bernarda*, with the general satisfaction of the whole kingdom; the counts of *Lara*, Don *Ferdinand*, Don *Alvaro*, and Don *Goncales*, only excepted. They were desirous of getting the person of the king into their hands; and in a short time, by insinuations of various kinds, drew many of the nobility, from motives of interest, into their notions. The great difficulty was, how to bring their scheme to bear; and it was in the management of this that they shewed themselves consummate politicians. They corrupted a servant who was much in the confidence of that princess, who persuaded her, that the nobles in general were highly displeased that, since they had a child for their king, the care of that child should be confided solely to a woman; and that, therefore, out of respect to the king's safety and her own, the wisest thing she could possibly do was to call an assembly of the states, and leave the choice of a regent to them\*. She did so, and by the intrigues of the faction, Don *Alvaro de Lara* was chosen

\* RODERIC TOLETAN, de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCE Tudenfis Chronicon. Chron. S. FERNAND.

habile, considering the place assigned for their interview, and the route the king took to go thither, notwithstanding that a modern historian tells us his disease was rendered mortal by his chagrin, on a message sent him by the king of *Portugal*, that he would not come out of his own dominions; which is exceedingly improbable, since we never hear that these monarchs had any difference; and the king of *Castile* had, but a very little before, given the king of *Leon* an equivalent out of his dominions, in order to induce him to restore to *Portugal* the places he had conquered. He is very highly commended by Don *Roderic Ximenes*, who knew him perfectly, and who, where there is occasion to mention them, has

not dissembled his vices. We may, however, affirm, that he was much more indebted to experience than education; and that it may be very truly said of him, it was by reigning that he knew how to reign: perhaps, we may add to all this, that his misfortunes were the great instruments of his glory; that his being beaten put him into the road of victory; and that the close of his reign did honour to his memory, because it was very unlike the beginning. We are not, indeed, warranted to give him this character, from what is said of him in other histories, but we are led to it from facts; and truth is, of all other, the best authority in history.

under

under various restrictions, which, when he had taken an oath punctually to observe, the young king was delivered to his care, in order to his receiving a proper education. But no sooner was the assembly dissolved, than Don *Alvaro* broke through all the restrictions, governed with a rod of iron, and not only trampled on the liberties of the laity, but infringed likewise on the immunities of the clergy<sup>1</sup>. His politicks were of a very extraordinary kind; for, in this first year of his regency, he contrived to secure an influence over the king, for life, by marrying him to the Infanta Donna *Mafalda* of *Portugal*, and with this view, leaving the king to the care of some of his friends in whom he could confide, he went, in person, to the court of *Portugal*, to negotiate this marriage. In this, some writers say, that he succeeded; and it is on all hands agreed, that the court of *Portugal* came into it, and that the young princess was sent into *Spain*; but the Pope interposed, at the request of the nobility, and by his influence over the prelates caused the Infanta to be sent back into *Portugal*, where she became a nun<sup>m</sup>. *Mariana* says, that when the count Don *Alvaro* found it impossible to make her a queen, he would have made a merit of his endeavours in order to have espoused her himself, but that the young princess rejected his offer with contempt.<sup>n</sup>

A. D.  
1215.

As ecclesiasticks generally bear ill treatment with less temper than other people, so, upon Don *Alvaro's* making free with the revenues of the church of *Toledo*, the dean of that cathedral, without ceremony, excommunicated him, which quickly obliged him to make satisfaction<sup>o</sup>. In order to appease the nation in general, he called an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*, at which the king and his sister Donna *Berengara* assisted; but the disputes rose quickly to such a height, and the behaviour of Don *Alvaro* was so imperious, that the queen Donna *Berengara* thought proper to retire to the fortress of *Autillo*, and was followed thither by some of the nobility of the first families in *Castile*. The regent was very little concerned at this; but when he afterwards understood that the king himself was inclined to take the same route, he carried the young prince, under pretence of visiting his dominions, first to *Segovia*, then to *Avila*, and at length to *Madrid*, in the kingdom of *Toledo*, where he kept him several

The regent  
Don Al-  
varo de  
Lara in-  
curs uni-  
versal  
hatred.A. D.  
1216.

<sup>1</sup> Annal Toletan.      <sup>m</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC  
TOLETAN. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron.  
<sup>n</sup> Historia general de España, lib. xii.      <sup>o</sup> Annal Toletan.  
<sup>p</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ TUDENSIS  
Chron. Chron. S. FERNAND.

months, and oppressed all the country in the neighbourhood to such a degree, that it was very near causing an insurrection, and, as it was, increased those clamours that had been loud enough before<sup>1</sup>.

*The young king Don Henry, killed by the fall of a tile upon his head.*

To stifle these, or at least to turn them from himself upon those who opposed him, Don *Alvaro* took a very bold step. He discovered that the queen Donna *Berengara* had sent a person very secretly to her brother, to enquire after his health, and to learn how he was used. This gentleman he seized, hanged him without any judicial process, and then produced a counterfeit letter from the queen, which he confidently insinuated contained instructions to poison the young king<sup>2</sup>. The scheme was well laid, though it did not take effect; for the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the people in general, instead of charging the queen with poisoning, charged him with forgery; and that so loudly, and with so little ceremony, that he found it necessary to shift his quarters, and to carry the king to *Huerta*<sup>3</sup>. He afterwards went from thence to *Valladolid*, where he assembled forces, and summoned Donna *Berengara* and the lords of her party to surrender all the places they held, upon pain of being treated as rebels. This put them under great difficulties; for though they were ready to defend themselves against the regent, and put him to the trouble of one siege, yet, when they found the king's person exposed in the army, they grew uneasy, and inclined rather to expose their own persons than his. The queen, in the mean time, applied to her husband, the king of *Leon*, and demanded either his assistance, or at least his interposition; but Don *Alvaro* was before-hand with her there, and proposed a match between the king and the Infanta Donna *Sancha*; so that, in all probability, he would either have carried his point, or a civil war must have broke out in *Castile*, if an unlooked for accident had not changed the face of affairs entirely<sup>4</sup>. The regent having carried the king to *Palencia*, lodged him in the episcopal palace; and as he endeavoured to gain his affection by indulging him in every thing, the young king was at play with some boys of his own age, in the court of the palace, when one of them throwing a stone upon the roof, dislodged a tile, which fell directly upon the king's head, and of this wound he died *June* the 6th, in the year 1217, in the third year of his reign<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. var. antiqu.  
Toletan et Compostell.  
lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.  
S. FERNAND.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND.  
<sup>3</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan.  
<sup>4</sup> Annal Toletan Chron.



THE regent would willingly have concealed the king's *Don Alva-* death, but that was impossible; and the queen *Donna Be-* *rengara* was no sooner informed of it, than she sent *Don* *gent, still* *Lopez Haro* and *Don Goncales Giron* to the king of *Leon*, *aims at* under pretence that she longed very much to see him \*. The king made no difficulty; and the queen no sooner had him in her power, than she quitted the fortress, and went directly to *Palencia*, where all the nobility and prelates, who composed the late king's court, received her with all the duty and affection imaginable. She resolved from thence to go to *Valladolid*; but first some overtures were made to *Don Alvaro de Lara*, that he should return to his duty. He very modestly proposed, that the queen should immediately put her son into his hands, in which case he would be content to own him for his king; but that proposition being rejected, the court proceeded to *Valladolid*, where the people testified their loyalty and submission with all the joy imaginable \*. The queen intended to have carried her son next into *Estremadura*, and had actually begun her journey; but the family of *Lara* had so effectually corrupted the inhabitants of most of the great towns, that they refused to open their gates; upon which, the queen and her son returned to *Valladolid*, where having called a general assembly of the states, and at the same time summoned every one of the places that were in the hands of the faction to submit, on pain of being declared rebels by the approaching assembly, which had its effect, the cities, upon mature deliberation, opened their gates, returned to their duty, and sent deputies to the diet †.

THIS assembly was remarkably numerous, almost all the *Donna Be-* prelates and nobility in *Castile* being present therein, when *rengara* they solemnly acknowledged the Infanta *Berengara*, in her own *proclaimed* right, queen of the two *Castiles*, after which they proclaimed *queen, who* and swore fealty to her ‡. Her reign, however, was of very *resigns the* short continuance; for, by the advice of the principal nobility, *crowns to* she caused a kind of theatre to be erected before one of the *her son,* principal gates of the city, upon which the Infant *Don Ferdinand* appeared in his robes of state, and the queen, his mother, at the head of a deputation of the prelates and nobility, having paid her respects and saluted him king, he was carried, with the acclamations of all the spectators, to the

\* *RODERIC TOLETAN* de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.      † *Annal*  
*Toletan.* Chron. S. *FERNAND.*      ‡ Chron. var. antiq.  
 Chron. S. *FERNAND.*      \* *RODERIC TOLETAN* de reb. Hispan.  
 lib. vii.

cathedral church, and there solemnly inaugurated, *August* the 31st, 1217\*. This scene of joy was strangely discomposed, by the news that Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, at the head of a great army, had entered *Castile*, by the advice and in company with Don *Alvaro de Lara*, to revenge the signal affront he had received, in having his son made a king without asking his consent. The queen sent the bishops of *Burgos* and *Palencia* to intreat him not to injure the subjects of his son, nor to disturb the dawn of his reign; but he would listen to no accommodation; and believing that he should surprize the court without resistance, continued his march directly to *Burgos*; but Don *Lopez de Haro*, having assembled a small body of good troops, threw himself into the city, and prepared every thing for a vigorous defence, upon which Don *Alonso* thought fit to retire into his dominions, expressing great indignation against such as had prevailed upon him to act in so unkingly and in so unnatural a manner<sup>b</sup>. This storm over, the queen sent to Don *Alvaro*, to demand the body of her brother, which he had clandestinely withdrawn and concealed; but which, with some shew of civility, he caused to be delivered to the bishops who brought the queen's message, and by whose orders it was interred with great solemnity at *Burgos*<sup>c</sup>. About this time, Pope *Honorius* the third wrote to the prelates in *Spain*, in regard to the *Jews*, in a manner becoming a Christian bishop. He permitted that some mark of distinction they should be obliged to wear; but desired that no force might be used to compel them to baptism; that they should be permitted the free exercise of their religion; and that the people should not be allowed to insult them when celebrating their feasts<sup>d</sup>. The knights of *Calatrava* finding the place in which they had fixed their residence very unwholesome, the grand master caused it to be removed to *Salvatierra*; but notwithstanding this, their original title remained, as it still remains, exactly the same.

*Don Alvaro de Lara taken prisoner by the king, through his own imprudence.*

THE lords who were addicted to the faction of Don *Alvaro de Lara*, or rather who were desirous of exempting themselves from the power of their sovereign, continued still to yield but a kind of precarious obedience, which obliged the king and his mother to raise an army, in order, once for all, to put the king into full possession of his dominions. The great difficulty they met with arose from want of money, which in some measure the queen removed, by selling her jewels. In order to strike at the root, the king marched to *Herrera*, where Don

\* *LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Chron. S. FERNAND. Annal Toletan. Chron. S. FERNAND.* <sup>c</sup> *RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. l. b. ix.* <sup>d</sup> *Epist. Honor. III.*

*Alvaro*

*Alvaro* himself was, with a strong garrison. The king's troops were but raw, and, it may be, indifferently clothed and armed. Don *Alvaro*, coming with a small body of horse to view them at a little distance, conceived so contemptible an opinion of them, that he advanced nearer and nearer, on purpose to insult them; but it cost him dear: for some of the nobility about the person of the king, suddenly charged and took him prisoner<sup>a</sup>. He was much better treated than he deserved; for the queen offered him his liberty, upon his causing the places to be surrendered that were in the hands of himself and his dependents, which he accepted, and the agreement was punctually performed on both sides. After he recovered his liberty, he tried, for some time, to live in quiet, but speedily relapsed into his old intrigues; of which the king, having intelligence, he marched against him instantly, with a body of troops, and he thereupon quitted *Castile*, and went to seek protection at the court of *León*<sup>f</sup>.

A. D.  
1218.

THE king Don *Alonso* received him kindly; and, though he had been deceived by him once before, suffered himself to be again seduced, and merely, from a persuasion that the enterprise would be easily accomplished, raised a powerful army, in order to invade *Castile*. His son, king *Ferdinand*, assembled another still more powerful, with which he encamped in the neighbourhood of *Medina del Campo*, as being unwilling to act against his father, if it might be avoided. Don *Alonso*, less cautious, advanced into the territory of *Salamanca*, and invested a place of no great consequence, where some troops had taken post. While he lay before the place, Don *Alvaro* fell sick, and, being unable to come into the king's presence, the prelates laid hold of that opportunity to convince him of the injustice of the war, which induced him to raise the siege, and to retire into his own dominions<sup>g</sup>: a circumstance that broke the heart of Don *Alvaro de Lara*, who, upon the march of the army, died at *Toro*; expressing, with his last breath, a strong desire that his body should be clothed in the habit of St. *James*, and interred at *Ucles*<sup>h</sup>. As he left nothing behind him to bury him with, this had very probably been omitted; but coming to the ear of the queen, Donna *Berengara*, she sent a rich robe for his body; and a sum of money for defraying the expences of his funeral; an example of Christian charity that deserves to be remembered<sup>i</sup>. As for his brother, Don *Ferdinand de Lara*, whose conduct had been very equivocal

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Chron. S. FERNAND. <sup>b</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>c</sup> Annal Toletan. <sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Chron. S. FERNAND. <sup>e</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. viii.

during these troubles, he purchased the king's leave to quit his country by surrendering the places he held, and then he retired to *Morocco*, where he died in obscurity <sup>k</sup>.

*Marriage of the king of Castile to the princess Beatrix of Suabia, daughter to the emperor.* THE archbishop, Don *Roderic of Toledo*, having procured from the pope a bull of croisade against the Infidels, caused it to be published throughout all *Spain*, and, by that means, assembled a great army in the neighbourhood of his city, with which he invaded the territory of the *Moors*, reduced some places of no great importance, and at length besieged *Requena*, which was strong both by art and nature, and had in it a numerous garrison: he persisted, however, in his design of taking it for more than two months, but, in the end, was compelled to rise from before it, with the loss of ten thousand men, to his great mortification <sup>l</sup>. The queen, Donna *Berengara*, had better success in the negotiation of a marriage for her son with the princess *Beatrix*, daughter to the deceased *Philip*, duke of *Suabia*, and emperor of *Germany*, who, in her passage through *France* into *Spain*, was kindly received and magnificently entertained by *Louis* the eighth and his queen *Blanche* <sup>m</sup>, which is an additional proof that they never formed any claim upon the *Spanish* monarchy. The princess *Beatrix* was met at *Victoria* by the queen, Donna *Berengara*, and, being conducted to *Burgos*, she was married on the feast of St. *Andrew*, in the cathedral of that city, to the young king *Ferdinand*, in the presence of most of the prelates and nobles of *Castile*, with the universal acclamations of the people <sup>n</sup>. About this time the knights of the order of St. *Julian*, by the consent and approbation of Don *Alonso* of *León*, took possession of *Alcantara*, and at the same time received a grant of all such places as they could conquer from the Infidels, to be held as fiefs from the crown of *León* <sup>o</sup> (H).

A. D.  
1219.

THE

<sup>k</sup> SALAZAR. <sup>l</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Annal Toletan. <sup>m</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Chron. S. FER-  
NAND. <sup>n</sup> LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. RODERIC TOLETAN de  
reb. Hispan. lib. ix. <sup>o</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

(H) In the time of the emperor *Trajan*, the several nations that inhabited the country then called *Lusitania*, contributed their proportions towards building a most superb bridge over the river *Tagus*, which still remains a monument of the skill and magnificence of those times: this bridge is elevated 200 foot

above the level of the water, and though it consists but of six arches, it is 617 feet in length, and 28 in breadth. There were formerly four tables of stone, upon which were inscribed the names of those at whose expence this bridge was built; three of these time and accident have overwhelmed, the fourth has escaped,

THE province of *Risja* had been committed to the government of Don *Roderic Diaz de los Cameros*, who oppressed the people to such a degree, that many complaints were brought to the king, who thereupon sent for him to *Valladolid*; and having signified to him that he was not at all satisfied with his defence, that nobleman retired privately from court, fortified some of the strongest places in his government, and put garrisons into them<sup>9</sup>. The king, Don *Ferdinand*, assembled an army, with full intention to chastise him; but the queen his mother interposed, and put the king in mind, that, during all their troubles, this nobleman had been faithful; upon which, in consideration of a large sum of money, he resigned his government. About this time the affairs of the *Moors* fell into great confusion, several alcaides, or governors, revolted against *Zeit-Arax*, the son and successor of *Mohammed* in *Africa*, those in *Spain* thought themselves at liberty to follow their example; and accordingly *Aben-Hut*, who was descended from the kings of *Saragossa*, possessed himself of the kingdom of *Murcia*, and the best part of *Andaluzia*; *Mohammed Aben Abdallah* seized *Boeza* and the country round it; and the kingdom of *Valentia* was all that remained to *Abuzeit*, the brother of *Mohammed*.

<sup>9</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. <sup>9</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

escaped, and we learn from thence, the names of 13 of these nations. The two inscriptions that fix the date of this building to the emperor's sixth consulship are yet entire. The *Moors*, struck with the beauty of this elegant performance, as well as with the fertility of the country and the conveniency of its situation, built there a town, to which they gave the name of *Al-Cantara*, i. e. the bridge. There are several other places of this name in different parts of *Spain*, which, upon a strict examination, will be all found to have derived that denomination from some eminent bridge belonging to them; as for this in *Estremadura*, which is by far the most considerable, we are

told by *Mariana*, and all the writers who follow him, that it was given by Don *Alonso* of *Leon*, when taken from the *Moors*, to the knights of *Calatrava*; but more exact writers affirm, that it was bestowed on Don *Diega Sanchez*, grand master of the military order of *St. Julian de Perraro*; but it is true that the knights of *Alcantara* bear a cross, resembling that of the knights of *Calatrava*; viz. each point ending in a *Flower de Luce*, except that the cross of *Alcantara* is green. At present the order possesses 33 commanderies, three priories, and as many alcaidias, which produce altogether a revenue of about 80000 ducats per annum.

*Enaxor.*

A. D.

1220.

*Enaxor* 1. Thus the very errors and mistakes of the Christians operated in their favour; and while they seemed to neglect their true interest, by allowing the Infidels time to rest and recruit themselves, they employed that time more to their own prejudice than if the war had continued; which seems, so far as the weak light of human understanding will permit us to judge, that Providence interposed in support of the faith professed, though very indifferently practised, by the *Spanish Christians* (I).

\* Chron. var. antiq.

(I) We have given the reader several instances of men of very high quality, who, either out of ambition or resentment, or from terror or necessity, fled to the *Moors*. At this time there happened something still more extraordinary, which we have inserted in the notes, as it may serve to give the reader some kind of notion of the humour of the people in these times. The Infant Don *Sanchez* of *Leon*, younger brother of Don *Alonso* the ninth, and by his mother's side descended from the family of *Narro*, had given frequent marks of that sort of courage which is filled serocity, particularly in the battle of *Toledo*, where he served under the king of *Castile*, as a volunteer. He had some difference, though we know not upon what ground, with the king's brother, which filled his mind with so much rancour, that quitting his court he went to *Toledo*, giving out wherever he passed, that he had received very advantageous proposals from the miramamolin, that he had undertaken to carry him a numerous corps of brave fellows, and that such as would follow him, might be sure of large pay. He picked up by

this means 40,000 men, with whom he marched to *Seville*, where he pretended they were to receive their levy money. But arriving in the neighbourhood of this place, he thought proper to withdraw, having in reality received no such invitation, and with a handful of desperate men, who were in his secret, seized upon *Cagnamora*, an old abandoned castle in the skirts of the *Sierra Morena*. The gross of his followers, when they found themselves cheated, got back again into *Portugal*, *Leon*, and *Castile*, as well as they could; and as for the Infant Don *Sanchez* and his associates, they plundered, without distinction, both Christians and *Moors*. On the 23d of *August*, in the year 1220, as he was hunting a bear, the creature suddenly turned upon the unfortunate Infant Don *Sanchez*, and tore him to pieces. His people, if they were so disposed, had not much time to regret his loss; for the very next day the al-cayde of *Badozon* invested their fortress, attacked it without delay, carried the place by storm, and put every person they found in it to the sword.

THE

THE next year James king of Arragon married Donna James, Berengara, sister to the queen Donna Berengara, and aunt to king of Don Ferdinand, king of Castile. Amongst the numerous Arragon, sons of the house of Lara was the count Don Goncales de Mo- espouses the Infant Don Alonzo, who hitherto had lived peaceably, but now, at the insti- ta Eleo- nora. tion of another Don Goncales, of the same family, brother to the late Don Alvaro, he took up arms, and was joined by that old rebel, who had taken shelter among the Moors. This obliged the king to march against him with a numerous body of forces; and the war, perhaps, had not been very quickly finished, if the queen had not caused an intimation to be given to Don Goncales de Molina, that she intended to have married the Infant Don Alonzo to his daughter. This effectually dis- turned him: he constrained his cousin to quit the kingdom, rendered all his places into the king's hands, was restored to them and to his favour, and soon after the royal Infant mar- ried his daughter. On the twenty-third of November the queen Donna Beatrix was delivered of the Infant Don Alon- zo, who succeeded his father in his dominions, and about three months after his birth was acknowledged for his successor in a general assembly of the states, the king being at that time determined to enter into a war against the Moors. This de- sign was, however, suspended, by the breaking out of a formi- dable rebellion in Galicia, for the suppressing of which, his fa- ther demanded of him a considerable body of troops, which he very readily sent him, and by whose assistance the insurrection was suppressed. The king of Leon, in the succeeding year, thought fit to establish an university at Salamanca.

A. D.  
1222.

DON Ferdinand of Castile, being informed that Don Alva- John de- ri Perez, who, on account of his having a share in the late Brienne, troubles, had retired amongst the Moors, was an excellent king of Je- officer, he caused it to be insinuated, that if he would return rusalem, home, he would not only pardon but employ him, which had espouses the Infant in effect; and it was from him chiefly that he took his mea- ta Beren- sures for the ensuing war. His forces rendezvoused at Tele- gara. da, to which city he went; and, after a general review, he marched with them, attended by the archbishop Don Roderic, into the territory of the Moors; but, before he had advanced far, he was met by Ahuzait, king of Valentia, who offered to become his vassal, whom he received kindly, and sent back with a promise that no hostilities should be committed against

\* ZURITA Annal Arragon.    \* Annal Toletan.    \* RO-  
DERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.    \* Chron. var.  
antiqu.    \* LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron.    \* Chron. S. FERNAND.  
RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

his

his subjects <sup>a</sup>. He then passed the *Sierra Morena*, ravaged the territory of *Baeza*, defeated a body of *Moors* who attempted to oppose his passage, and concluded the campaign by taking *Quezada*, which, with some other fortresses, he demolished. While the king was in the field, *John de Brienne*, king of *Jerusalem*, arrived in *Spain*, in order to perform a vow he had made to visit the shrine of the apostle *St. James*. After he had accomplished this, he visited the court at *Burgos*, and there concluded a marriage with *Donna Berengara*, the sister of king *Ferdinand*, and soon after set out with her for the court of *France* <sup>c</sup>.

A. D.  
1224.

Campaign  
of the king  
Don Fer-  
dinand  
against the  
Moors.

THE king took the field early the next spring; but had scarce passed the *Sierra Morena*, before he was met by *Aben-Mohammed*, the son of *Aben-Abdallah*, descended from the *miramolin*s of *Africk*, who became his vassal, and agreed to pay him the fourth part of his revenues; for which, by way of security, he gave his son *Abdul-Menin* as a hostage, and put likewise into his hands the castles of *Baeza*, *Andujar*, and *Martos*, which put an end to the campaign <sup>d</sup>. Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, was, at the same time, in the field; and being met by a numerous army of *Moors*, under the command of *Aben-Hut*, king of *Seville*, a general engagement ensued; in which, after a warm and bloody dispute, the Christians were victorious, and Don *Alonso* returned into his own dominions, covered with glory, as his troops were laden with plunder <sup>e</sup>. The pope, towards the end of the year, sent a bull of *croisade* into *Spain*, to enable the kings of *Leon* and *Portugal* to carry on the war against the *Infidels*, in which they were engaged with the greater effect, for, as we have observed, the archbishop of *Toledo* had procured a bull of the same kind, on behalf of the king his master <sup>f</sup>.

A. D.  
1225.

He demands several fortresses from Mohammed, king of Baeza.

As soon as the season would permit, the young monarch was again in the field, with the troops of *Castile* and *Leon*, though it does not appear that his forces were very numerous; for his design was no other than to reduce the several places which the *Moors* still possessed, at the descent of the *Sierra Morena*, through the pass of *Muradal*; and having accomplished this, and thrown into them strong garrisons, he retired, and put his forces into quarters of refreshment, which delivered the *Moors* from their fears, and hindered them from acquiring any just idea of that important plan he had formed for extend-

<sup>a</sup> Annal Toletan. <sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Chron. S. FERNAND. <sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron. <sup>d</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>e</sup> LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron. <sup>f</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.



ing his own dominions, and curtailing theirs <sup>c</sup>. The next year he returned, with a more potent army, into *Andaluzia*, and demanded of *Mohammed*, king of *Baeza*, the fortresses of *Bergamilar*, *Salvatierra*, and *Capilla*. The reader will observe, that there were many places of the second name, and there were also several of the third. That monarch, afraid of a war with so enterprising a prince, whilst he was at the same time in dread of all the rest of his neighbours, acquiesced under this demand; and sent his orders to the commandants of the respective places, to put them into the hands of the king of *Castile*; and, till this could be done, he put the castle of *Baeza* into the king's hands, by way of security, who sent *Don Goncales*, grand master of the order of *Calatrava*, to take possession of it, with a competent garrison; upon which the *Moorish* monarch, who could not, with any decency, live in a city commanded by a Christian garrison, withdrew to *Cordova*, which was also in his possession, till the fortresses he had demanded were rendered to the king of *Castile* <sup>d</sup>. As for the two first, they were evacuated by the *Moorish* garrisons without any dispute; but the last, having been used as a place of arms, and being consequently spacious, strong, and well supplied with provisions and military stores, the governor, who was a brave man, and had a numerous garrison, refused to obey his master's orders; and, after some altercations, *Don Ferdinand* found himself under the necessity of besieging the place in form <sup>e</sup>.

A. D.  
1226.A. D.  
1227.

As the people are but bad politicians, so the *Moors* of *Cordova*, instead of attributing the complaisance of their monarch to those which were in reality its proper motives, began to suspect him of holding a secret correspondence with the Christians, which quickly increased into a confident opinion, that he was himself a Christian in his heart, which determined them to put him out of the way, and submit themselves to *Aben-Hut*, king of *Seville*. A popular conspiracy can never long be concealed; *Mohammed* therefore, having gained intelligence of their design, endeavoured to provide for his personal security, by retreating privately to a place of safety, in which he miscarried; for, being pursued and taken upon the road, the conspirators, in pursuance of their original scheme, cut off his head <sup>f</sup>. The news of this revolution no sooner reached *Baeza*, than the inhabitants took up arms and besieged the castle, which the grand master defended with all

<sup>c</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. <sup>e</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. <sup>f</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

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the spirit and resolution that became a man of his rank. At the end of four months, Don Ferdinand took *Capilla* by storm, and put the whole *Moorish* garrison to the sword<sup>1</sup>. The grand master, and those under his command, were very near meeting with the same fate; but, upon signifying his distress to Don *Alvaro Perez*, he fixed a short day for the sending him such a reinforcement as should enable him to raise the siege, and accordingly, in the night preceding that day, Don *Lopez de Haro* entered the castle with a numerous detachment, and as soon as it was light, in conjunction with the grand master and his garrison, attacked the posts of the Infidels with such vigour, that in a few hours they were all forced, and the Christians became masters of the place. This was a conquest of great importance; the city anciently called *Katip* standing on an eminence not far from the *Guadalquivir*, and it was thought very remarkable, the *Castilians* recovered it on the feast of St. *Andrew*, to whom its church, in ancient times, was dedicated<sup>m</sup>.

The pope declares null the marriage between the king and queen of Arragon.

A. D.  
1228.

In the beginning of the month of *March*, in the succeeding year, Don *Ferdinand* laid the first stone of the new cathedral in *Toledo*, which is the same magnificent structure that adorns this city in our times<sup>n</sup>. The archbishop Don *Roderic* had a large share in this important work; and the materials being in readiness before it was begun, the undertaking, though great, was sooner completed than could well be imagined<sup>o</sup>. The king made also a short campaign, in which he ravaged the country about *Jaen*, in order to facilitate an enterprize, which was to be the business of the ensuing year. We have before observed, that *James*, king of *Arragon*, had married Donna *Eleonora*, sister to Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, by whom he was the father of the Infant Don *Alonso*; but having at this time a legate from the pope at his court, that prelate discovered, or as some writers hint, had it discovered to him by the king, that this princess and he stood equally related to the emperor Don *Alonso*, upon which a council was called of the bishops of *Arragon* and *Castile*, by whom the marriage was declared null, which the king bore with great moderation; but the queen, it is said, discovered a little impatience: however, the legitimacy of her son was provided for, and she returned again to the court of *Burgos*<sup>r</sup>. Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, took the field in *Estremadura*, and made himself master of *Caceres*, a place of importance, which himself and his predecessors had more than once attempted in

<sup>1</sup> Annal Toletan.

lib. ix.

<sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan.

<sup>m</sup> Annal Toletan.

<sup>o</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de

reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

<sup>r</sup> ZURITA Annal Arragon.

vain. Some say that it was antiently called *Casa Caveris*, which has been corrupted into its present name<sup>1</sup>. Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile* was not so fortunate in the design he had been so long meditating; for, though he made a siege in form, and of some continuance, he failed in taking *Jaen*; but, by the advice of Don *Alvaro Perez*, he destroyed several places in its neighbourhood, and took such other steps as might make what he aimed at more practicable when attempted another time<sup>2</sup>. A. D. 1229.

Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, resolved to pursue the war against the Infidels with greater vigour than ever; as having nothing to fear from any of his neighbours, and cast his eyes upon *Merida*, a place of great strength and of great consequence, to the safety of which the *Moors* were very attentive; but, however, he attacked it so vigorously, that it fell into his hands before they were in a condition to relieve it<sup>3</sup>. He was scarce entered into possession, before *Aben-Hut*, the most powerful of the *Moorish* monarchs in *Spain*, appeared at the head of an army of 20,000 horse and 60,000 foot<sup>4</sup>. The troops of Don *Alonso* were much inferior in number, but as he had no choice to make, except fighting or being besieged in his new conquest, he judged the former preferable to the latter; and therefore, recommending himself to the intercession of the *Spanish* apostle and St. *Isidore*, he marched out and gave battle to the *Moors*, and after a long dispute, gained a complete victory, and in consequence of it several considerable conquests<sup>5</sup>. His son, Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, impatient at his former miscarriage, besieged *Jaen* again with a very formidable army; but the *Moors*, who knew the importance of the place, and who saw how fast their affairs were declining, had in every respect provided so effectually for its defence, that the king was prevailed upon by his officers, rather to raise the siege a second time, than ruin his army, which however he did with great reluctance<sup>6</sup>. *Merida*. Moors at *Merida*.

Don *Alonso* of *Leon*, immediately after his glorious campaign was over, went to visit the shrine of St. *Isidore*, and to journey to return thanks to God for the victory of *Merida*. He intended to have done the same at *Compostella*, according to the religious notions of those times; but, in his journey thither, he

<sup>1</sup> Les Delices d'Espagne, tom. i. p. 137. Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>2</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Annal.

Toletan et Compostel. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. <sup>3</sup> RODERIC

TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>5</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan.

lib. ix.

Compos-  
tella.

was seized with the distemper of which he died; at *Villa-nova de Serria*, on the 23d of *September*, in the year 1230<sup>x</sup>. By his testament, he directed that his body should be interred in the cathedral church of *St. James*, as near as might be to that of his father; and, which was very singular, he declared the Infantas *Donna Sancha* and *Donna Dulcia*, whom he had by his first wife the Infanta *Theresa* of *Portugal*, coheiresses of his dominions, requiring several of the prelates and most considerable of the nobility by name to see his last will punctually executed. He was a prince endowed with great virtues; but, at the same time, had great foibles; with respect to the former he was chiefly distinguished by the strictness of his government, in point of justice, and his great mildness in levying his revenue, which made his subjects rich, and himself exceedingly beloved. The inconstancy of his temper was his greatest failing, and in the course of his reign exposed him to many inconveniences. He was unfortunate in both his marriages, though a good husband to both his wives; but the first remained ever mistress of his affections (K): and, it is very

\* Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan.  
FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. y Chron. S.  
FERNAND.

(K) This king, *Don Alonso* the ninth, of *Leon*, died in the 43d year of his reign, and is very highly commended by the two great historians of *Spain*, who were his contemporaries. The point which gained him the greatest credit, was his love of justice, of which he had a very right conception; for it was his sentiment, that the king ought to shew his regard by making the administration of it both honourable and profitable, that such as were chosen to decide suits, might be under no sort of influence, and have no kind of temptation. He therefore expected that his judges should hear nothing, but when both parties were present, and that they should not, under any pretence whatever, take see or

reward. This made him beloved by people, and feared by the nobility, who, though he had great faults, found it more difficult to raise disturbances against him than any of his predecessors; for the peasants, being frequently ill used by their lords, upon complaint in the king's courts, were certainly redressed, and this made his cause theirs. He was likewise much in the good graces of the clergy, and, with all his faults, he was sincerely pious; and though he discovered great ambition, in twice attempting upon his son's dominions, yet in this he was misled by flatterers, who made him believe, for a time, things, of which he was afterwards ashamed. His last sickness was very painful, and yet he

very remarkable, that though both marriages were declared unlawful by the *Roman* pontiff, yet, *Donna Sancha* by the first, and *Don Ferdinand* by the last, are both acknowledged saints by the church of *Rome* <sup>a</sup>.

THE manner in which he disposed of his dominions by his will was very near producing a civil war. *Galicia*, and some part of *Leon*, declared for the *Infantas*; but the far greater part of the kingdom for *Don Ferdinand* of *Castile*, to whose succession the states had solemnly sworn. Queen *Theresa* left *Portugal* to support the party of her daughters, and took shelter with them under the protection of the great master of the order of *St. James* <sup>a</sup>. The queen *Donna Berengara*, as soon as she heard of her husband's death, set out with all her family, and was overtaken by the king *Don Ferdinand*, on the road to *Leon*, into which capital they were received with all irraginable marks of duty and loyalty, to confirm which dispositions in the people, the king published two edicts, one for remitting of taxes, and the other threatening with very severe punishment such as should persist in rebellion <sup>b</sup>; notwithstanding which, many persons of great distinction remained firm to the *Infantas*; and things at last had certainly come to extremities, if the two queens *Theresa* and *Berengara* had not settled them amicably, at an interview which they had for this purpose. There they agreed, that the king, *Don Ferdinand*, should give each of his sisters a large pension, in consideration of which they renounced their pretensions under *Don Alonso's* will <sup>c</sup>; and this reconciliation was so cordial on both sides, that the two queens fixed a time in the ensuing year for a second interview, that the whole royal family of *Leon* might have an opportunity of meeting and embracing each other <sup>d</sup>. A circumstance so singular, as hardly any thing of the like kind is to be met with in history, and which brings us to the close of this section, since from the union of the two kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, which was perfected by this agreement, they have never been divided,

<sup>a</sup> MAKIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>b</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. <sup>c</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. <sup>d</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. <sup>e</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND.

he bore it very patiently. Besides his legitimate offspring, he left behind him a natural son, *Don Alonso*, for whom he made a provision suitable to his rank, but without any prejudice to his lawful issue.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XX.

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but have gradually drawn to them all the other sovereignties in *Spain*; those of the Christians by inheritance or marriage, and those of the *Moors* by conquest, as in the succeeding sections it will be our business to explain.

## S E C T. VII.

*The History of the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon, from the Accession of St. Ferdinand to the Union of all the Christian Monarchies in Spain (except Portugal) in the Persons of their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella.*

*Interview between both branches of the royal family, and harmony between them.*

THE conjunction of the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile* was an event not at all more agreeable or more glorious for the sovereign than it was advantageous to the people, which the wiser and better part of the nobility very well knew; and therefore preferred the justice and the conveniency of the king of *Castile's* title to the will of their late prince, who, contrary to reasons of state, his own solemn act, and the oaths of his states, would have disinherited his son, merely because he was a king in his life-time <sup>a</sup>. But though Don *Ferdinand* very well knew this disposition, and that he might, without any danger, have trusted the tranquility of his kingdom of *Leon* to the affection of his subjects, yet he very punctually kept the appointment made by his mother queen *Berengara*, and repaired to *Benevente* with his family, at the time fixed. Thither also came the queen dowager *Theresa*, and the two infantas; and the mutual sincerity of the whole royal family appeared not only in exterior marks of kindness and respect, and in the king's confirmation of large annual pensions, which had been promised, but from their maintaining a perfect and good correspondence while they were together, and from the resolutions taken when they came to part <sup>b</sup>.

*Don Ferdinand of Castile confers with the king of Portugal, and con-*

It was then agreed, that the infanta Donna *Sancha* should be left behind with queen *Berengara*, and reside, for the future, in the court of *Castile*; and that the king should accompany queen *Theresa* and the other Infanta, her daughter, into *Portugal*, which he accordingly did <sup>c</sup>. The king, Don *Sancho*, quitted his dominions to go and meet them, and the two kings had a long interview at *Sabugal*; where Don *Ferdinand* took great pains to persuade Don *Sancho*, how much it was their

<sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron.

<sup>b</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. <sup>c</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

common

common interest to live in the strictest terms of friendship and peace, that they might carry on the war with greater success against their common enemy, the *Moors*; and, to convince him that this was the language of his heart, he restored the important fortrefs of St. *Stephen de Chaves*, which his father had taken from him<sup>d</sup>. At his return from this interview, Don *Ferdinand* marched with a good corps of troops into *Galicia*, where the lords, who pretended to espouse the cause of the *Infantas*, were endeavouring to render themselves independent, despising the youth and want of experience in their new king. He reduced some, punished others, and obliged the rest to quit their country. Amongst these was Don *Lorenzo Suarez*, who retired into the territory of the *Moors*<sup>e</sup>. Towards the close of the year arrived a bull from pope *Gregory IX.* ratifying the treaty between him and queen *Donna Theresa*, by which the settlement of the kingdom of *Leon* was rendered complete<sup>f</sup>.

A. D.  
1231.

As the king's attention was, for the present, wholly employed about civil affairs, Don *Roderic*, archbishop of *Toledo*, was intrusted with the care of the frontiers; and his zeal induced him to carry on the war very briskly against the *Moors*, from whom he took several places, and some of the most considerable were, for this reason, granted by the crown to his diocese<sup>g</sup>. In order to comprehend the reason of this more clearly, it will not be amiss to observe, that it very frequently happened, when the monarchs of *Castile* recovered places on the frontiers which they could not immediately either fortify or repeople, the *Moors*, upon the retreat of the army, took advantage of this, and got them again into their power; to prevent which, no method could be found so effectual as granting them to a prelate, who, by his influence, filled them speedily with inhabitants, and, in consequence of annexing them to his see, preserved them to the kingdom.

1232.

THE next year, however, the Christian army on the frontiers was commanded by the Infant Don *Alonso*, the king's brother, and Don *Alvaro Perez*. The young prince, being desirous of signalizing his courage, marched into the territory of *Cordova*; and, having ravaged it without opposition, advanced into that of *Seville*, and passed the *Guadiana* at *Xerez*. The *Moorish* monarch, *Aben-Hut*, having certain intelligence of the small number of forces the Infant commanded, and hav-

The royal  
Infant  
gains a  
glorious  
victory  
over A-  
ben-Hut,  
king of  
Seville.

<sup>d</sup> BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA de las Historias y Portuguesas. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. vi. §. xiii.

<sup>e</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudentis Chron.

<sup>f</sup> RINALDUS. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. vi. sec. xiii.

<sup>g</sup> MORALES, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

ing received a large reinforcement from *Africa*, under the command of a general who acted from no other motives than religious zeal, resolved to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity to give a check to the Christian power; and having accordingly taken his measures with as much secrecy as possible, he advanced, with a numerous army, in order to surprize the Christians: but, notwithstanding this, the Infant *Alonso* might have retired, if his piety and courage had not induced him to risque a battle, from a persuasion that, with the Divine assistance, many may be vanquished by few. His little army was ranged in two lines, the first commanded by Don *Alvaro Perez*, the second by the Infant in person; they both observed a close order, and received the charge of the *Moors* with great firmness and intrepidity. The battle was obstinate and bloody, but, in the end, the Christians were victorious, and the *Moorish* general from *Africa* slain upon the spot, by a young gentleman of *Toledo*, who had received the honour of knighthood that morning in the field<sup>b</sup>. A prodigious number of *Moors* were killed upon the spot and in their flight, *Aben-Hut* himself escaped with difficulty, and most of the *Spanish* historians<sup>c</sup> are themselves persuaded, and would persuade their readers, that St. *James* was visibly present in the battle, in which there fell but one man on the side of the Infant. The archbishop of *Toledo* is silent upon this head; and though the bishop of *Tuy* mentions the victory, and ascribes it to the wonderful power of God, yet he says nothing to the presence of St. *James*<sup>e</sup>. The care of the finances being about this time in the hands of the *Jews*, the pope wrote to the archbishop of *Compostella*, to remonstrate to the king against a method that subjected his Christian subjects to great inconveniencies, and put them too much under the power of their implacable enemies<sup>f</sup>.

A. D.  
1233.

Death of  
Donna  
Béatrix,  
queen of  
Castile,  
and an ac-  
count of  
her chil-  
dren.

At the very opening of the ensuing year, Don *Ferdinand* took the field in person, having several points of importance in view. In the first place he ordered the bishop of *Placentia* to make himself master of *Truxillo*, a place of great consequence, at the distance of ten leagues from *Merida*, which he performed. He next charged Don *Pedro Goncales*, grand master of the order of St. *James*, to reduce *Montial*, with its district: this likewise being performed in time, the king appointed those detachments to join his army, at a certain place, and, when the *Moors* least expected it, invested *Ubeda*, a city which

<sup>a</sup> Annal Toletan. Chron. S. FERNAND.  
Historia de Espana, p. vi. séc. xiii.

<sup>b</sup> Chron. Mundi. <sup>c</sup> FERRERAS  
<sup>d</sup> RINALDUS, FERRERAS.

had



had been often attempted, but in vain, and which commanded a country as fertile in wine, corn, oil, and fruits, as any in *Spain*. The *Moors* made a long and gallant defence, in hopes the king of *Seville* would have relieved them; but he was so humbled and so disabled by his late defeat, that he could do nothing; so that, on *Michaelmas* day, that valuable city was surrendered<sup>m</sup>. While the king lay before this place, he lost his dear consort *Donna Beatrix*, who died at *Toro*, and left behind her six sons; viz. the Infants *Alonso*, *Frederic*, *Henry*, *Ferdinand*, *Philip*, and *Sancho*; he had by her also the Infanta *Maria*, but she died some small time before the queen her mother<sup>n</sup>.

A. D.  
1234.

THIS loss seems to have affected the king so much, that he was not in the field all the next year, and there was but little done for that reason; but a great design was contrived, which the next year was carried into execution. In the course of various expeditions, the *Castilians* had taken prisoners a considerable number of those soldiers, who, by their own countrymen, were styled *Almogaraves*, i. e. Invalids, who were generally put into garrisons; and this might probably be one reason why their places were so well defended. But no care being taken to ransom them, these old men took it so ill, that they began to insinuate to some of the Christian officers, that the great city of *Cordova* had but a small garrison, the care of it being chiefly trusted to the inhabitants, who were very remiss, and that consequently it might be easily surprized. Measures for this purpose being concerted, a small body of horse and foot marched in a dark and rainy night, being that of the eighth of *January*, scaled the walls, and possessed themselves of one of the suburbs, in which they barricaded themselves, and kept it in spite of all that the *Moors* in the city could do, notwithstanding they were often attacked<sup>o</sup>. Don *Alvara Perez* no sooner received news of their success, than he marched to relieve them, with all the troops under his command, which prevented the *Moors* from driving them out of the posts they had taken, but was of no consequence towards reducing the city, which was both strong and populous<sup>p</sup>. The king, Don *Ferdinand*, apprized of their situation, and of the great importance of this bold attempt, set out immediately from *Benevente*, with a few of the nobility that were about

<sup>m</sup> Annal Toletan. Chron. S. FERNAND. <sup>n</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. <sup>o</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. <sup>p</sup> Annal Toletan. Annal Compustell.

him, ordering troops to be sent after him as fast as they could be raised, and took post at the bridge of *Alcala*.

*Don Ferdinand enters Cordova in triumph, and causes the city to be re-peopled.* THE Moors in *Cordova*, having an exact account of these proceedings, sent deputies to *Aben-Hut*, requesting him to lose no time in marching to their relief, as the king's army was very inconsiderable, and that, upon his retreat, those in the suburbs must be obliged to surrender. This monarch, well knowing the value of *Cordova*, assembled the whole force of his dominions, and, if he had marched with them, must have done his business without striking a blow; but, by using too much caution, he lost this opportunity, and soon after his life (A). As soon as the season would permit, the troops of the

9 Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chronicon.

(A) This Moorish prince was an able statesman, and a good officer; but the situation of his affairs, at the time that the people of *Cordova* demanded his assistance, embarrassed him extremely. He could not conceive how so potent a monarch as the king of *Castile* could advance so far into an enemy's country, with so small a body of troops, and therefore he sent for *Don Lorenzo Suarez*, who had served him from the time that *Don Ferdinand* expelled him out of *Galicia*, and proposed to him that he should go and examine the Christian camp in the night, and bring him such an account as he could depend upon. *Don Lorenzo* accepted the proposal; went privately into the camp, and sent the king word that *Don Lorenzo Suarez* had somewhat of importance to communicate to him. He sent for him, and asked him sternly how he durst appear in his presence? *Don Lorenzo* answered, that he hoped the service he was about to render him, would cancel his

former faults. He then informed him what force *Aben-Hut* had about him, and to how great danger himself was exposed; promised to report his army much more numerous than it was, and advised him to keep a very strict guard for the future. On his return, *Aben-Hut* received very pressing letters from *Zaen*, king of *Valencia*, whose capital was on the point of falling into the hands of the king of *Aragon*. Upon the report therefore of *Don Lorenzo*, he chose to march first to the relief of this prince, and with the assistance of his forces, to attempt the relief of *Cordova*. In his march, he was invited by *Aben-Ramin* his favourite, whom he had made governor of *Almeria*, to honour that place with his presence. There he was splendidly feasted, after which, retiring to the bath, he was there stifled by *Aben-Ramin's* order. As soon as his death was known, the army disbanded, which gave *Don Lorenzo Suarez* an opportunity of going away

the prelates, nobles, and of the several military orders, gradually arrived in the camp of *Don Ferdinand*, by which he quickly found himself strong enough to quit the post he had taken, and to invest *Cordova*; the inhabitants of which city, finding themselves much straitened for provisions, intimidated by the death of king *Aben-Hut*, and having no succour to expect, at length desired a capitulation, and, upon being permitted to march out freely, and go where they pleased, surrendered on the feast of *St. Peter and Paul*, on the twenty-ninth of *June*, in the year one thousand two hundred and thirty-six (B). The settling every thing that regarded this important

† *Annal Toletan. Annal Compostel. RODERIC TOLETAN. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. S. FERNAND.*

away with his Squadron of horse to the Christian army (1). The death of *Aben-Hut* at this juncture was attended with the most fatal consequences to the *Moors*, and seems to have been the principal cause of the heavy losses they sustained.

(B) Amongst other things found in *Cordova*, were the bells that had been carried away when *Almanzor* plundered *Compostella*, brought thither upon the shoulders of Christian captives, and which had been used as lamps in the *Turkish* mosque. These *Don Ferdinand* obliged his prisoners to carry back upon their shoulders, cleansed and purified that stately building, and caused divine service to be celebrated there, to the glory of God, and to the inexpressible joy, not only of his own subjects, but of all the Christians in *Spain* (2). The bishop of *Tuy*, who concludes his chronicle with this great event, assures us, that it was chiefly owing to the

activity and spirit of *Don Ferdinand*, who came thither at first with no more than 100 men; and finding that the city received continual supplies over the bridge, passed the rapid river of *Guadalquivir* with the utmost hazard of his person; and taking post on the other side, cut off those supplies. He likewise observes, that unusual rains falling in that season, raised the rivers and brooks so high, that the troops marching to his assistance from different parts of his dominions were exceedingly delayed; so that, as he very prudently remarks, it ought to be ascribed to the special Providence of God, that an enterprise, so well contrived and so vigorously executed, did not from these sinister accidents become abortive; which if it had, the consequences might have proved no less dangerous to the Christians, than as they fell out they proved destructive to the *Moors* (3). This prelate was a

(1) *Chron. S. Fernand. Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. xii. c. 18. Ferreras, Historia de Espana, p. vi. sect. xiii. Mayerne Turquet, Histoire de Espagne, liv. xi.* (2) *Annal Toletan. Chron. var. antiq.* (3) *Chron. Xundi, ap. Scot. Hispan. illustrat.*

important conquest, cost the king so much time, that it was the month of *September* before he found himself at liberty to return to *Toledo*, where he found the good old archbishop *Roderic*, just arrived from *Rome*, where he had been to solicit the rights of his church against that of *St. James of Compostella*, the popes having very wisely declined to determine the long depending suit between these sees for the primacy; which, as it served to flatter the power, so it turned likewise to the profit, of these ecclesiastical sovereigns; and therefore we need not wonder that they proceeded at leisure, and would precipitate nothing in a matter of such consequence.

Marries a  
second time  
the daughter  
of the  
count de  
Ponthieu.

THE queen mother, *Donna Berengara*, reflecting very prudently on the inconveniencies that might attend the king's remaining a widower in the prime of his age, by the advice of her sister the queen of *France*, negotiated a marriage for him with the lady *Jane*, daughter to *Simon* count de *Ponthieu*, merely on account of the great reputation she was in for the purity of her manners and the sweetness of her temper. This marriage, which was celebrated at *Bordeaux*, and the renewing the league with the king of *Navarre*, took up the whole of this year, in which the forces of *Castile* remained in winter quarters and garrisons, without undertaking any thing of importance, and this without any prejudice to the affairs of the Christians, those of the *Moors* being fallen into such confusion, that they were in no condition of seizing even a greater advantage (C). The next year, in all probability, would have

A. D.  
1237.

\* Annal Toletan. Chron. S. FERNAND.  
TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

\* RODERIC  
Chron. S. FERNAND.

man of sincere piety, and of very extensive learning, for the times in which lived: in his youth he had travelled through *Italy* and the *Holy Land*; and in the latter part of his life was highly esteemed by that pious and prudent princess queen *Berengara*, at whose instance he composed several large works, and amongst the rest his chronicle (4), to which we have been so much obliged.

(C) The respite which the king of *Castile* gave to the

*Moors*, after the recovery of *Cordova*, turned almost as much to their disadvantage as the blow given to their power by depriving them of their place; but before we explain this, it may not be improper to mention the reason which induced *Don Ferdinand* to make a tour into the northern parts of his dominions at this time. The bishop of *Palencia*, it seems, had discovered certain hereticks in his diocese, proceeded against them with that violence which was

(4) *Mariana Historia de Espana*, lib. xii. *Gate Hist. Liter.* tom. ii. p. 277.

have been remarkable for action, if a famine had not broke out at *Cordova*, which might have had fatal consequences, if the king, who kept his *Easter* at *Valladolid*, had not taken care to send a large supply of provisions, together with a considerable sum in ready money <sup>w</sup>. In the autumn he made a tour himself to *Toledo*, and from thence to the frontiers, from whence he made some excursions into the territory of *Jaen*, to which city, if he had not found it so strong, he intended to have laid siege.

AT the opening of the ensuing spring died Don *Alvaro* <sup>1238.</sup> *Perez de Castro*, grandson of Don *Pedro Fernandez*, of the *Don Diego* same family, who had been expelled *Castile* by Don *Alonso*; de *Haro*

<sup>w</sup> Chron. general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO.

just come into fashion, and condemned such as could not be frightened into dissimulation to the stake (5). This was thought a point of such importance, that the king was present; and, to shew his profound submission to the flaming zeal of the church, he condescended, as the *Spanish* historians say, to light the fire, by which they suffered, with his own hands; and for this, the only cruel action of his life, they pretend he was reputed a saint. But let us now return to the *Moors*. The death of king *Aben-Hut*, the loss of *Cordova* to the king of *Castile*, and *Valencia* to the king of *Aragon*, threw them into grievous confusions, as their being now detached from the *Moors* of *Africa* left them, in a manner, without resource. The inhabitants of *Seville* formed themselves into a republic, and appointed one *Tasar* for their chief magistrate; nor is there any thing improbable in supposing that other cities would have taken the same step, if *Mohammed Al-bamar*, by his superior

abilities, had not prevented it (6). His history is inserted in its proper place; and therefore here we shall conclude, with observing, that the *Moors* had still strength enough to have made a great stand, and to have preserved the most fruitful and pleasant part of *Spain*, if they could have united under this prince; and, on the other hand, if he had remained only master of the town of *Aronja*, which was the place of his birth, and the first that he seized, they could never have made any stand at all, but must have been presently over-run by the armies of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Portugal*. The true, though concealed, source of their ruin, was the universal corruption of their manners, that spirit of ambition and perfidy which reigned amongst the great, and that giddiness among the people, which was diffused by the pernicious practices and base examples of their chiefs, who made no scruple of sacrificing the public interest to their private advantage.

(5) Rainald, *Ferreras Historia de Espan.* part vi. sect. xlii.  
*riana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.*

(6) *Ma-*

and

revolts  
from the  
king of  
Castile,  
and is  
quickly  
reduced.

A. D.  
1239.

and not long after him died Don *Lopez de Haro*, governor of *Baeza*, whose son, Don *Diego*, because the king did not give him his father's government, took up arms, was reconciled to the king by the Infant Don *Alonso* his son, broke out into rebellion again, and, being beat in the field by that young prince, and reduced to great straits, fled privately to the king, and threw himself at his feet, with such visible marks of sincere repentance, that the king restored him to his favour, and to his former employments, to which he added the government of *Alcaraz* <sup>2</sup>. There happened this year, on *Friday* the third of *June*, as all the antient chronicles of *Spain* agree, a great eclipse of the sun <sup>1</sup>. The old archbishop of *Toledo* was in the field all the autumn, or at least the troops in his pay, who repelled the *Moors* that were attempting to creep into possession again of most of the places that prelate had taken. The next spring the king was early at *Cordova*, took the field with a numerous army, and made many conquests, but they were such as cost no blood; for the people, being afraid of his forces, and seeing none of the *Moorish* princes strong enough to defend them, submitted upon the promise of being well used, moderately taxed, and allowed the free exercise of their religion <sup>2</sup>.

1240.  
The king of  
Murcia  
submits  
and pays  
homage to  
Don Ferdi-  
nand of  
Castile.

THE great extent of country which had been added to his dominions, in the space of a few years, obliged Don *Ferdinand* to act with great caution, and hindered him from being so alert in his expeditions as in times past. He saw that it was to no purpose to waste his troops in subduing places which he must be afterwards forced to abandon, and leave his successors subject to the trouble of taking them again; for which reason he laboured all that in him lay to preserve a line of regular fortifications, and, by the promise of lands, immunities, and other advantages, drew multitudes from all parts to settle in the towns and villages that were behind that line <sup>1</sup>. The *Moors*, during that space of time, in which he was thus employed, neglected nothing that might contribute to restore their affairs, except the only method that could have been effectual, which was a general confederacy. This was at length perceived by the king of *Granada*, who invited his neighbour the king of *Murcia* to enter into a league with him, offensive and defensive, which that king, however, declined; and gave this reason for it, that very probably this might incense the king of *Castile*, who was infinitely more able to conquer than the other was to protect his dominions; which answer, tho' well

<sup>1</sup> Chrpn. S. FERNAND.

<sup>2</sup> Annal Toletan. Annal Compostell.

<sup>3</sup> Chronica general de Espana par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. Annal Toletan.

founded, gave such offence to the king of *Granada*, that he began to raise forces, and to think of making war upon the prince who had rejected his alliance; of which the sovereign of *Murcia* had no sooner intelligence, than he dispatched ambassadors to Don *Ferdinand*, and desired to be taken under his protection<sup>b</sup>. The king of *Castile* doubted of the sincerity of this proposition, and therefore ordered the ambassadors to return to their master, and to bring his final resolution to the young prince Don *Alonso*, who, with a corps of troops, should advance to the frontiers, to support him if there should be occasion. Upon their return and repeating the same demand, Don *Alonso* prosecuted his march into the kingdom of *Murcia*, of which and of the capital he took possession, in the name and on the behalf of his father, who assembled a good army at *Toledo*, where his son joined him as soon as this service was performed<sup>c</sup>.

THEY returned early the next year to the field, the king repairing to the frontiers of *Andalusia*, and the Infant *Alonso* into *Murcia*. The king of *Granada* beat a corps of troops commanded by a *Castilian* officer, but was not able to prevent Don *Ferdinand* from ravaging all the country as far as his capital, to which he laid siege, but without effect; the Moors receiving a great supply from *Africa*<sup>d</sup>. The old archbishop *Roderic* went this year again to *Rome*, to solicit his suit. The city of *Jaen*, once the seat of a *Moorish* monarchy, but now dependent upon that of *Granada*, had been long the object of the king Don *Ferdinand's* attention, which, though he laboured to disguise, could not, however, be hid from its present possessor, who always took care to keep it in a good state of defence, with a numerous garrison, and well supplied with provisions. The king of *Castile* ravaged all the country about it this spring, with a full resolution to besiege it, before the close of the year. From this expedition he returned to *Cordova*, and from thence went to meet his mother queen *Berengara*, who came to confer with him on the affairs of *Castile*. Upon her return to *Burgos*, the king went back to the frontiers; and as soon as his forces were assembled, in the autumn invested *Jaen*, and, contrary to the opinion of most of his generals, continued the siege through the winter.

<sup>b</sup> *Chronica general de Espana*, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. Chron. S. FERNAND. <sup>c</sup> *Annal Toletan*. <sup>d</sup> *Chronica general de Espana*, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. Chron. S. FERNAND. *Annal Toletan*. <sup>e</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. *Annal Toletan*. *Chronica general de Espana*, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO.

Mohammed Al-hamar, king of Granada, becomes his vassal.

THE place made a vigorous and obstinate defence, and the king of *Granada* was often in the field with his forces, in order to relieve it ; but Don *Ferdinand* was so much upon his guard; and took care to have his army so well supplied, that the *Moor*, notwithstanding all his vigilance, met with repeated disappointments; which, though he was a wise and brave prince, humbled him so much, that he came at length to a sudden and strange resolution<sup>f</sup>. He sent a person of distinction to the king, Don *Ferdinand*, and offered to become his vassal, in case they could agree upon the terms; upon which he proposed to confer with him in person, in case he would send him a safe-conduct. Don *Ferdinand* accepted the proposition; upon which the *Moorish* monarch, *Aben-Alhamar*, came to his camp, kissed his hand, which, according to the ceremonial of those days, was a mark of vassalage, consented to deliver up *Jaen*, to pay him an annual tribute of fifty thousand pieces of gold, and to serve in his armies with a corps of auxiliaries, whenever it should be required. On the other hand, the king of *Castile* stipulated his protection in all cases, and against all persons, together with the guarantee of whatever he possessed. These articles settled, the city of *Jaen* was delivered into his hands: the king took possession of it about the middle of *April*, after a siege of eight months<sup>g</sup>. This glorious success of his arms excited in the monarch of *Castile* a fervent desire, attended with a strong hope, of reducing *Seville*; an enterprize, however, of great difficulty, and which demanded therefore much circumspection (D). In order to facilitate this, the king

<sup>f</sup> Annal Toletan. Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. <sup>g</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. Annal Toletan.

(D) We propose in this note to say somewhat of that famous prelate, Don *Roderic Ximenes*, archbishop of *Toledo*, to whom all *Spain* was so much obliged while living, and whose writings will be a lasting monument to the glory of his countrymen, as long as any regard for history shall remain<sup>(7)</sup>. He was by birth of a very noble family in the kingdom of *Navarre*, received, in

consequence of that, a liberal and learned education, which raised him to the archbishoprick of *Toledo*, A. D. 1208 (8). In his station he acted with great dignity, piety, and firmness. He was often in the field against the *Moors*, particularly in the great battle of *Tolosa*. He was immoveably attached to the royal family, and exceedingly tenacious of the rights of his church,

(7) *Cave Hist. Lit. tom. ii. p. 282, 283.*  
*Espan. lib. xi.*

(8) *Mariana Hist. Gen. de Espan.*

which



king took the field in the autumn, ravaged all the country adjacent to that city, and reduced several places, *Albamar* king of *Granada* serving in his army. At the close of the campaign he had the melancholy news of the death of his mother *Doña Berengara*, which happened at *Burgos* November the eighth, in the year one thousand two hundred forty-six, which gave him very great and very just concern <sup>b</sup>.

THE king being fully satisfied that treasure was as necessary *Don Ferdi-* as troops in the execution of great projects, demanded of the hand of pope a bull for levying the third of the tenths of his clergy *Castile* re- throughout his dominions, for the carrying on this war against *solves to* the Infidels, which he obtained <sup>i</sup>. He passed the interval of *form a con-* time, between the putting his troops into winter-quarters and *siderable* bringing them again into the field at *Cordova*, in seeing all the *fleet*. necessary preparations made under his eyes, and, amongst other precautions, he took that most necessary step of having a good fleet, at least for those times, without which he could have done nothing. This was built and equipped under the direction, and put to sea under the orders, of *Raymond Boniface*, an officer of note in those times, and whom, for this purpose, the king took into his pay <sup>k</sup>.

THIS fleet of his, for so it might be well called in those *Besuges* days, consisted of thirteen large ships, and of several of a small *the city of* size, with which he repaired to the mouth of the river *Guadal-* *Seville by* *quivir*, and found in the port of *St. Lucar* a stout fleet from *land, and*

<sup>a</sup> *Chronica general de Espana*, par *FLORIAN DE OCAMPO*. S. *FERNAND*. <sup>i</sup> *RAINALD, MARIANA, FERRERAS*. <sup>k</sup> *Chronica general de Espana*, par *FLORIAN DE OCAMPO*.

which disposition is thought to have hastened his death; for, in his contest with the archbishop of *Tarragona*, for the primacy of *Spain*, who went once so far as to excommunicate him, he found himself obliged to apply himself to pope *Innocent IV.* in the council of *Lyons*, whither, though bending under a load of years and infirmities, he actually went; but being seized with a grievous distemper in his return, he died on board a vessel that carried him down the *Rhose*, August 9, 1245 (9). His history of the *Spanish* affairs, in nine books, ends with the king's second marriage; he wrote, besides the history of the *Ostrogoths*, of the *Huns*, *Vandals*, &c. the history of the *Arabs*, from A.D. 570 to 1150; as also the history of the *Romans*, from the reign of *Janus* to the year A.U.C. 708 (10). All of them in great esteem, but more especially his history of *Spain* and of the *Arabs* (11).

(9) *Annal Toletan. Mariana Hist. general de Espana*, lib. xiii. (10) *All his works were printed together in folio at Granada*, an. 1545. (11) *Gasp. Oudin Commentar. tom. iii. p. 184. Du Pin, Hist. Ecclesiast. vol. ii. p. 60.*

*Barbary,*

at the same  
time blocks  
it up by  
sea.

Barbary, with supplies of all kinds on board. The king, Don Ferdinand, having a numerous army, part of which was composed of Moorish troops under Alhamar, was very active all this time by land, made himself master of several towns and fortresses, and had, by degrees, blocked up the place<sup>1</sup>. As soon as he heard, therefore, that his fleet was at the mouth of the river, he sent a strong detachment to facilitate its coming up; but the Moors sallied with so superior a force, that the troops were obliged to return without attempting any thing. Raymond Boniface, trusting then entirely to his own strength, attacked the African fleet with great spirit and resolution, and having beat and destroyed them, entered the port, and passed up the river<sup>m</sup>. The king, Don Ferdinand, then disposed every thing to attack the Moors encamped upon the mole; but they abandoned their posts, and retired into the place, which was compleatly invested. The king began the siege in form, on the twentieth of August, and it lasted all the winter, which shews how much the manner of making war was altered from what it had been; for it is particularly recorded, that the army was so regularly disposed, so thoroughly secured from the injuries of weather, and so amply supplied with all sorts of provision, that it seemed rather the suburbs of a vast city, than the transitory station of troops in the field<sup>n</sup>.

The reduction of  
that im-  
portant  
place, and  
of all the  
country  
about it.

1248.

AT the opening of the spring, the queen came to pay her husband a visit: in the month of March arrived the Infant Don Alonso his son, Don Lopez de Haro, with the flower of the troops of Biscay, and, last of all, the archbishop of Compostella, with the forces of Galicia, in excellent order<sup>o</sup>. On the first of May Don Raymond Boniface broke the bridge of boats between Triana and Alfarach, which cut off the communication they had with places on the other side of the river, as the king had before put an end to their communication through the mountains. On the twenty-third of November the place surrendered, upon condition that the people should retire out of it with all their effects; and the king made his public entry with the Infant Don Alonso, his brother, on one hand, and the Infant Don Alonso, his son, on the other<sup>p</sup>. The remainder of that and part of the next year was spent in puri-

<sup>1</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND.  
par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO.

<sup>m</sup> Chronica general de España,  
<sup>n</sup> Annales Ecclesiasticas y  
Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. DIEGO ORTIZ DE ZU-

NIGA. Chron. S. FERNAND.  
<sup>o</sup> Chronica general de España,  
par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. Annal Compostel.

<sup>p</sup> Annales  
Ecclesiasticas y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. DIEGO  
ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. Chronica general de España, par FLORIAN  
DE OCAMPO. Annal Toletan. Annal Compostel.

fyng

fying the churches, repairing the city, and in all possible endeavours to repeople it. About this time also, it is probable, that the Infant Don *Alonso* espoused Donna *Yoland*, daughter to the king of *Arragon*, and the progress of the war seemed to have been suspended <sup>9</sup>.

BUT in the succeeding year, the king, though his health be- *Don Fer-*  
gan to be impaired through a long series of fatigues, caused *dinand ex-*  
his army to take the field early, and swept all the places that *tertain*  
still remained to the *Moors*, between *Seville* and the fall of the *thoughts of*  
*Guadalquivir* into the sea; which was not barely with a view *invading*  
to extend his territories, but to facilitate a glorious enterprize *the con-*  
he meditated, and which, if it ever entered into the thoughts, *tinent of*  
was never in the power, of his predecessors. This was no *Africa*.  
less than a hostile descent upon the coast of *Africk*, for which  
Don *Raymond Boniface* had orders to augment the fleet, and  
was supplied with every thing necessary for that purpose <sup>1</sup>.  
The Infant Don *Alonso*, the king's eldest son, about this time, *A. D.*  
took the cross, on the news of St. *Lewis's* misfortunes in the *1250.*  
*Holy Land*, and this notwithstanding the king his father was  
about to attack the Infidels in their own dominions <sup>2</sup>. He  
was so much in earnest in this design, that it appears from the  
testimony of an eminent *English* historian, who quotes his own  
letters, that he warmly solicited *Henry* the third to concur  
with him in that expedition, which, he believed, would be  
equally honourable for the Christian cause, and for the *Spanish*  
and *English* nations <sup>3</sup>. His younger brother, the Infant Don  
*Sancho*, with the consent of the pope, was this year chosen *1254.*  
archbishop of *Toledo* <sup>4</sup>. The preparations for the designed  
invasion were vigorously carried on, tho' the increase of the  
king's infirmities delayed the execution; at length Don *Ray-*  
*mand* sailed to reconnoitre the coast of *Africk*, and in his pas-  
sage met the *Moorish* fleet that cruized upon the coast, in order  
to protect it, and, after a smart engagement, in which there  
was considerable loss on both sides, he sunk several of the ene-  
my's ships, and obliged them to retire in disorder into their  
own ports, for which, at his return, he was highly caressed  
by the king, to whom this success at sea was particularly  
pleasing <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part  
iii. ALPHONSI A CASTRO reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND. Chronica general de España, par FLO-  
RIAN DE OCAMPO. <sup>2</sup> RAINALD. Chronica general de

España, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. FERRERAS. <sup>3</sup> MAT.  
PARIS. <sup>4</sup> Annal Toletan. <sup>5</sup> Chronica general de

España, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. Chron. S. FERNAND.

BUT

But a  
dropsy  
carries  
him to his  
grave,  
while he  
meditated  
this design.

BUT though the satisfaction arising from this victory might in some measure, calm the mind and raise the spirits of the king, yet it could not cure the dropsy, under which he laboured, and which gradually brought him so low, that he plainly perceived he was drawing towards his end; for which he made such preparations as equally became a great king and a good Christian. He settled all the affairs of state in the best manner he was able; recommended his queen, his brother, and his children, to the Infant Don *Alonso* his successor; exhorted him to govern with moderation, and not to load his subjects with taxes<sup>1</sup>. When he had done this, he ordered all ensigns of royalty to be removed, and commanded that he should be no longer treated as a king, but as an humbled Christian, employed in the great and necessary work of making his peace with his Creator<sup>2</sup>; and, in this excellent disposition of mind, breathed his last, on the thirtieth of *May*, in the year one thousand two hundred and fifty-two. His body was soon after buried with great solemnity in the cathedral church of *Seville*<sup>3</sup>. He was, from the very time of his demise, considered as a saint, and so styled by the people of *Spain* in general, but was not canonized at *Rome* till the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-one, by pope *Clement* the tenth, at the earnest request of his catholic majesty, and the states of his several kingdoms<sup>4</sup>.

Don Alonso  
so X. sur-  
named the  
wise, suc-  
ceeds to all  
his fa-  
ther's do-  
minions.

DON *Alonso* the tenth, who, for his learning and love of learned men, was surnamed the *wise*, succeeded his father, with the general approbation of the people, who considered him as a prince of great qualities, and remarkable generosity<sup>5</sup>. *Aben-Albamar*, king of *Granada*, and *Aben-Afon*, sovereign of *Niebla*, which lies at no great distance from *Seville*, and is at present a place of little or no consequence, became his vassals, and sent their ambassadors to do him homage<sup>6</sup>. He broke in the first year of his reign with *Henry* the third of *England*, upon pretence of his having a better right than that prince to *Gascony*, into which country he sent an army, under the command of Don *Gascon*, count of *Berne*, who was excommunicated by the pope for troubling a prince who had already taken the cross<sup>7</sup>. At the same time Don *Alonso* prosecuted, at a

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica general de Espana*, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. <sup>2</sup> Chron. S. FERNAND.

<sup>3</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iii. ALPHONSI <sup>4</sup> Carthagena reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. Chron. S. FERNAND.

<sup>5</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vi. sect. xiii. <sup>6</sup> Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

<sup>7</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alphonse el Sabio, &c. <sup>8</sup> RAINALD. MAT. PARIS.

large expence, that expedition which his father had in view against the *Moors* in *Barbary*, and these expences exhausted his coffers to such a degree, that he was obliged to debase his coin; which, as it usually happens, raised the price of all things to such a degree, as occasioned great murmuring amongst the people<sup>c</sup>. The next year king *Henry* of *England* sent the bishop of *Bath* and Dr. *John Mansell*, his chaplain, to negotiate a peace, which was soon after concluded, on condition that prince *Edward*, son and heir apparent of the king of *England*, should marry Donna *Eleonora*, the king of *Castile*'s sister, in consideration of which the king would recede for the future from his claim to *Gascony*<sup>f</sup>. The preparations for the expedition to *Barbary* still went on, and the pope, in order to facilitate it, granted a crusade, and the same bull for levying an aid upon the clergy which had been granted to his father's (E).  
Don

<sup>c</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*

<sup>f</sup> *MAT.*

*PARIS, p. 884.*

<sup>s</sup> *RAINALD.*

(E) The *Spanish* historians are ready enough to commend their princes; and it may be said of them in general, that they are at least content to do them justice: but however, there are some few instances of the contrary; and we find the author of the chronicle of this prince's reign, one of the most remarkable in that respect. He charges this monarch with an inclination to repudiate his queen, under colour of sterility, and with contracting a marriage with a princess of *Denmark*, who actually came to *Spain*, but just as she came, the queen proved with child; upon which, the king, to make the princess some amends, married her to his brother the Infant Don *Philip*, who had been archbishop of *Seville*; all which we have good reason to believe were downright calumnies. For it is certain, that the queen Donna *Yoland* had an Infant before this time, which excludes all pretence of barrenness; that *Christopher* the first king of *Denmark* had no such daughter; and that the Infant Don *Philip* was archbishop, and unmarried A.D. 1257: the same author says, that the king Don *Alonso* had had disputes with his father-in-law, the king of *Navarre*, of which no traces are to be found elsewhere, and is repugnant to the current of history. To all this he adds, that he had in view the conquest of the kingdom of *Navarre*. This notion certainly arose from his marching troops through that kingdom, which, for want of knowing the occasion, this writer concluded a mark of hostility, whereas, in fact, the king of *Castile* demanded a passage for these forces into *Gascony*, where they were to act against the king of *England*, in support of Don *Alonso*'s claim to that country, which he afterwards relinquished, upon the marriage of prince *Edward* with the Infanta Donna *Eleonora*. These points, though  
P important

MOD. HIST. VOL. XX.

A. D. 1253. Don *Alonso*, king of *Portugal*, having committed some hostilities against *Mohammed Aben-Afen*, king of *Niebla*, the monarch of *Castile* interposed on his behalf, and, in a short time also, this quarrel was compromised.

Prince Edward of England espoused the princess Eleonora, land Infanta of Castile. 1254. HITHERTO Don *Alonso* had continued in *Andalusia* and on the frontiers, but he now thought proper to visit *Toledo*, where the king of *Granada* did him homage<sup>b</sup>; and, after conferring the great privileges on the university of *Salamanca*, he proceeded to *Burgos*, where the marriage between prince *Edward of England* and the Infanta Donna *Eleonora* was celebrated with all imaginable solemnity, and at a vast expence; and, at the same time, he conferred on that young prince the order of knighthood<sup>l</sup>. The king likewise bestowed in marriage his natural daughter Donna *Beatrice de Guzman* on the king of *Portugal*, and with her, by way of dowry, he gave the country of *Algarve*<sup>k</sup>. The *Moors* upon the frontiers shewed a general inclination to revolt, but those who were intrusted with the care of that country quickly reduced them. It was the misfortune of this king, that he was equally ready in forming great enterprizes and slow in the execution of them. The preparations for his *African* expedition went on, and with it the diminishing of the coin, though it produced daily new confusions; and though this was sufficient to embarrass the monarch of *Castile*, yet he embarked soon after in schemes that brought him into farther difficulties<sup>l</sup>. He was desirous of availing himself of the claim derived from his mother to the duchy of *Suabia*; and having, on this account, some negotiation with the princes of *Germany*, he was induced to aim at the imperial dignity, in which he had for his competitor *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, brother to king *Henry* the third of *England*; which vain pursuit of both princes cost them immense sums of money, and involved them in endless scenes of trouble, without any other advantage than that of bearing the lofty title of emperor amongst the princes of their own party<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

<sup>l</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

<sup>k</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA de las Historias Portuguesas. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

<sup>l</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. <sup>m</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

important enough in themselves, without due examination, found would scarce have deserved notice here, if they had not, upon a place in the general histories of *Spain*, and imposed thereby upon the credit of this author, and posterity.

It was in prosecution of this quarrel that he postponed the expedition to *Africa*, and turned his views to *Italy*, where, by the help of that money for which he ransacked his subjects, he had gained several princes and states to approve his title; but, after all his trouble and expence, this new expedition was laid aside, on account of some domestic disturbances. These at last rose to such a height, that the Infant Don Henry took up arms against his brother, and drew in Mohammed *Aben-Afen* to join with him; but the Infant being defeated in a battle by count *Nugues de Lara*, found himself under a necessity of seeking refuge in *Africa*, where, for some years, he remained at the court of the king of *Tunis*. As for the little king of *Niebla*, Don *Alonso* besieged him in his capital; and, though the place was very strong, and he made a long and obstinate defence, yet he was forced at length to have recourse to a capitulation; and, to preserve his liberty, parted with almost all his dominions.

1257.

The Moor-  
ish prince  
of Niebla,  
reduced by  
Don Alon-  
so, and  
deprived.

1259.

AMONGST other great and noble designs of the late Don *Ferdinand*, there was one which remained incomplete at his death; and this was making a general collection of the laws made by himself and his predecessors, and digesting them under proper titles, which was completed by his son, and is that celebrated code, intituled, *Las Partidas*. He also redressed that confusion in law proceedings, which was occasioned by the intermixing *Latin* with the vulgar tongue; which he corrected, by obliging his subjects to use their own language in pieces of that kind (F). His love for learning, and his desire of promoting

The king's  
care of  
justice and  
great af-  
fection for  
learning.

\* *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*      ° *Ro-  
BERTO SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS.  
P Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*

(F) It is believed, that the original design of the king Don *Ferdinand*, in assembling so many persons learned in the laws in his court, was with a view to this great and important work; neither is it at all improbable, that the first notion of it might proceed from the excuses of inferior judges, when questioned for their decisions in superior courts, that they proceeded according to the customs established in their province. For the reader, to

have a just idea of these regula-  
tions, must understand that,  
before the institution of the roy-  
al audience at *Castile*, the chief  
tribunals in every province re-  
ceived appeals from inferior ju-  
risdictions. Upon the repre-  
sentation therefore of these supe-  
rior courts, those able lawyers  
might be summoned by Don  
*Ferdinand*, and directed to frame  
a body of laws; and this be-  
ing a work of time, might be  
likewise charged to hear and de-  
cide

P. 2

A. D.  
1260.

moting the science of astronomy, of which he was passionately fond, engaged him in an intercourse with the Soltan of *Egypt*, to whom he sent, and from whom he received, an ambassador <sup>9</sup>. But while his thoughts were wholly occupied by things of this nature, and the prosecution of his claim to the empire, he found himself on a sudden involved in a scene of troubles, so much the more perplexing, as they were wholly unexpected; this was occasioned by the intrigues of the *Moors*, who, finding themselves under far greater hardships, and, at the same time, observing that measures were not conducted with that steadiness as in the former reign, meditated a general revolt. Though this required much deliberation, and extensive communication of councils, yet it was managed with so great secrecy, that Don *Alonso* had scarce any intelligence of this contrivance till it broke out <sup>r</sup>.

Conspiracy  
of some  
princes of  
the blood  
and great  
lords sup-  
ported by  
the *Moors*.

THE chiefs were *Mohammed Aben-Hut*, king of *Murcia*, and *Mohammed Alcadila Albamar*, king of *Granada*: these had privately demanded the assistance of *Aben-Joseph*, king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, who willingly consented to their request, upon condition that some ports were put into his hands, for the security of the auxiliaries that he undertook to send <sup>s</sup>. The king of *Murcia* declared first, by making inroads into the Christian territories, and recovering most of his castles which were garrisoned on the behalf of the king of *Castile*; and soon after the monarch of *Granada* took his share in the war, which, though Don *Alonso* had great reason to resent, yet he laboured to reclaim him by negotiation, if it had been practicable; for he had still the *German* election at heart, which was the true source of all his misfortunes, and, for the sake of the empty title of king of the *Romans*, he would not take those vigorous measures that would have made him a great king in *Spain*. At length, however, having taken the necessary steps to engage his father-in-law, the king of *Arragon*, to concur in

<sup>9</sup> Annales Ecclesiasticos y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. DIEGO ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. <sup>r</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>s</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

cide appeals from the superior courts. At this time, though they were completed and received by Don *Alonso*, yet they had not the royal sanction, but some space was allowed for reviewing and considering them, that, in a matter of such vast consequence,

there might be nothing of hurry, or any speedy necessity of amendment, which the king very prudently foresaw would destroy their credit, and defeat the end of this learned and laborious collection.

repressing



representing the *Moors*; and having dispatched ambassadors to solicit pope *Urban* the fourth on his darling point of the election, he set out for the frontiers; and, having assembled a numerous army at *Alcala Real*, he fell into the kingdom of *Granada*, which he wasted with fire and sword<sup>1</sup>.

THIS obliged the two *Moorish* princes to join their forces, *Don Alonso* which, when they had done, they marched towards *Don Alonso*, and gave him battle. But that prince, who wanted none of the qualities requisite to adorn a crown, except steadiness only, disposed his forces with so much judgment, gave his orders with such presence of mind, and distinguished himself with such acts of personal courage, that the *Moors* were totally defeated, obliged to abandon the field, and shut themselves up in their strong places<sup>2</sup>. In the winter he appointed commissioners to settle with those of the king of *Aragon* the limits between the two kingdoms, that no future grounds of dispute might arise between themselves or successors<sup>3</sup>. This year the pope, in the plenitude of his power, thought fit to impose a heavy tax upon the clergy of *Spain*, for the support of the emperor of *Constantinople*; upon which they sent an agent to *Rome* to let this successor of *St. Peter* know, that, being engaged in a war with the *Mohammedans* at home, they desired to be excused from so heavy and so extraordinary a burthen, with which the pontif was not a little displeased<sup>4</sup>. The next spring the king was early in the field, with an army superior to that which he commanded the year before; upon which the *Moors* sent to *Aben-Joseph* king of *Morocco*, to let him know, that if his succours did not speedily arrive, the *Mohammedans* in *Spain* were for ever undone; upon which he sent over immediately ten thousand horse; which considerable supply did not, however, enable these princes to take the field to cover their own dominions, much less to act offensively<sup>5</sup>.

ON the contrary the king *Don Alonso* invested *Xerez*, and Besieges after a long siege, upon intelligence that *Aben Joseph* meant to come in person into *Spain*, with a prodigious army, the king granted them a favourable capitulation, to retire where- ever they thought proper<sup>6</sup>. This capitulation being punctually performed, the inhabitants at *Bejar*, *Sidonia*, *Rota*, *St. Lucar*, *Lebrija*, and *Arcos*, saved the king the trouble of coming before them, and left all those places empty, which in a

so defeats  
the Moorish  
monarchs and  
brings  
them very  
low.

1263.

<sup>1</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hisp. part iv.

FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

Aragon.

Alonso el Sabio, &c.

vi. sec. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> MARIANA.

<sup>3</sup> ZURIT. Anual

<sup>4</sup> Chronica del Rey Don

<sup>5</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p.

manner swallowed up the king's army, as it scarce suffice to settle all these places and *Part St. Mary's*, which the king ordered to be repaired <sup>a</sup>. The next year the limits between *Castile* and *Portugal* were adjusted, to which crown *Don Alonso* yielded *Algarve* intirely, except reserving a band of five lances to be sent to his army whenever it took the field <sup>b</sup>.

*The king of Granada submits and offers to renew his homage to Don Alonso.* As the *German* empire had suffered extremely (though perhaps particular princes might be gainers) by its having nominally two heads, tho' being in effect without any, great pains was taken to engage them both to resign, which *Don Alonso* would not endure, for the title of emperor had great charms for him, and notwithstanding all the money and trouble it had cost, he would not hear of quitting it <sup>c</sup>. The two alcaides of *Malaga* and *Guadix*, taking offence at the great complaisance of the king of *Granada* to the officers who commanded the *African* troops, revolted, and put themselves under the protection of the crown of *Castile*, and in conjunction with *Don Nugnez de Lara*, distressed their old master to such a degree, that he caused it to be intimated to *Don Alonso*, that he was willing to return to his allegiance, if his submission might be received upon easy terms. The king sent him word, that if he was in earnest he should meet him at *Alcala Real*; and which shews how high the character of this prince stood; the *Moor*, upon his bare promise, notwithstanding all that had passed, went thither, and submitted to the terms he prescribed, and abandoned his confederate the king of *Murcia* <sup>d</sup>. In the mean time, the king of *Aragon* made an absolute conquest of that kingdom, or at least of the greatest part of it, not for himself, but on the behalf of his son-in-law, to whom he immediately gave advice of his success, and desired him to send thither a corps of troops sufficient to secure it. *Don Alonso* marched in person from *Seville* with his army, and on the frontiers met the king of *Murcia*, who threw himself upon his knees at his feet, and sued to him for his pardon <sup>e</sup>. The king told him, that for his life or liberty he had nothing to fear, but that he could not expect he should put into his hands a second time the power of hurting him.

*All Murcia reduced and re-peopled by* THE king then left the Infant *Don Manuel*, governor of *Murcia*, and obliging the *Moors* to quit all the strong places, re-peopled them with subjects of his own, or with those of the king of *Aragon*; and thus, in a short time, and with as little effu-

<sup>a</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.* <sup>b</sup> BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.* <sup>c</sup> RAINALD. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hisp. part iv. <sup>d</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.* <sup>e</sup> MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

sion of blood as possible, he put an end, at least for the present, *Christians* to a very formidable conspiracy, and might, if he would have *from dis-* declined all thoughts of *Germany*, have recovered his former *sevent* reputation, restored the grandeur of his crown, and peace to *kingdoms.* his subjects <sup>1</sup>. The same year, the Infant Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile* espoused, by proxy, the princess *Blanche*, daughter to *St. Lewis*, on the eighth of *September*, at *St. Germain en Laye* &. 1266.

The cause between the two kings of the *Romans* was still depending at *Rome*, where Don *Alonso* laboured by every method possible to support what he called his right, and this at a vast expence, notwithstanding that his ambassador, the bishop of *Silves*, had been murdered in his passage by some banditti, who took his papers from him <sup>h</sup>; on the other hand, the princes of *Germany*, sick of their own schemes, and perceiving the real necessity of having a chief, had agreed with the king of *Bohemia* to proceed to a new election; but this the pope, who pretended a right to declare which of the two was the true king of the *Romans*, vehemently opposed <sup>l</sup>. The next year was signalized by the most pompous marriage that till then had been seen in *Spain*, prince *Philip*, heir apparent of the crown of *France*, conducting his sister the princess *Blanche* to *Burgos*, where she espoused the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, in the presence of all the royal family of *Spain* <sup>k</sup>, the king of *Arragon*, and, as some say, prince *Edward* of *England*, and the empress of *Constantinople*; but those who are best acquainted with the history will be perhaps of opinion, that these great names are only brought to fill up the scene <sup>1</sup>.

THE Infant Don *Sancho* of *Arragon*, being consecrated arch- *The kings* bishop of *Toledo*, soon after celebrated his first mass with *of Castile* great ceremony, in the presence of the two kings, his father, *and Arra-* and his brother-in-law <sup>m</sup>. After these fine shews, both mon- *gon form* archs, as if it had been by concert, entered upon schemes dia- *at the same* metrically opposite to the prudence for which they were both *time, no-* famous. The king of *Arragon*, though much in years, *tions of* would needs go to the *Holy Land*, though Don *Alonso* did all *travel-* that was in his power to dissuade him. On the other hand, *ling.* this monarch himself was as much bent upon a voyage to *Italy* to as little purpose; but in the end, both their schemes proved abortive. The king of *Arragon* met with a storm at sea, which drove him to *France*, from whence he returned into his own

<sup>f</sup> Chronica del Rey Ron Alonso el Sabio, &c.  
NIEL Hist. de France.

<sup>h</sup> RAINALD. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

<sup>i</sup> RAINALD.

<sup>k</sup> Chronica general de Espan. par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO.

<sup>l</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part. vi. sec. xiii.

<sup>m</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

A. D.  
1269.

dominions, and was content to stay there.<sup>n</sup> As for Don *Alonso*, the states of *Castile* interposed, when he was ready to set out, and represented the inconveniences that would attend his leaving the kingdom at that juncture in so strong a light, that he wisely, though unwillingly, dropped his design<sup>o</sup>. He persisted, however, against all advice, in remitting, as some *Spanish* historians say, the homage due from the crown of *Portugal* to that of *Leon*, out of affection for his grandson, the Infant *Denis*, which excited, or at least gave a plausible colour to, those discontents that produced so many and so great troubles, and even shook the throne upon which he sat<sup>p</sup> (G).

THE

<sup>n</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.* <sup>o</sup> *MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.* <sup>p</sup> *RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*

(G) This is one of those dark points in history which can never be so thoroughly settled as to leave an inquisitive and critical reader entirely free from doubts. It is admitted on both sides, that homage was due from the crown of *Portugal* to that of *Leon*, for the country of *Algarve*, which kingdom Don *Alonso* of *Castile* bestowed upon the monarch of *Portugal*, at the request, or at least with the consent, of pope *Innocent* the fourth, without considering that the princess was but twelve, and the king her husband upwards of forty, years of age. There was besides another untoward accident; the king of *Portugal* had another wife, *Matilda* countess of *Blois*, and children also by her, which, though overlooked by one pope, drew upon the king an excommunication from another. He would not, however, part with his young wife, by whom he had his successor the Infant *Denis*, who, at this time, repaired to his grand-

father, and begged of him a boon which he received. Here it is the historians differ. The *Portuguese* assert, that Don *Alonso* remitted the band of lances which he had reserved as a kind of homage for *Algarve*. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* as positively affirm, that this had been released before; and from thence infer, that the favour now done was relinquishing the homage due from the crown of *Portugal*, or at least that part of the kingdom which had been given to count *Henry*, who was the first sovereign of it. *Ferreras* urges it as a strong argument, and, in truth, so it seems to be, that this concession was the principal grievance alleged by, the malecontents, and therefore must have been a matter of great importance. To this the only answer that can be given is, that malecontents do not always speak the truth, and therefore might possibly exaggerate the king's concession, and charge him with giving, upon this occasion,

THE king Don *Alonso* had still his voyage to *Italy* in his *A deep con-* head, with a view to which he laboured, by every method he *spies* could devise, to raise money; but when he imagined that he *secretly* had at length brought all things to bear, he was informed *managed* that many persons of the first rank, amongst whom were the *against* Infant Don *Philip*, Don *Nugnez de Lara*, Don *Lopez de* *Don Alonso* *of Castile.* *Haro*, Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, Don *Lopez de Mendoza*, and several others, had met together at the castle of *Lara*, in order to consider of grievances arising from his administration; the king, still fond of his journey, from which one would have imagined these news would have diverted him, instead of taking measures to chastise the malecontents, sent to know their demands, and promised to comply with whatever should be reasonable. Their answer was very artificial, and perfectly calculated to serve their purpose; for, though they had laid the scheme of their operations, they were in great want of money to carry them into execution; they therefore informed the king that they had no intention to disturb his government or depart from their duty, but that they met together to concert the means for obtaining their appointments; and, upon this, the king weakly imagining that this would make them quiet, paid each of them the sum he demanded, which money they no sooner received, than they employed it in levying troops.

A. D.  
1270.

THE next thing they did, was to endeavour to engage the king of *Navarre* to enter into their league, in which they failed; but Don *Nugnez de Lara* persuaded the king of *Granada* to dispose all things for a rupture, and to demand succours from the king of *Morocco*. *Alonso* being informed of this, sent to them Don *Juan de Lara*, and the bishop of *Cuenca*, to let them know that he meant to summon the states at *Burgos*, and that if they had any complaints to make they would do well to appear there. The confederate lords accordingly met the king at *Lerma*, each at the head of his troops; but behaved towards him with all the exterior marks of duty and respect, and accompanied him to *Burgos*, but would not enter the city. There Don *Alonso* held the assembly of the states, and made new propositions to them, which they rejected, and, as the custom was in those times, demanded

1271.

‡ *MARIANA. FERRERAS:*  
et *Sabio*, &c.

† *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso*

cession, what, perhaps, he had never claimed. This is all we can tell the reader; and, having

briefly stated the merits on both sides, he must decide for himself.

leave

leave to quit his dominions, which they accordingly received<sup>1</sup>. They then began to defile with their troops towards the kingdom of *Granada*; and though the queen sent the Infants *Don Ferdinand* and *Don Sancho* her sons, and the Infant *Don Sancho*, archbishop of *Toledo*, her brother, to persuade them to desist from this strange enterprize, it was in vain, and they continued their route; the king of *Granada* attacked the two governors of *Malaga* and *Guadix*, and *Don Alonso* declined supporting them, being still in hopes of making peace<sup>2</sup>. His competitor, *Richard*, earl of *Cornwall*, was dead, and his mind ran as strongly as ever upon the empire, though then was never less probability of his attaining it<sup>3</sup>.

A. D.  
1272.

*Don Alonso* AT the request of the queen, he sent the grand master of *Calatrava* once more to the malecontents, with an offer to forget what was past, and to restore them to their employments and his favour. To this they answered, that before they could treat, he must do justice to their friend the king of *Granada*, against his rebel governors. The king made a short and cool reply, that subjects had no right to prescribe to their sovereign whom he should protect<sup>4</sup>. In the mean time, the king of *Granada* attacked and beat the two alcaides; upon which *Don Alonso* disposed all things for a war, and having assembled the states at *Almagro*, he remitted some and moderated other taxes, which disposed them to make such returns of submission and loyalty, as left him no room to doubt that he should be able to do himself justice<sup>5</sup>. But at this juncture, having intelligence that *Radolph* of *Hapsburg* was elected emperor of *Germany*, he suddenly changed his measures, and renewed the peace with the king of *Granada*, notwithstanding all that was passed<sup>6</sup>.

1273.  
In the  
mean time  
the Christian  
male-  
contents  
make a  
new king  
of *Gra-  
nada*.

THE king of *Aragon* behaved upon this occasion like a wise prince and a faithful ally. He ordered the prince, his son, to assemble an army on the frontiers of *Murcia*, sent the bishop of *Segorba* to advise the malecontents to return to their duty, and to embrace the kind offers that had been made them by their sovereign; and upon their rejecting this proposition, he acquainted *Don Alonso*, that he would punctually perform his treaties, and act against all his enemies<sup>7</sup>. In this critical situation of things, died *Mohammed Abcadilla-Albamar*, which had like to have produced disturbances in *Gra-*

<sup>1</sup> MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. <sup>3</sup> RAINALD. <sup>4</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. <sup>5</sup> SALAZAR, tom. iv. p. 630. <sup>6</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. <sup>7</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon,

*nada*; but the Christian malecontents, and particularly Don *Lopez de Haro*, advanced his son *Mohammed Alhamir-Albadic* to the throne, and supported him, notwithstanding there was a strong faction formed against him in favour of one of his brothers <sup>a</sup>. Don *Alonso* was no sooner informed of this, than he sent a person of quality to make fresh propositions to the new king and to the malecontents, who received them civilly, and seemed to be out of countenance at the consideration of their own behaviour. The queen and the Infant *Ferdinand* being informed of this, invited them to a conference at *Alcala*, where all things were compromised, upon an assurance that the king would receive them kindly; and that, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, he would accept the new king of *Granada*, upon the same terms that his father had held the crown <sup>b</sup>.

THIS agreement being signed on both sides, was transmitted to the king, who ratified it without difficulty; and the king of *Granada* going to pay his respects to him at *Seville*, he not only performed punctually all that had been stipulated, but likewise conferred on him the order of knighthood with his own hand, which was then esteemed the highest obligation <sup>c</sup>. At *Burgos* a general assembly was held of the states, where the Infant Don *Philip* and the malecontents were restored to favour; and at this time it was that the king caused the body of his predecessor *Wamba* to be removed from the obscure place where it was buried, and to be interred in a manner suitable to his rank, at *Toledo* <sup>d</sup>. But he had still the empire at heart; and this induced him to send ambassadors to the pope and council at *Lyons*, to dissuade that assembly from confirming the election of the emperor *Rodolph*. This had no effect; on the contrary, the pope not only confirmed the election, but wrote to the king of *Castile* to desist from all farther disturbances about his title; and, by way of gilding this bitter pill, he sent the king at the same time a bull, by which he permitted him to take the third part of the tenths of his clergy for six years <sup>e</sup>. All this did not hinder the king from desiring an interview, which the pope could not now civilly decline, though he had done it before; and upon this, the king left his son the Infant Don *Ferdinand* regent, set out as soon as the assembly of the states separated for *France*, by the way of *Arragon*, and kept his *Christmas* at *Barcelona*, with the

*The malecontents with much difficulty reconciled to the king Don Alonso.*

A. D.  
1274.

<sup>a</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*  
*ANA. FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.*  
*Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*  
*FERRERAS.*

<sup>b</sup> *MARIANA.*  
<sup>c</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Annal Toletan.* *FERRERAS.*

<sup>e</sup> *RAINALD.*

king

king his father-in-law, who received him with great affection, and paid him all imaginable honours <sup>f</sup>.

**Mohammed, king of Granada,** <sup>impites</sup> *Mohammed Alhamir-Alboadic* sent to *Aben Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, a representation of the state of things, to shew how *Andalusia* out of the hands of the Christians, since the king, who was incontestably the best officer in *Spain*, had withdrawn himself, which none of his predecessors ever did, conferring the regency on a young prince of no experience, and trusting the best fortresses in his kingdom in the hands of those who had been lately in rebellion, and in confederacy with him <sup>g</sup>. *Aben-Joseph*, who was zealous for his religion, willingly promised him all that he demanded, on condition that the ports of *Tangissa* and *Algeriza*, in the bay of *Gibraltar*, were put into his hands, directing him to dispose every thing for opening the campaign early, which he did with such profound dissimulation, availing himself therein of his former acquaintance with the *Castilian* officers, that the Christians had little or no suspicion of his design <sup>h</sup>.

**Aben-Joseph lands in Spain, and defeats Don Nugnez de Lara, who is slain.**

IN the spring, *Aben-Joseph* entered the bay of *Gibraltar* with his fleet, and 17,000 fine troops on board; and the king of *Granada's* alcaides, according to the orders they had received, put the places that were promised him into his hands <sup>i</sup>. The troops were no sooner debarked, than *Joseph* sent a detachment to join the king of *Granada*, who immediately began his march towards *Jaen*, at the same time that the emperor of *Morocco* advanced to *Cordova*. *Don Nugnez de Lara* commanded in the little city of *Ecija*, from whence he dispatched a courier to the Infant *Don Ferdinand*, who was at *Burgos*, and at the same time drew together what forces he could, with whom he took the field; *Aben-Joseph* immediately attacked him, and having a great superiority, routed the handful of men under his command; but *Don Nugnez* himself, and most of the gentlemen who had followed his party in the late troubles, were killed upon the spot. The king having caused the body of *Don Nugnez* to be carefully sought out, cut off his head, and sent it in triumph to the king of *Granada*, who remembering his former friendship with that nobleman, and that to his assistance he owed the crown he wore, returned it to the Christians, that it might be buried with his body at

<sup>f</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. RAINALD.  
Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.  
general de Espana, lib. xiii.  
to el Sabio, &c.

<sup>g</sup> Chronica del  
MARIANA Historia  
Chronica del Rey Don Alon-  
MARIANA

*Cordova.*



*Cordova* \*. But notwithstanding this victory, the king of *Morocco* found his troops so roughly handled, that he spent the rest of the campaign in ravaging the country about *Seville*, without undertaking any siege.

THE forces of the king of *Granada* were at this time employed in plundering the country about *Jaen*, and against these marched the Infant Don *Sancho*, archbishop of *Toledo*, with the bands of *Madrid*, *Talavera*, *Alcala*, *Guadalaxara*, *Hueta*, and *Cuenca*. On his arrival at *Martos*, he had intelligence that the *Moors* were at no great distance; and that, though they were very numerous, they were excessively fatigued and embarrassed with a great booty of cattle, which induced him to follow them with his cavalry, without waiting for Don *Lopez de Haro*, who would have joined him the next day. This rashness cost him dear, his forces being defeated and himself killed<sup>1</sup>. Don *Lopez*, who followed him with all imaginable expedition, met and preserved the flying remains of his army, and with them and his own forces, attacked the *Moors*, and recovered the cross of the archbishop out of their hands, but with difficulty and so great loss, that he was able to undertake nothing more<sup>m</sup>. The Infant Don *Ferdinand* began his march from *Burgos* with a small body of troops, and proceeded slowly, that the nobility might have time to join him, till he received an account of what had befallen Don *Nugnez de Lara* and the Infant Don *Sancho*, upon which he marched so hastily to *Ciudad Real*, that he contracted a fever, of which he died in a few days, recommending to his favourite Don *Juan de Lara*, the princess *Blanche*, and his two sons Don *Alonso* and Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, both very young, with whom, and the body of their father, Don *Juan* returned to *Burgos*<sup>n</sup>.

THE Infant Don *Sancho*, the king's second son, on the news of his brother's misfortune, repaired to *Ciudad Real*, did all that could be expected from him to encourage the forces, and was quickly joined by Don *Lopez de Haro*, to whom, in the midst even of that confusion, he communicated the designs he had already formed of seizing the throne. He proceeded from *Ciudad Real* to *Cordova*, from whence he dispatched Don *Lopez de Haro* to *Ecija*, and the grand masters of *St. James* and *Calatrava* to *Jaen*; then leaving a good garrison in *Cordova*, under Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, he marched in person with the rest of his forces to *Seville*, where he equipped a strong fleet, which cruising in the streights of

\* FERRERAS Historia de España, p. vi. sec. xiii.

del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

FERRAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

Alonso el Sabio, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Chronica

<sup>m</sup> MARIANA. FER-

<sup>n</sup> Chronica del Rey Don

*Gibraltar*, so alarmed the king of *Morocco*, that he retired with his army to *Algeria*°. While things were in this state in *Spain*, the king *Don Alonso* was treating with the pope at *Baucaire*, where he endeavoured to persuade him that the election of the emperor *Rodolph* was void; and that, as he was ready to resign the kingdom of *Castile* to his son the Infant *Don Ferdinand*, there was nothing to hinder his going directly to *Germany*, and taking upon him the government. The pope being of quite another opinion, the king fell next on his pretensions to the duchy of *Suabia*, in right of his mother, to which the pontif was equally deaf. While the negotiation was in this awkward condition, came the news of the death of the two Infants, which so far awakened the king from his dreams, that he resolved to return immediately into *Spain*. He at the same time remitted money into *Italy*, for the use of his partizans there, and wrote to the king of *Bohemia*, and to the princes of *Germany*, desiring them to remain firm to his interest, and to rest assured that he had no thoughts of dropping his claim; and that, as soon as the affairs of *Castile* were settled, they might depend upon his coming amongst them; in which letters, he continued to use the imperial stile°. This done, he returned with as much haste as possible into his dominions, by the same road he came into *France*, having spent immense sums of money, and obtained nothing.

A. D. 1275. THE king, *Don Alonso*, being arrived at *Alcala de Henares*, and hearing wherever he passed prodigious encomiums of the Infant *Don Sancho*, sent for him from *Seville*; but that prince excused himself, under pretence that the then state of affairs made it improper for him to quit the frontiers; whereas, in reality, he was negotiating, by the assistance of *Don Alonso de Guzman*, a peace with the *Moors*, which he conceived absolutely necessary to the conducting his designs. Accordingly a truce being concluded, he set out for *Toledo*, to which city his father was come to meet him, and there the first proposal was made, that he should be declared heir apparent to the crown. It does not appear that *Don Alonso* was at all averse to this; but foreseeing the miseries that must attend a divided title, he was unwilling to act precipitately, or without good advice; and therefore directed an assembly of the states to be held at *Segovia*, to determine the right of succession, according to the laws of *Spain*. This assembly was accordingly held, and upon mature deliberation, and with the advice of the best

° *Annales Ecclesiastiques y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, par D. DIEGO ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. P RAINALD. 1 Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

lawyers

lawyers of those times, the Infant Don *Emanuel*, the king's brother, pronounced the judgment of that assembly to be, that the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, dying in the life time of his father, the right of succession was clearly in the Infant Don *Sancho*.

THE king, Don *Alonso*, seems to have been passive in this *The crown* matter, or at most did no more than acquiesce in the judgment of the states. When that assembly broke up, he proceeded to *Burgos*, where he met with an ambassador from *Philip* the hardy, king of *France*, who demanded the restitution of the portion given with the princess *Blanche*, and that the right of her sons to the crown should be well secured. To this Don *Alonso* made a short answer, that the princess should enjoy her portion and her dowry in *Castile*; that the states had adjudged the right of succession to the Infant Don *Sancho*; and that he did not conceive it by any means expedient, that the princess and her children should leave his dominions; on which the ambassador departed in great discontent. At his return to *France*, king *Philip* was so much offended at the report he made of his negotiation, that he began to dispose every thing for obtaining by the sword what had been refused to his intercession. It happened very fortunately, that at this time cardinal *Julian*, a native of *Lisbon*, being elected pope, and assuming the name of *John* the twenty-first, interfered warmly between the two kings, and even threatened with excommunication and interdict the king and kingdom of *France*, in case that monarch committed hostilities on the king of *Castile*. He also interposed with *Edward* the first, king of *England*, to whom *Philip* had sent an ambassador to represent the injustice done to the Infants *Alonso* and *Ferdinand de la Cerda*; and it is agreed, that, by his means, the war was hindered from breaking out. The king of *Castile* flattered himself with the hopes of great things in other respects, from this pontif, who had a great affection for *Spain*; but he was unfortunately killed by the fall of a new apartment built by his own direction, in the spring of the ensuing year, and so the king's hopes of favour at *Rome* vanished.

THE monarch of *France*, if we may credit the best of the *Donna* historians of that country, resented so highly the ill usage and *Yoland* or injustice done to the princess his daughter, and her children, *Violante*, that, without respecting any interpositions, he was for attacking the dominions of the king of *Castile* without delay; but *Castile*,

\* MARIANA Historia general de España, lib. xiii. FERRERAS Historia de España, part vi. sect. xiii.

\* GUL. DE NANGOIS.

† RAINALD. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

† MARTINUS

POLONUS CHR. PTOLOM. LEUENSIS, Hist. Eccl. lib. xxiii. c. 24.

retires  
with  
Donna  
Beatrix  
and the  
Infants.

it seems his nobility and general officers were not so much inclined to a war, which, at its very entrance, would put them to greater labour in passing the *Pyrenees*, than any in which they had been engaged; and therefore, under colour of making the necessary preparations, they delayed things for many months <sup>v</sup>. In the mean time, Donna *Yoland*, or, as the *French* writers stile her, Donna *Violente* <sup>x</sup>, queen of *Castile*, being very much offended with the setting aside of the children of Don *Ferdinand*, her eldest son, made an overture to the king of *Aragon*, her father, to receive her, together with her daughter-in-law and her grand children, into his protection; which he had no sooner promised, than, by the care and assistance of Don *Juan de Lara*, who remained unalterably fixed in his fidelity to his master's family, the queen of *Castile*, the princess *Blanche* her daughter-in-law, and the two young Infants, retired into the dominions of *Aragon* <sup>y</sup>, which gave great displeasure to Don *Alonso*, and much more to the Infant Don *Sancho*, who finding that the Infant Don *Frederick* and Don *Simon Ruez de los Cameros* were not entirely ignorant of the queen's retreat, he caused the former, though his uncle, to be either strangled or beheaded, and the house of the latter being set on fire, he perished in the flames <sup>z</sup>. Before the close of the year war was declared between *France* and *Castile* in form <sup>a</sup>.

1277.

Don Alonso,  
king of  
Castile,  
compelled  
by the pope  
to renew  
the war  
with the  
Moors.

POPE *Nicholas* the third was to the full as earnest as his predecessor, in his endeavours to compromise the difference between the crowns; in order to which he employed two cardinals, with the titles of legates; but finding a backwardness in the king of *Castile*, he proceeded with him in that round manner, which the notions of those times put in his power. He sent him word, that for the support of his wars against the Infidels, his predecessor had permitted him to levy a tax upon the clergy, for which reason he expected that he should immediately renew the war against the Infidels, or discontinue the tax <sup>b</sup>. Upon this, he was constrained to break the truce he had made, and to send an army commanded by his sons Don *Pedro* and Don *Alonso*, to besiege *Algeriza*, and he likewise fitted out a fleet with instructions to block up that place by sea <sup>c</sup>. The quarrel in the royal family was by this time composed, the queen consented to return to her husband,

<sup>v</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FERRERAS. <sup>x</sup> MEZ-  
RAY. <sup>y</sup> ZURITA Annal Arragon. <sup>z</sup> Chronica ge-  
neral de Espana. <sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sa-  
bio, &c. <sup>b</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.  
Chronica general de Espana. <sup>c</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alon-  
so el Sabio, &c.

the

the princess *Blanche* was allowed to go into *France*, and the two Infants were kept by the king of *Arragon*<sup>d</sup>. This, one would have imagined, must have been attended with favourable circumstances, but it happened otherwise. The queen thought it beneath her to return into *Castile*, without discharging the debts she owed in *Arragon*; the king's finances were so low, and the demands of the public upon him so pressing, that he could not spare her that sum; but the Infant Don *Sancho* went to *Seville*, seized upon a Jew who was treasurer at war to the army commanded by his brethren, and taking the sum requisite from him sent it to his mother<sup>e</sup>. This proved the ruin both of the army and the fleet. The former was exceedingly weakened by famine, the latter beat by the *Moors*, being but very indifferently supplied; so that *Aben-Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, coming over, forced the two young princes to raise the siege with great loss; and observing afterwards that their camp was in a much better situation than that of the town, he caused the place, which bears now the name of *Algeriza*, to be erected there, and directed the old one to be demolished<sup>f</sup>. Towards the close of the year, the king who had rejected *Thoulouse*, when proposed by the pope, for the place of a congress, in which the differences subsisting with the crown of *France*, might be determined, because it was in that prince's dominions, yet readily approved of *Bordeaux*, which was in the hands of the king of *England*; and where, under the mediation of the pope, a negotiation was begun<sup>g</sup>. The *French*, notwithstanding this, began their march towards *Navarre*, upon notice of which, Don *Alonso* sent an army into that country likewise, which advanced within three leagues of *Pampeluna*, but could not prevent the *French* from becoming masters of that city, where, under various pretensions, which will be mentioned in another place, they committed great excesses.

A. D.  
1278.

THE conferences held at *Bordeaux*, at the request and under the mediation of the pope, were opened on the first of *May*, but without producing what was expected from them; for the *French* plenipotentiaries, insisting that the Infant Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, should be declared heir apparent of the crown of *Castile*, the commissioners on the part of Don *Alonso* alleged they had no powers to treat upon that point; and this stopped all proceedings for the present<sup>h</sup>. In the

Terminated  
the war  
against the  
king of  
Morocco,  
in order to  
attack the  
monarch of  
Granada.<sup>d</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.<sup>e</sup> Chron. general de Espana. FERRERAS Historia de Espana. part vi. sect. xiii.<sup>f</sup> Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. <sup>g</sup> Chron. var. antiq.<sup>h</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

mean time Don *Alonso* prepared for chastising the king of *Granada*; antecedent to which, he found it necessary to settle all disputes between him and the king of *Morocco*, which he at last brought to bear, and a truce was actually concluded. It grew from hence into a received opinion amongst his subjects, that he meant to leave the *Moors* in quiet; and therefore the clergy complained loudly of his applying the revenues of vacant sees, and of part of the tythes due to the clergy, to the uses of the state; upon which they applied themselves to the pope, who wrote in very strong terms to the king, and to the Infant Don *Sancho*, to forbear such practices, and not to violate the immunities of the church. However, the king and his son, knowing their own intentions best, proceeded notwithstanding; and having engaged the king of *Arragon* to remain strictly neutral, in respect to their differences with the crown of *France*, caused a very numerous army to assemble in that part of *Andalusia*, which was already subject to the crown of *Castile*<sup>k</sup>.

A. D.  
1279.

Negotiations with the crown of France, and secret alliance with that of Arragon.

THE king, Don *Alonso*, early in the spring, repaired to *Seville*, and being afflicted with a distemper in his eyes, the Infant Don *Sancho* commanded the army this campaign against the *Moors*, but without any considerable success<sup>l</sup>. On the other hand, a proposition being made for a personal conference between the kings of *France* and *Castile*, at *Auch* in *Gascony*, Don *Alonso* began his journey through the kingdom of *Arragon*, where he had a long interview with the king; and, as some say, very important resolutions were formed, in consequence of what passed at these conferences<sup>m</sup> H). But however that may be, it is certain that the

<sup>i</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana.

<sup>k</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. Chron. general de Espana. <sup>l</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. <sup>m</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

(H) In respect to the secret history of this court and these times, it falls very little within our province; and yet without some little attention to it, what is delivered in the text will hardly be understood. Donna *Yoland*, or *Violente*, by which last name she is commonly mention-

ed in all but the *Spanish* historians, was a princess of none of the clearest characters (1). She had retired to the court of her brother the king of *Arragon* out of affection, as she pretended, to her daughter-in-law and her grand-children, which provoked the king, who was passionately

(1) Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. xiv.

the other interview did not take effect, for reasons that are nowhere clearly explained; but the negotiation between *France* and *Castile* went on; and, as some say, an agreement was at length concluded, by which the Infant Don *Alonso de la Cerda* was to have the kingdom of *Murcia* for himself and his heirs, for which, however, he was to do homage to the Infant Don *Sancho*, when he should become king of *Castile*<sup>a</sup>. About this time began those heart-burnings between the king and the Infant who was to succeed him, by which afterwards both the court and the kingdom suffered severely.

A. D.  
1280.

THE war against *Granada* was prosecuted with much bloodshed, but little success. Don *Sancho*, who piqued himself upon an unreasonable and extravagant bravery, exposed

*The Infant*  
*Don San-*  
*cho pre-*

<sup>a</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*

fond of her, to the last degree; and it was from their having a share in her secrets, that the infant Don *Frederick* and Don *Simon de los Cameros* were put to death, some say by the king's order, others by the Infant Don *Sancho's* (2): certain it is, that the latter charged the former with it, to make him odious to his subjects, as Don *Alonso* himself affirms, in the instrument by which he disinherited his son (3). Yet, after all this, there appears to have been very close connections between the Infant Don *Sancho* and his mother, and, through her intrigues, between the same Infant and her brother, Don *Pedro* of *Arragon* (4). It was in consequence of these that, under pretence of doing honour to his uncle, Don *Sancho* accompanied him back to *Terrosona*, from this interview, in which, as the two kings had stipulated to act in concert for the recovery of

*Navarre* out of the hands of the *French*, upon condition that it should be equally divided between them, the Infant went farther, and undertook, that when, by the death of his father, he should be in possession of the throne, he would relinquish the whole of *Navarre* to that monarch, and give him likewise the town of *Requena* and its dependencies, which extended on one side to the frontiers of *Murcia*, and on the other to the kingdom of *Valencia*; in consideration of which the king of *Arragon* was to keep the Infants *de la Cerda* closely confined in the castle of *Xativa*, so that they might not be able to give Don *Sancho* any trouble (5); which contrivances, as will be seen hereafter, proved altogether ineffectual, and therefore *Ferreras*, for the honour of his country, passed them over in silence.

(2) *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*  
*tum ab Arragonia regibus gestarum, lib. ii. p. 171.*

(3) *Zurita, Indices ro-*

*Don Alonso el Sabio.* (4) *Chronica del Rey*  
(5) *Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. xiv.*  
*Ferreras Historia de Espana, part vi. sect. xiii. Mayenne Turquet, P. d'Orleans.*  
*Abbe Vayrac.*

wants the  
conclusion  
of a peace  
with the  
crown of  
Granada.

himself during the campaign in such a manner, that if the king had not sent him a timely reinforcement of cavalry, he and those who were about him must have been either made prisoners or cut to pieces; which rash and indiscreet conduct, instead of lessening, raised his credit with the army<sup>o</sup>. A negotiation followed the campaign, but to no effect; for Don Sancho insisted upon such terms without a victory, as would have been thought hard, if the king of *Granada* had been at his mercy. Before the troops quitted the field, there happened a very remarkable event. A considerable body of banditti, who had enriched themselves by their booty, intreated the king to pardon them a little before the campaign, with which the king complied, upon condition that they should serve all that year at their own expence; but after doing this, and behaving gallantly, they demanded a compensation, and threatened if they had it not, they would return to their old trade. Don *Alonso* temporized with them a little, till a body of horse fell into their rear, and then caused them to be surrounded and cut to pieces<sup>p</sup>.

1281.

Assembly  
of the  
states at  
Seville, in  
which the  
nobility  
differ with  
the king  
Don  
Alonso.

IN order to reduce the distracted state of his affairs into some order, the king appointed an assembly of the states at *Seville*, which was accordingly held, and was more numerous than usual. The king told them that he was sensible of the heavy load of taxes under which they laboured; that, notwithstanding, money must be raised for reducing the king of *Granada*; and instead of an additional tax, he advised the giving a currency to copper money, not as an eligible measure, but as an expedient dictated by necessity. The states, though very unwilling, yielded their assent<sup>q</sup>. The king then opened to them the agreement which he had concluded in respect to the kingdom of *Murcia*, in order to put an end to the disputes with *France*. Upon this, the Infant Don *Sancho* withdrew with his dependents and the rest of the members, repenting what they had done; and being cajoled by that ambitious prince, who told them that age and infirmities had rendered his father incapable of government, and that for the future he would take the administration upon himself, withdrew likewise. In the next place, as if he had been already king, he made a treaty with the monarch of *Granada*, and accepted a sum of money instead of those hard terms which he had before prescribed. His brethren, the Infants *Juan* and *Pedro*,

<sup>o</sup> Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vi. sec. xiii.

<sup>p</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

<sup>q</sup> Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Chron. var. antiq. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

concurrent



concurrent with him in these measures, and abandoned their father in his old age<sup>r</sup>.

DON *Sancho* spent the winter in labouring by himself, his brothers, and his adherents, to engage the people every where in his party; and in this he succeeded so well, that in the month of *April*, when the states assembled at *Valladolid*, they were inclined, upon the motion of DON *Emanuel* his uncle, in the presence of his mother, to give him the title of king; but that, with great appearance of modesty, he refused: however, he made no difficulty of accepting the regal power with the title of regent<sup>t</sup>. His brothers, either repenting what they had done, or being disappointed in their expectations, left him; and though he could not but foresee that troubles must ensue, he engaged in a marriage that seemed calculated to excite them; for he espoused Donna *Maria*, the daughter of DON *Alonso de Molina* his great uncle, and then went in great state to *Cordova*<sup>u</sup>. The king DON *Alonso* was no sooner acquainted with what had passed at *Valladolid*, than he wrote to most of the nobility and to the magistrates of all the great cities, to espouse his cause, and relinquish all connection with the Infant DON *Sancho*. The town of *Badajos* singly paid that obedience which was due to the orders of their sovereign; who finding himself abandoned by the kings of *France*, *Aragon*, and *Portugal*, and not knowing which way to turn, demanded assistance of the king of *Morocco*, who in a short time came over with an army into *Spain*, and joined DON *Alonso* with the handful of troops he had about him<sup>w</sup>. In the mean time the Infant DON *Sancho* advanced with his forces towards *Badajos*, which he summoned, but the inhabitants remained firm, and prepared for a siege: this, however, was prevented, by the appearance of DON *Alonso* at the head of a numerous body of *Moor*s. The two kings besieged *Cordova* without effect, after which they returned to *Seville*, where *Aben Joseph* took his leave of the Christian monarch, who in a transport of rage, by a solemn act dated *November* the 12th, disinherited his son, and bequeathed his curse to him and all his adherents<sup>x</sup>.

THE pope exerted all his influence in favour of the king, *Aben*: and obliged the grand masters of the military orders to declare *Joseph*, for him, and to secure all the places in their power; at the same time he threatened the Infant DON *Sancho* on account of his *Fez*, and

Declare  
the Infant  
Don San-  
cho re-  
gent, and  
deprive  
the king of  
his dignity.

A. D.  
1282.

<sup>r</sup> *Chronica general de España. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*

<sup>t</sup> *Chron. var. antiq. Chronica del Rey Don*

*Alonso el Sabio, &c.*

<sup>u</sup> *RODRIQUE SANTII, Hist. Hispan.*

<sup>p. iv.</sup> *Chronica general de España.*

<sup>w</sup> *Chronica del Rey*

*Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*

<sup>x</sup> *Chron. var. antiq. Chronica*

*del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.*

Morocco, marriage, which he declared null & void. The Infant Don Sancho comes from Africa to the aid of Don Alonso. brought back his brother Don Pedro, partly by force, partly by rewards. But he found all methods vain with respect to Don Alvaro de Lara, who seized the city of Palencia; and when the Infant demanded for whom he held it, answered plainly "for Don Alonso, my master and yours." However, finding himself pushed by a superior force, he offered to leave the kingdom; which being accepted, he retired into Portugal with his followers; and, having increased their number considerably, he repaired to Don Alonso at Badajoz<sup>1</sup>. The Infant, Don James, who had been always dutiful, seized some places on the frontiers of Navarre; in which, however, he had been forced, if Don Juan de Lara, who had followed the fortunes of the Infants de la Cerda, and who was then in the French service, had not marched to his relief<sup>2</sup>. The king of Morocco returned about this time with great forces; and having conferred with Don Alonso, resolved to open the war by reducing the king of Granada. Upon this occasion the king of Castile sent him a corps of about a thousand men, under the command of Don Ferdinand Perez, who, because he would not incorporate them with the Moors, was so much suspected by Aben-Joseph, that he found it requisite to quit the camp, and retire towards Seville. The people of Cordova, having intelligence of this, attempted to surprize and surround him; but Don Ferdinand and his forces behaved so gallantly, that that they were totally routed, with very considerable loss, and amongst them many persons of distinction were slain or taken. This troubled Don Sancho very much, and, which is singular, he thought fit to declare, that they had met with no more than they deserved, for being wantonly the aggressors against their king and his father; as if his own want of duty had not excited theirs<sup>3</sup>.

A. D.  
1283.

The king by his last will disinherits the Infant Don Sancho, and calls to the succession the Infants de la Cerda. THE whole Christian power in Spain was now involved in discord and confusion; in Portugal, the king was excommunicated, and the kingdom threatened with an interdict; Don Pedro, king of Arragon, was engaged in a war with France, about Navarre, in which the French had the assistance of the partizans of Don Alonso of Castile, while the Arragoneses were supported by the royal Infant Don Sancho. This afforded the Moors an opportunity of raising their heads, which, however, they overlooked; for Aben-Joseph, having formed a scheme of conquering Granada, and finding little assistance thereof from

<sup>1</sup> Chronica general de Espana. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. BRANPAON.

<sup>3</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FERRERAS.

Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

Don *Alonso*, returned in displeasure to *Africa*<sup>c</sup>. The old king of *Castile*, finding himself indisposed, confirmed on the eighth of *November* his last will and testament, by which he solemnly disinherited the Infant Don *Sancho*, for his ingratitude, and which was afterwards urged as the strongest proof of his title, and called to the succession, in his stead, the Infants *de la Cerda*, and, failing their heirs, the kings of *France*<sup>d</sup>. In the mean time, the infant Don *Sancho* acted quite another part; he assembled the nobility at *Palencia*; and having represented to them, that what he had done he did by their advice; that he meant to preserve and not to destroy the kingdom; that he now expected they would name a person to go to his father and let him know that rebellion was far from their hearts; that therefore they desired he would preserve the kingdom entire, and suspend his applications at *Rome*, where the pope was on the very point of launching against them the thunders of the church. Accordingly Don *Gomez Fernandes*, a nobleman of great probity, and who had meddled very little in these affairs, was sent to *Seville*, with instructions to say and do every thing that could pacify the king, and engage him to forget, or at least to forgive, every thing that had passed<sup>e</sup>.

ABOUT the same time that Don *Gomez Fernandes* arrived *Is prevail-* at *Seville*, Donna *Beatrix*, queen of *Portugal*, came thither, *ed on to* to comfort her father under his misfortunes, and Donna *pardon the* *Maria*, the consort of the Infant Don *Sancho*, who had always *royal In-* preserved her interest with the king, had her agents there *fant, and* likewise. While these negotiations were going on, for both *finishes his* the princesses concurred with Don *Gomez*, the king added a *days at* codicil to his will, on the 22d of *January*, by which he gave *Seville,* to the Infant Don *Juan* the kingdoms of *Seville* and *Badajoz*<sup>f</sup>. Yet by degrees he began to be softened; and upon the arrival of news from *Salamanca*, that the Infant Don *Sancho* was fallen dangerously ill there, and professed the most sincere grief for his conduct towards his father, it affected the old king so much, that it brought him to his grave on *Tuesday* the 4th of *April*, in the year 1284, after he had pardoned his son, and revoked all his curses<sup>g</sup>. He had by his queen Donna

<sup>c</sup> BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ZURITA, Annal Arragon. Chronica general de España. <sup>d</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. RAINALD. Chronica general de España. <sup>e</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. <sup>f</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. <sup>g</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

*Yoland* or *Violente*, five sons, *Don Ferdinand* who died in his life-time, *Don Sancho* his successor, *Don Juan*, *Don Pedre* who likewise died in his life-time, and *Don Jaques* or *James*. By his mistress *Donna Maria* he had *Donna Beatrix*, at the time of his demise queen dowager of *Portugal*; by another mistress, *Don Alonso* and some other children, of whom however we have no distinct accounts. He was buried in the cathedral of *Seville*, near *St. Ferdinand* and *Donna Beatrix*, and left behind him the character of being a learned man and a weak king <sup>h</sup> (I).

As

<sup>h</sup> Chron. var. antiq. FERRERAS.

(I) The character of this great monarch is very differently represented, according to the various tempers of those who have undertaken to transmit his memoirs to posterity, and the several lights in which it might be considered. He is represented by those who lived in his own time as of a grave and serene aspect, majestic air, and very well made in his person. Affable and polite in his conversation, and naturally of a chearful, open, and generous disposition. His faults were only virtues in excess. He was much too learned for a prince, his magnificence bordered upon profusion, his own candour misled him into credulity. His subjects, however, reaped some great and lasting advantages even from those qualities in him, which were most censured; he augmented the privileges, and corrected many of the errors in the statutes made at the foundation of the university of *Salamanca*; he polished the *Castilian* tongue, caused a general history of *Spain* to be composed in that language; directed that body of laws to be compiled therein, which we have

mentioned in the text, that all ranks of people might be in a condition to understand the terms upon which their obedience was expected. Under his auspices also, and at an immense expence, those astronomical tables were drawn up which bear his name. He wrote a book intitled, *The Treasure*, comprehending treatises of rational philosophy, physics, and ethics. He is also said to have been deep read in astrology and chemistry, in which last science, we are told, there are two volumes of his yet remaining in his catholic majesty's library in cypher. He is, however, charged with profaneness, and particularly with saying that he could have contrived the universe in a better method than that in which we find it. A certain historian has given us a long account of the judgments brought upon him by this notorious act of impiety; but it does not appear that this account of his has met with much credit; and, if we may have leave to speak plainly, perhaps the fact on which it is founded deserves as little; for as there are pieces enough of this

As soon as the Infant Don Sancho was recovered from his Don San-  
 indisposition, which had brought him to the very brink of the cho enters  
 grave, and had an account of his father's death, he went to into the  
 Toledo, where he was crowned by the archbishop Don Gon- possession of  
 ales<sup>1</sup>. He proceeded from thence to Andalusia, after having all his  
 had a conference with his uncle Don Pedro, king of Arragon, father's  
 at Ucles, where he renounced all claim to the town and fortrefs dominions,  
 of Albarracin, of which Don Juan de Lara was then in pos- notwith-  
 session, and made frequent excursions from thence, sometimes standing  
 into the dominions of Arragon, and sometimes into those of his will.  
 Castile<sup>2</sup>. On the arrival of the king at Seville, he found that  
 his brother, the Infant Don Juan, had been labouring to en-  
 gage the people to support his father's will, by which he was  
 to hold that kingdom; but the nobility interposing, he had  
 been constrained to desist; and perceiving that he could not  
 take a wiser measure, came and did homage to the king Don  
 Sancho, who received him very kindly, and who shewed a  
 disposition to gratify him in every thing, except that of mak-  
 ing him a king<sup>1</sup>. While he was there, Aben-Joseph sent an  
 embassador to him, whose name was Abdalac, who told him  
 that his commission was to ask a plain question, whether his  
 master was to consider him as a friend or enemy? To this  
 Don Sancho made none of the plainest answers, he bid him  
 tell the king of Morocco, that he held his bread in one hand and  
 a good staff in the other. Aben-Joseph looking upon this as  
 an affront, began immediately to ravage the Christian fron-  
 tiers. Don Sancho marched with an army to cover them,  
 and with the assistance of the Genoese, sent a very formidable

<sup>1</sup> MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. <sup>2</sup> Chron.  
 del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ZURITA. Annal Arragon. <sup>1</sup> Ro-  
 DERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FERRERAS.

this prince come down to poste-  
 rity, to prove incontestably that  
 he was a man of great parts, un-  
 common penetration, and very  
 extensive knowledge, we may  
 reasonably doubt of his impiety,  
 more especially when we consi-  
 der the occasion of this expres-  
 sion; from whence indeed it is  
 pretty evident, that it regarded  
 the Ptolemaic, and not the Di-  
 vine, system; and was so far  
 from being an insult upon,  
 that it was really a vindication  
 of the divine wisdom, which, for  
 all that, might be very shocking

to pious ears, in those ignorant  
 times, but which ought not to  
 leave a stain upon his memory in  
 ours. As to his political admi-  
 nistration, the reader will judge  
 of it from the facts that are re-  
 corded; and we have not either  
 room or inclination to enter into  
 a discussion of those censures that  
 have been passed upon this mon-  
 arch by many great writers of  
 different nations, more especi-  
 ally as we cannot affirm them to  
 be without ground, since he was  
 very unfortunate.

fleet

fleet to sea, by which the whole naval power of the *Moors* was thoroughly beaten, which induced *Aben-Joseph* to return into *Africa*, with a resolution however of being revenged as soon as it should be in his power <sup>m</sup>. In the winter the king held an assembly of the states at *Seville*, where he told them he was resolved to preserve the kingdom entire, to curtail as few of his father's concessions and other acts of generosity as was possible, and to endeavour, by the frugality of his administration, to remove the inconveniences introduced by the dissipation of his father's reign, of whose memory however he spoke very respectfully, intimating, that though his dominions were extensive, and his revenues large, yet they bore no proportion to the greatness of his mind <sup>n</sup>.

Defeats  
the king of  
Morocco  
at sea, and  
after-  
wards  
concludes  
a peace  
with him.

THE beginning of the new reign did not pass without some disturbances; but they were very soon suppressed, or rather torn up by the roots; for *Don Sancho*, who had acquired the surname of *el Bravo*, or *the Fierce*, punished with extraordinary severity, and rewarded with great generosity <sup>o</sup>. King *Philip* of *France* sent ambassadors to desire that he would not assist the king of *Arragon* in the war between the two crowns. *Don Sancho* thereupon dispatched two prelates to the court of *France*, to let the king know, that, being engaged in a war with the *Moors*, it was not in his power to assist his uncle; but at the same time he directed those prelates to gain the clearest notions they could of the maxims and forces of that court, that he might be the better able to act when he should find it convenient <sup>p</sup>. In the mean time *Aben-Joseph* returned from *Africa* with a great fleet and a numerous army; and as soon as he had landed his forces, besieged the town of *Xerez de la Fronteira*. *Don Sancho* marched immediately with his forces from *Toledo* to *Seville*; and, when the *Moor* little expected it, the Christian fleet appeared in the streights of *Gibraltar*, consisting of a hundred sail: at the same time *Don Sancho*, with his army, advanced to the relief of *Xeres*, upon which *Aben-Joseph* raised the siege and retired in haste. The monarch of *Castile* would have pursued and forced him to a battle, but his brother the Infant *Don Juan* and *Don Lopez de Haro* opposed and hindered it <sup>q</sup>. The king then returned to *Seville*, to which city repaired ambassadors from *Morocco* and *Granada*. *Don Juan* and *Don Lopez* were for concluding a peace with the former, and continuing the war against the latter; the rest

<sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. <sup>n</sup> Chronica general de España. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. <sup>o</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. <sup>p</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FERRAS. <sup>q</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.

the council were for a general peace. Don Sancho proposed a conference with *Aben-Joseph*, where, for two millions of maravedies in ready money, the king consented to withdraw his fleet and suffered them to return to *Africa*. The queen was delivered on the 6th of *December* at *Seville*, of her son the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, to the great joy of the king, who received this news in his journey to the kingdom of *Leon*, where, if he did not meet with the most joyful reception, he found at least perfect obedience, which to a monarch of his disposition was almost as acceptable.

A. D.  
1285.

In the spring of the next year, he sent for his young son King *Edward* from *Seville* to *Burgos*, and obliged the states of *Castile* to own ward the him for heir apparent, though in his cradle. He next sent first, of the archbishop of *Toledo* and other ambassadors to *Bayonne*, *England*, in hopes of concluding a solid peace with *France*; but the offers his plenipotentiaries of that power insinuated that the king's marriage was void for want of the pope's approbation, and that the first step to a peace must be his resolving to marry the sister of their king: *Sancho*, who was himself at *St. Sebastian*, was no sooner acquainted therewith than he ordered his ambassadors to quit *Bayonne*, and to return into his own dominions. He then went in pilgrimage to *St. James*, at *Compostella*, and, under colour of devotion, regulated all the affairs of *Galiccia*; then passing to the city of *Palencia*, he there held an assembly of the states of *Castile* and *Leon*, in which many excellent laws were made for the benefit of his subjects. About this time it was, that king *Edward* the first, of *England*, offered his mediation to facilitate the conclusion of a peace between the crowns of *France* and *Castile*, to which likewise the pope contributed as far as lay in his power, and actually named two cardinals as his legates, to assist at the conferences. The king, Don *Sancho*, endeavoured to prevail upon the king, Don *Alonso*, who had succeeded his father Don *Pedro* in the kingdom of *Arragon*, to deliver up to him the Infants *de la Cerda*, which that king very wisely, though very civilly declined.

As the kingdom of *Castile* had been hitherto distracted by Don *Lo*: factions, so the intrigues that now broke out amongst the pees de courtiers were attended with consequences no less fatal; Don *Haro* *ben* *Gonzales Garcia*, bishop of *Sigüenza*, was the first who had comesse

\* Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. \* RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. \* Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. \* Chronica general de Espana. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. \* Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. RAINALD. PERRERAS.

great, that the king's confidence, and was entrusted with the direction of the king is the finances, and had been employed in a negotiation with jealous of the crown of France; but upon the discovery that it was he him. who suggested that the queen's marriage was illegal, the great employment he held was taken from him, and bestowed upon

Don *Lopez de Haro*, who was now in as great credit with the queen as with the king; and being a man of boundless ambition, accumulated titles, posts, and revenues, which rendered him first envied by many, and then, through his own haughty behaviour, odious to all. He had the title of count, which had been for sometime refused, was high treasurer and prime minister, while his brother Don *Diego de Haro* had the command of the forces in *Andalusia*, and his daughter *Donna Maria*, married, by the king's consent, his brother the Infant Don *Juan*<sup>x</sup>. The haughtiness of Don *Lopez*, to those who had been before his friends and equals, the loose he gave to his resentment in respect to such as he accounted his enemies, and that spirit of rapine which tempted him to oppress without distinction, brought numberless complaints to the king's ear. As for Don *Alvaro de Lara*, his patience being wore out, he retired with some of his friends into the dominions of *Portugal*, where he associated with the Infant Don *Alonso*, and other malecontents in that kingdom, and made some inroads into *Castile*<sup>y</sup>. This brought both monarchs into the field, who united their forces against these malecontents; but in the course of the campaign, Don *Sancho* of *Castile*, who piqued himself much upon his justice, received such certain information of the ill usage Don *Alvaro* had received, that, instead of pursuing him to destruction, as he might have done, he received him into his favour, which, however, he did not enjoy long, being carried off by a distemper soon after this reconciliation; upon which Don *Sancho* privately intimated to Don *Juan de Lara*, who had been so long an exile for acting against him, that, if he would return home, he should not only enjoy his brother's estates, but also his posts and appointments, which he accepted<sup>z</sup>. The king having now a minister he could trust, called an assembly of the states at *Toro*, where the Infant Don *Juan* and Don *Lopez* opposed the king's measures, and at last retired from that assembly without concealing their discontent, or the resolution they had taken of raising disturbances, if it was in their power.

<sup>x</sup> Chronica general de Espana. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. P. DANIEL. FERRERAS. <sup>y</sup> BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. Chron. var. antiq. <sup>z</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.



THE king at first endeavoured to secure their persons, upon which the Infant Don Juan retired towards Portugal with his forces, as Don Lopez de Haro did into Castile<sup>a</sup>. The king did not think proper to march with an army against either, but sent for them both to come to him, promising them any satisfaction that was reasonable. The royal Infant rejected the proposition as unsafe, but Don Lopez came to the place appointed, with his friends in arms: upon his asking him what it was he aimed at, and by what authority he raised troops to disturb the public peace, he answered by his own, to redress the injuries which the Infant Don Juan and himself had received. After many attempts towards a reconciliation which ended in nothing, it was agreed, that the royal Infant and Don Lopez should meet the king at *Alfaro*, where all things were to be compromised. At this conference, when the king proposed that Don Lopez should evacuate all the fortresses which he had committed to his charge, that nobleman laid his hand upon his sword, as the Infant Don Juan likewise did. The nobility who were about the person of the king, seeing this, killed the one and arrested the other. This threw the whole kingdom into a flame, and Don Diego de Haro the brother, and Don Diego the son, of the late Don Lopez, retiring into Arragon, persuaded that monarch to set the Infant Don Alonso de la Cerda at liberty, whom they immediately proclaimed king of Castile: their adherents in several places engaged the people to acknowledge and arm in defence of his title; so that a second civil war was begun, with more alarming circumstances than the first<sup>b</sup> (K).

A. D.  
1288.

DON

<sup>a</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, de las Historias Portuguesas. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. <sup>b</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ZURITA, Annal Arragon. Chron. var. antiq. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. sec. xiii.

(K) We have a very large and circumstantial account of this affair in the *Spanish* histories, out of which it will be proper to give the reader a few particulars that are absolutely necessary to set it in a proper light. When the Infant Don Juan first departed so far from his duty as to savage the country about *Salamanca*, Don Lopez de Haro was at court, to whom the king complained of it with astonishment; upon which Don Lopez told him that he was in the right; that what the Infant did was by his advice; and that, if the king would go to *Valladolid*, he would undertake Don Juan should come to *Sigales* with his troops, in order to let him know his grievances. The king, Don Sancho, accepted this proposition; he went to *Valladolid*, and Don Juan,

*Don Alonso de la Cerda and the Arragonese who abet his title, forced to retire.*

*Don Sancho*, king of *Castile*, in the midst of these difficulties supported himself with great firmness: he had a conference with the king of *Portugal*, from whom he demanded and received succours; but when he was about to have taken the field, he found himself pressed by *Philip le Bel*, king of *France*, to meet and confer with him; and as it was a point of great consequence to prevent a breach with that monarch at this juncture, he advanced with a strong corps of troops, as far as *St. Sebastian*, leaving the command of his army to *Don Alonso de Molina*, the queen's brother<sup>c</sup>. The king of *Arragon*, taking the advantage of *Don Sancho's* absence, entered the dominions of *Castile* with the Infant *Don Alonso de la*

<sup>c</sup> P. DANTEL *Histoire de France*. *Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo*.

*Juan*, upon notice from his friend, came to him, as he had promised. At this interview the king behaved so mildly, and gratified the Infant in so many respects, that things seemed to be pacified. But afterwards, when they both attended the king, who went to confer with the monarch of *Arragon*, they disappointed his views, by the intelligence they gave to, and the influence they had over, that prince. When *Don Sancho* came to *Alfaro* in his own dominions, and saw both the Infant *Don Juan* and *Don Lopez* there without their usual attendants, he caused a great council to be held of the prelates and nobility, in which he told them, that, since he found they were persons whom good usage could not move, or the greatest favours inspire, with any gratitude, he was resolved to dismiss them from his service, and expected they should render the places, that he had committed to their care, to such noblemen as he then named. While the king was speaking, *Don Lopez* laid his right

hand upon his sword, wrapped his cloak round his left arm, and having called him a cruel, perfidious, and ungrateful tyrant, suddenly drew, and advanced towards him; upon which one of the nobles cut off his right arm at a blow, and the rest who were present pierced his body with a multitude of wounds. The Infant *Don Juan*, who had wounded several in defence of his father-in-law, when he saw him extended upon the floor, fled to the queen's chamber, to which the king followed him with his sword drawn, and with an intention to have dispatched him; but the queen, putting herself between them, throwing herself upon her knees, by her tears and prayers so wrought upon the king, that he ordered him to be conducted to prison, with a design to prosecute him for this and other acts of treason, which did not hinder his living, as the reader will see, to owe his preservation a second time to the kind interposition of the same good prince.

*Cerda,*

*Cerda*, who now used the regal title, at the head of an army, which some say fell little short of 100,000 men<sup>d</sup>. Don *Alonso de Molina* advanced towards him, encamped advantageously, but declined fighting till the king should return. This he did sooner than was expected, for the king of *France* failed at the interview, and then proposed another, which the situation of Don *Sancho's* affairs would not permit him to expect. Upon his return therefore, and joining his own army with a numerous corps of troops, the king of *Arragon* retired into his own country, to quell some disturbances that broke out in his absence; and the king Don *Sancho* following him, wasted all the country as far as the *Ebro*<sup>e</sup>. For this fruitless attempt, Don *Alonso de la Cerda* made a cession to the king of *Arragon* of all *Murcia*; and, by a treaty of the like nature, gained the king of *Granada* to acknowledge his title<sup>f</sup>. Don *Diego de Haro*, the elder, was more fortunate, for he beat a body of the king of *Castile's* troops, and ravaged the country about *Cuenca* and *Alarcon*<sup>g</sup>. About this time the inhabitants of *Badajos* had a quarrel with the *Portuguese*, and Don *Sancho*, upon hearing the merits, decided in their favour. But when the king's edict came to be put in execution, a new quarrel arose, in which the *Portuguese* being unarmed were cut to pieces. The people at *Badajos* dreading the justice of their sovereign, seized upon the citadel and declared for Don *Alonso de la Cerda*. The city however was quickly invested by the king's troops, and though the inhabitants defended themselves obstinately, they were at last constrained to surrender at discretion; but the troops, without any respect to the capitulation, put all they found in the place to the sword, without mercy<sup>h</sup>.

A. D.  
1289.

THE beginning of the next year, the kings of *France* and *Castile* had an interview at *Bayonne*, when it was agreed, that *receives* the *Infants de la Cerda* should have the kingdom of *Murcia*, great dis- doing homage for it to the crown of *Castile*; that king *Philip* should use his interest at *Rome*, to engage the pope to confirm the king's marriage; and that both princes should continue the war against the king of *Arragon*<sup>i</sup>. In the mean time Don *Juan de Lara*, being deceived by an anonymous letter, retired from the king's service, and went over to the king of *Lara*.

<sup>d</sup> ZURITA, Annal Arragon. <sup>e</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>f</sup> Chron. var. antiq. ZURITA, Annal Arragon. <sup>g</sup> Chronica general de España. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. <sup>h</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. BRANDAON. <sup>i</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.

A. D. 1290. *Arragon*, to whom he did great service. At length however the queen Donna *Maria* proposed to him the marriage of her niece, the heiress of *Molina*, for his son, and hostages for the security of his person; and upon receiving these he was content to return to his duty<sup>k</sup>. Such at that time was the power of the nobility in *Spain*, and so feeble the authority of kings. In the space of a few months, notwithstanding all these assurances, and the marriage concluded with his son, Don *Juan de Lara* was again seized with new apprehensions. A nobleman of great rank came to him in the dead of the night in the royal palace at *Toledo*, and told him that a body of armed men had been secretly let in, and that he suspected there was some design against his liberty or life. Don *Juan* upon this, attempted with a few of his friends to make his escape; but finding that impracticable, and having told them the source of his uneasiness, they advised him to apply to the queen; and she disclosing it to the king, he sent for him, and upon a solemn promise that he would do him no hurt, drew from him the name of the nobleman who had told him this story. The king did not indeed punish him, but he reproached him in the face of the whole court, told him he was a faithless knight and a lying traitor, which drew upon him such universal contempt, that he could never afterwards appear in public<sup>l</sup>. Don *Juan* relapsed soon after into fresh inquietudes; and to draw him out of these, the king promised him, that his own son, the Infant Don *Alonso*, should marry his daughter, which made him quiet for a little time, and but for a little time; so that the king was forced to release his brother the Infant Don *Juan*, that he might oppose one faction to another<sup>m</sup>. Affairs however went better abroad, for he not only concluded a new treaty with the king of *Granada*, but, Don *Alonso* being dead, *James* the new king of *Arragon* renewed the ancient treaty between the two crowns; upon which Don *Juan de Lara*, seeing he had no resource left in *Spain*, retired into *France*, though the king omitted nothing to have delivered him from his jealousies, and the queen still continued her kindness and protection to his family<sup>n</sup>.

Don Alonso  
so victorious  
over  
the Moors  
by sea and  
land.

ABEN-JOSEPH, king of *Morocco*, either considering the treaty which the king of *Castile* had made with the monarch of *Granada* as a breach of the peace made with him, or as preparatory to a war, began to assemble troops and shipping, of which the king of *Castile* had very early intelligence. Upon

<sup>k</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>l</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. <sup>m</sup> Chron. var. antiq. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. <sup>n</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ZURITA, Annal Arragon.

this,

Thus, he immediately took into his pay the famous *Benedict Zachary*, a *Genoese* admiral, who had commanded his fleet in the former war; and being supplied with a large sum of money by the states of his several kingdoms, and auxiliary squadrons from the kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal*, he attacked the *Moors* by sea and land. His admiral had the good fortune to dissipate the enemy's fleet, and to destroy a great part of it; and the king, after a long siege, reduced *Tarifa*, and put a strong garrison into it; he likewise concluded a peace in quality of mediator between the crowns of *Arragon* and *Naples*, to their reciprocal satisfaction, and received the strongest assurances from the crown of *France*, that the late treaty should be punctually complied with, and no encouragement whatever given to any of his malecontents. Donna *Elizabeth*, the wife of Don *Juan de Lara* the younger, dying without issue, her husband became, from that circumstance only, one of the number.

A. D.  
1292.

THE Infant Don *Juan*, forgetting the clemency with which the king had treated him, entered into fresh cabals; and having drawn Don *Juan de Lara* the younger into his party, they quickly assembled a great number of seditious and licentious persons, and with them broke out into open rebellion. The king marched against them with an army, and pressed them so hard, that the Infant was forced to take shelter in his town of *Valentia*, which from him is still called *Valentia*; Don *Juan* and his associate threw himself, with some troops, into *Castro-Torafa*, at no great distance. The king was no sooner informed of it, than he came and encamped between those two places, without besieging either; but published an edict, forbidding any to supply them with provision, on pain of death. This quickly reduced Don *Juan de Lara*, and his people, to such distress, that he went to the king, and in the most humble manner desired his pardon; Don *Sancho* received him kindly, bid him remember his distress, how he came into it, and by whom he was delivered. The news of this brought his father back, whom the king entrusted with the command of his army against the Infant Don *Juan*, who had made his escape into *Portugal*. The Infant invited Don *Juan de Lara* to a conference, under pretence that he had a mind to submit to the king, and then, in breach of his faith, made him prisoner; but

1293.

\* *Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.* ZURITA, *Annal Arragon.* BRANDAON. P. DANIEL. P *Chronica general de Espana.* RODERIC SANTII *Hist. Hispan.* p. iv. 9 *Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.* FERRERAS. 1 *Chron. var. antiq.* BRANDAON.

the king of *Portugal* set him immediately at liberty; upon which he returned into *Castile*, adhered steadily to the king, and died the next year in his service\*.

*An enormous act of perfidious and unmanly cruelty com-* THE Infant Don *Henry*, son to St. *Ferdinand*, and uncle to Don *Sancho*, returned this year from *Italy*, to revisit his native country, after having run through a long series of strange adventures. The king received him very kindly at *Burgos*, and granted him such a settlement as was suitable to his high rank and near relation to him† (L). Upon his application to the king

\* *Chronica general de Espana*. BRANDAON. RODERIC SANTII, *Hist. Hispan.* p. iii. † *Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo*.

(L) It is requisite to say something here concerning the Infant Don *Henry*, because the course of the history will oblige us to say a great deal of him hereafter; he was the son of St. *Ferdinand* by Donna *Beatrix*, who, as some writers say, was addicted to judicial astrology, and infected her children with a propensity to that superstition (1). It is uncertain whether this was the cause or not; for it is pretended that there was a prediction that Don *Alonso* would be deposed by a near relation, that prompted him to take up arms against his brother, in hopes, perhaps, of fulfilling it when he was defeated, as we have shewn in the history; and, being refused shelter by the king of *Arragon* (2), fled to *Tunis*, and lived for some years under the protection of the *Moorish* prince who then governed there; though *Mariana* says that he was but in a mean condition, and that his misfortunes did not contribute at all to his amendment, since he still maintained a

correspondence with the malecontents in *Castile*. At length, growing weary of *Barbary*, he went into *Italy*, where he embraced the part of prince *Conradin*, grandson of the emperor *Frederick*, had a share in his fortunes and misfortunes, and made himself first considerable, and then odious there, for reasons that will appear in another place, and which brought upon him excommunication and imprisonment, he was absolved from the former, and released from the latter, upon a most humble submission to pope *Honorius* (3); and this afforded him an opportunity of returning to *Spain*, after an absence of twenty-seven years. The king Don *Sancho* had no personal knowledge of him; for his rebellion against Don *Alonso* happened the very year after Don *Sancho* was born; but he knew and pitied his misfortunes, and thought it his duty to relieve him as his uncle (4). As to his character, he was of a haughty, mutable and turbulent disposition, cruel,

(1) *Mariana, Histoire general de Espana.* (2) *Zurita, Annal Arragon.*  
(3) *Rainald, A. D. 1236.* (4) *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio.*

king of Portugal, not to protect his brother, the Infant Don *misted by* Juan transported himself to Morocco, and finding Jacob *Aben- the Infant* Joseph meditating a war, he offered, if he would give him *Don Juan* 5000 horse, and some foot, to recover Tarefa, which his brother had taken the year before. His proposal was accepted, and having embarked his forces in Andalusia, he invested Tarefa with a numerous army. The place was defended by Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, with such spirit, that the Moors began to be discouraged. The Infant Don Juan, being informed that the governor had a little son at nurse in an adjacent village, he caused the child to be brought to him, and then bid the Castilian advanced guard tell the governor, that, if he did not immediately surrender the place, he would cut the child's throat before his eyes. This occasioning some commotion in the garrison, Don Alonso rose from dinner to know what was the matter, and coming upon the walls, saw Don Juan with his son in his hand, and heard him repeat his threats. Don Alonso immediately drew out his sword, and throwing it to the Infant, said, "If you who were born a prince, and educated a Christian, dare to commit so execrable a villany, know that I dare both keep the place and furnish you with a weapon." This, though it struck both the Moors and the garrison with admiration, had no effect upon the monster to whom it was addressed, since, in the sight of both, he took up the sword and butchered the poor Infant. The length of the siege gave Don Sancho time to come to its relief, with a numerous army, upon which the Moors raised the siege, and Don Juan, being afraid to go back to Morocco, deserted them, and retired to the king of Granada, to whom Aben-Joseph yielded Algeriza, the only place he had left in Spain, that he might be rid of any connections with

A. D.  
1294.

avaricious, and perfidious to the last degree; mean in adversity, insolent in prosperity; and with a multitude of vices, had as few good qualities as any man of those times: but he had a suppleness, and a kind of specious address, that rendered him capable of doing much mischief; and he would have done still

more if he had been endowed with better talents (5). The reader may possibly blame us for giving him so bad a character, but the sequel of the history will acquaint him with facts that must convince him that the Infant Don Henry has been here very gently dealt with.

(5) Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turqueti

that country<sup>a</sup> (M). A resolution however to which himself and his successors did not always adhere.

*The death of Don Sancho the Fierce, and the condition of Toledo, and of such other prelates and great lords as were near the king, and at his decease.* In the beginning of the ensuing year, the king, whose health had been long declining, found himself so much worse, that he resolved to take the speediest and the properest method for settling his temporal and his spiritual concerns. In order to this, he made his will, in the presence of the archbishop of Toledo, and of such other prelates and great lords as were near his person, by which he appointed the queen tutorefs and regent of the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, his successor, to whom the Infant Don *Henry*, and all who were present, took the oath

<sup>a</sup> BRANDAON. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. vi. sec. xiii.

(M) We have in some circumstances a different account of this matter in *Mariana*. He tells us, that this son of Don *Alonso Peren de Guzman*, was a youth grown up, and taken prisoner in a sally; that the governor was at dinner when the Infant brought him before the fortress, and threatened to put him to death. Don *Alonso* being informed of it, threw the sword, and told him he had rather lose a hundred sons, than forfeit his fidelity to his sovereign; and having said this, went back to his house, and sat down to dinner, but was quickly roused by the cry of the soldiers, on the sight of the young gentleman's head being struck off by order of the Infant Don *Philip*. Being told what it was that occasioned this emotion, he said, coldly, I thought the enemy had entered the town, went back to

his house, and seated himself again at table. A most wonderful instance of heroic courage, says our author, worthy the heroes of old; and than which antiquity proposes nothing greater to our imagination (6). As soon as the king Don *Sancho* received the news of it, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the governor, in which, having highly commended his behaviour, he bestowed on him the surname of *Bueno*, or the good, desired him to come to him at *Alcala*, and assured him, if his health would permit, that he would come out to meet him; which letter is said to be preserved in the archives of the dukes of *Medina Sidonia* (7), who have more reason to be proud of their being descended from this man, than of being, as they are, the first dukes in *Castile* (8).

(6) *Mariana, Historia general de España, lib. xiv.*  
*Turquet Histoire generale d'Espagne.*

(7) *Id. ibid. Mayernus*  
*Etat present del'Espagne, par l'Abb*  
*de Vayrac, tom. iii. p. 169.*



of fidelity. He removed afterwards to *Toledo*, in hopes the change of air might have been serviceable to him; but in this he was deceived, for, soon after his arrival, he departed this life on the 25th of *April*, in the year 1295. He left by his queen, the Infants Don *Ferdinand* (Don *Alonso* died before him), Don *Pedro*, and Don *Philip*; and two Infantas, Donna *Elizabeth* and Donna *Beatrix*.\*

DON *Ferdinand* the fourth succeeded his father, in the *Don Fer-*  
tenth year of his age; and, as soon as Don *Sancho*'s funeral was dinand the  
over, received the homage of the nobility, and was inaugu- fourth  
rated in the cathedral church of *Toledo*, with the greatest so- proclaimed  
lemnity, and with the most universal applause; and yet, in king of  
the compass of this year, there arose as great troubles as ever Castile,  
perplexed a court, the beginning, progress, and issue of which, and owned  
within this period, we will state as briefly as possible. The by the  
Infant Don *Juan* claimed the whole succession, under pre- States at  
tence that the king's marriage was illegal, and he was the ten years  
only right heir of Don *Alonso* the wife, according to the system old.  
maintained by his deceased brother, and in virtue of which he  
had enjoyed the kingdom. As strange a title as this was, it  
found some abettors; the *Moors* promised him their assistance,  
for their own interest, and upon the same motive the king of  
*Portugal* became his ally. However, upon the queen's offer-  
ing him the restitution of his honours and revenues, Don *Juan*  
came to court, and did homage to his nephew: Don *Denis*,  
king of *Portugal*, took up arms, to recover three towns which  
Don *Alonso* gave his mother; Donna *Beatrix*, the queen  
dowager, gave him those towns, and so there was an end of  
that quarrel. Don *Diego Lopez de Haro* assembled forces,  
in order to recover the country of *Biscay*; the queen sent for  
Don *Juan* and Don *Goncales de Lara*, to whom the king in  
his last moments had particularly recommended her and his  
son, and having furnished them with a large sum of money,  
upon the strongest assurances of duty and fidelity, dispatched  
them to their own estates, in order to raise forces against  
Don *Diego*. They did accordingly raise the troops; but as  
soon as they were raised, they joined the rebels, against whom  
they were to have acted, and then sent a long list of demands

\* *Chronica general de Espana.* *Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.* \* *MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.*

† *Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.* \* *RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.*

*Chronica general de Espana.* BRANDAON. *Chronica de los Moros de Espana.* \* *Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. reco-*

*pilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.* EMANUEL DE FARIA. † SOUSA.

for themselves and for him to the court; and these being granted, they came to *Valladolid*, and did homage in the assembly of the states <sup>b</sup>. The Infant Don Henry, more modest than the rest, formed no pretensions against the king, but insisted upon having the government of the kingdom, with the title of regent, saving to the queen dowager the care of his person, and of his education, to which she was constrained to assent <sup>c</sup>; lastly, the king of *Granada* entered the frontiers of *Andalusia*, with a very numerous army, and wasted the country with fire and sword; Don Rodrigo Ponce, grand master of *Calatrava*, with the forces of the military orders, gave him battle, and, not without great loss, compelled him to retire. A few days after, Don Rodrigo himself died of his wounds, and was succeeded in his command on the frontier by Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, who so gallantly defended *Tarifa* <sup>d</sup>.

Don Alonso de la Cerda assumes the same title, and makes an alliance with the king of Arragon.

THE prospect which seemed to be grown in some measure serene, grew on a sudden as gloomy as before, and clouds began to gather on every side. James, king of *Arragon*, sent to the queen dowager, and desired she would take back the Infanta Donna Elizabeth, his mind being altered with respect to the marriage; upon which, anxious for the safety of that princess, she prevailed upon the regent to go and receive her on the frontiers. It was not long after this, that the whole scene of foreign and domestic treachery disclosed itself. Don Alonso de la Cerda; returned out of *France* into *Arragon*, where, having confirmed the cession he made of the kingdom of *Murcia* to that monarch, he furnished him with an army to march into *Castile* <sup>e</sup>. The probability of his recovering that kingdom was indeed very great; the king of *Arragon* embarked the whole forces of his realm in his quarrel, the kings of *France*, *Portugal*, and *Granada*, were his allies; and, besides these foreign confederates, he had very good friends in the country to which he laid claim, such as the first queen dowager Donna Yolanda, his grandmother, the Infant Don Juan, whom he had purchased with the promise of the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Galicia*, and Don Juan de Lara, who had formerly betrayed, and was now just reconciled to the queen

<sup>b</sup> Chronica general de España. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. RODERICO SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. <sup>c</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. <sup>d</sup> Chron. de los Moros de España. <sup>e</sup> ZURITA Annal Arragon. RODERICO SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica general de España.

and the regent<sup>f</sup>. As soon as they were ready to act, the Infant Don Juan, with the lords of his party, sent to give the king and his mother notice, that they renounced their fidelity, and so went to join his competitor.

THE first step was to put the Infant Don Juan in possession of the dominions promised him, which was performed without difficulty, and he proclaimed king at *Leon*<sup>g</sup>. The army of the allies, as it was called, then marched to *Sahagun*, Castile, where Don *Alonso* was proclaimed king of *Castile*<sup>h</sup>; the queen Donna *Maria*, in the absence of the regent, commanded Don *Diego Ramirez*, and Don *Garcia Fernandez de Soto Major*, to throw themselves with a body of good troops into the town of *Majorga*, which lies at the distance of five leagues from *Leon*. Don *Alonso de la Cerda* was for marching directly to *Burgos*; but the Infant Don Juan advised him not to leave *Majorga* behind him, upon which they laid siege to it. This advice was prudent, but it had a bad effect. The town was not well fortified, and therefore they attempted it by assault; failing in that, they were obliged to attack it in form<sup>i</sup>. In the mean time the regent Don *Henry* went to put himself at the head of the troops in *Andalusia*, in order to cover that country from the king of *Granada*, who entered it with a powerful army, beat, and would have taken him prisoner, if he had not been relieved by Don *Alonso Perez*. Upon this, the regent made a peace with the *Moors*, but on terms so bad, that the queen refused to ratify them<sup>k</sup>. Donna *Yoland* made an attempt upon *Valladolid*, which served only to shew her inclinations and her weakness; for the inhabitants shut their gates against her, and she was constrained to withdraw<sup>l</sup>.

AT length an epidemic disease, produced by the great heats, broke out in the army of the allies, and forced them to raise the siege of *Majorga*; the *Aragonese* retired into their own country, with the dead body of the Infant Don *Pedro*, who had commanded them, and Don *Alonso de la Cerda* went with them<sup>m</sup>. As for the Infant Don Juan and Don *Juan de Lara*, they retired to *Simancas*, where they joined the king of *Portugal*, who had taken some places in that neighbourhood.

*The confederates invade with numerous armies, but without effect.*

*Tarefa defended by Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, till the Moors raise the siege.*

<sup>f</sup> ZURITA. Annal Arragon. R. DANIEL. BRANDAON. Chron. del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. <sup>g</sup> Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS. <sup>h</sup> RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. <sup>i</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. <sup>k</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana, <sup>l</sup> Chronica general de Espana. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. <sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ZURITA. Annal Arragon.

There a proposition was made to cut matters short, by besieging the king and his mother in *Valladolid*. The project was plausible and practicable; but Don *Juan de Lara* suddenly declared that neither he nor any that belonged to him should act immediately against the persons of the king and queen, which put an end to the scheme<sup>n</sup>. On the side of *Murcia*, the king of *Aragon* acted in person, and on his own behalf, which might perhaps be the reason that things took a different turn there; so that he reduced *Alicant*, and several of the most considerable places in that kingdom<sup>o</sup>. The king of *Granada*, extremely irritated at the queen's rejecting the peace he had concluded with the Infant Don *Henry*, came with a numerous army in the autumn before *Tarifa*, which, however, he was not able to reduce, neither could his good friend the Infant Don *Henry* prevail upon the states, though he laboured it with great industry, to send their orders to Don *Alonso Perez* to deliver it. The very proposal hurt him with the *Castilians*, though he pretended to qualify the demand, by his desire to abate their heavy taxes; and his desiring the queen to give him the revenues of two considerable towns, soon after entirely destroyed his credit, and put it out of his power to do the mischief that he intended<sup>p</sup>.

**Don Ferdinand, king of Castile, makes a treaty with Don Denis king of Portugal.** ALL the true patriots who had the interest of their country, and that only at heart, studied how to restore the public tranquillity, and to deliver the state and themselves out of this distress. Don *Juan Fernandez de Limia* commanded on the frontier towards *Portugal*; and having framed in his mind a project which he thought might prove beneficial to both kingdoms, he desired an interview with Don *Juan d'Albuquerque*, who was the king of *Portugal's* favourite, to whom, when he had communicated his scheme, he promised to give it all the countenance that was in his power, which he executed with all the punctuality worthy of a man of his rank. The issue of this business was, that in an interview between the royal families at *Alcanizas*, a peace was concluded between the two crowns, upon condition that Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile* should marry the Infanta Donna *Constantia* of *Portugal*, as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from *Rome*; that the prince of *Portugal*, Don *Alonso*, should espouse the Infanta Donna *Beatrix* of *Castile*; and that, for certain reasons expressed in the treaty, and which would have been better expressed by

<sup>n</sup> BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. FERREIRA Historia de España, p. vi. sec. xiii. <sup>o</sup> ZURITA. Annal Aragon <sup>p</sup> Chronica de los Moros de España. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERREKA.

the single word, *necessity*, several good towns, and a considerable district of country, should be yielded to the king of *Portugal*, who promised to assist Don *Ferdinand* with all his forces. On the conclusion of the treaty the two Infantas were exchanged, and the queen dowager, Donna *Maria*, was in hopes that, by the assistance of the *Portuguese*, the war might have been carried on with greater vigour: but in this she promised herself too much, for those succours amounted to no more than 300 horse, under Don *Juan d'Albuquerque*, and they could not do much; indeed history does not inform us that they did any thing. The king of *Granada* was in the field some months, but we hear of no place that he took, except *Alcandeta*, in the mountains, which was of no great consequence.

A. D.  
1297.

THE queen dowager, Donna *Maria*, found means in the *This means* spring to obtain a considerable supply from the states at *Bur-* *sure fails* *gos*; and having a pretty good army in the field, directed them *of produce* to lay siege to *Ampudia*, in which Don *Juan de Lara* was *ing those* with a small garrison; the queen heard with surprize, that, *great ad-* though the place had been invested some days, the siege was *vantages* not far advanced; upon which she went thither in person, *expected* *from it.* suspecting, as the case really proved, that the fault was not in her forces, but in their generals. Upon her arrival in the camp, Don *Juan* quitted the place in the night, which surrendered the next day. Don *Denis* of *Portugal*, in pursuance of the late treaty, and at the request of the states, came with a considerable army to her assistance; yet he refused to act against the Infant Don *Juan*; and entering into the intrigues of the Infant Don *Henry*, proposed to the states, that the kingdom of *Galicia* should be left to the Infant Don *Juan*; but the states, apprized of the true ground of this proposal, *viz.* that the Infant Don *Henry* might be always necessary, and *Castile* a less formidable neighbour to *Portugal*, they rejected it; upon which the king sent assistance to Don *Juan*. The king of *Granada* had a superior army in the field, with which he was very near taking *Jaen*, the suburbs of which he burnt; and having amassed a large booty, and reduced the town of *Quesada*, he retired.

<sup>1</sup> BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica de los Moros de España. Chronica general de España. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

<sup>3</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

<sup>4</sup> Chronica de los Moros de España.

*Admirable  
conduct of  
the queen  
Donna  
Maria, by  
which the  
kingdom is  
preserved.*

THE prudence of the queen had removed many difficulties, and had hitherto kept the crown on the head of *Don Ferdinand*, her son ; but so many new enemies arose, and the old ones continued so implacable, that it seemed scarce possible for her to proceed in the way she had hitherto done. She was, however; indefatigable; and, with the greatest probity of mind, was so affable in her behaviour, and had such a dexterity in framing and in executing expedients, as rendered her superior to all the trials she met with. Some of her enemies insinuated that, her marriage being invalid, her children by the king were illegitimate. She took no notice of this at home, but directed the archbishop of *Toledo*, who was at *Rome*, to represent the matter to the pope in a proper light ; and he did this so effectually, that he procured a bull to confirm her marriage, and a cardinal's hat for himself. She found a very mercenary spirit amongst many of the nobility who had hitherto adhered to her, but were continually wanting rewards for their loyalty ; these she gratified as well as she was able, and returned them abundance of good words for their bad behaviour. But the Infant *Don Henry* exceeded them all in quality of regent ; he was covetous and corrupt, he was, besides, very perfidious and very susceptible of offence. The queen behaved to him with great respect herself, and engaged her son to do the like ; but she took care that the people should know his true character ; and this made him less dangerous, though not less deceitful. She found money difficult to be got, and yet, by managing it frugally, and laying the accounts punctually before the states, she obtained whatever she thought proper to ask. But what gave her more trouble than any other, indeed than all the rest, was, the intelligence that the malecontents had in almost all the great towns in the king's dominions. To balance this, she visited many of them with him in person, and to those she suspected most, she sent her children, which fully answered her intention ; for the people, charmed with the confidence that the queen reposed in them, did, out of pride, what they ought to have done out of duty.

A. D.  
1299.

*Strange  
behaviour  
of the In-  
fant Don  
Henry, in  
public and  
private  
life.*

A GENERAL assembly of the states being held at *Valladolid*, the accounts given by the queen were so clear, and her necessities so pressing and so apparent, that they granted her thrice the usual sum at once, a great part of which the Infant *Don Henry* laid his hands upon, under pretence of going to take the command of the army against the *Moors*. The scheme of his campaign was to purchase a peace, by giving up *Tarifa*, that he might put most of this money in his pocket ; but the queen took care to apprize the officers of the army he was to command

command of his sinister designs, which they took care to defeat". Don Juan de Lara, after making a journey to very little purpose into *France*, returned into *Navarre*, and from thence made an expedition into *Castile*, in which his troops were routed by Don Juan Alonso de Haro, and himself taken prisoner, which happened well for the queen, and better for him". Her army was then before *Palencuela*, into which he had thrown a garrison; but those who commanded the queen's army were so much his friends, that in all probability it had not been taken, if the queen had not sent for her prisoner into the camp, and prevailed upon him to give his orders for opening the gates. The Infant Don Henry, having thrust himself into this negotiation, was so taken with the beauty of Don Juan's daughter, whose grandfather he might have been, that he would needs marry her; which ceremony the queen graced with her presence, Don Juan being first set at liberty, who became once more the king's good subject, and rendered all his places into the queen's hands. Towards the close of this year; the old queen dowager, Donna Yoland, died in her return from *Rome*, in the kingdom of *Navarre* \* (N).

A. D.  
1300.

THE

\* RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron. var. antiq.  
 w Chronica general de Espana. \* Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. sec. xiii.

(N) We have a very strong contrast in the characters of these two queen dowagers of *Spain*, than whom there could scarce be any two women more unlike; for Donna Violente had a great hand in exciting all the troubles that disturbed her husband's, her son's, and her grandson's reigns. A very judicious and well esteemed historian has branded her for her gallantries, which, without doubt, he would not have done, if they had not been very notorious (9). She had a particular kindness for the Infant Don Juan; though, of all her children, he was un-

doubtedly the most unworthy; and there is great probability, that it was for his sake, rather than for that of her grandchildren, that she attempted to increase the disturbances in *Castile*, by soliciting the people to revolt from the service of the king and his mother (10). It appears, however, that she had very little interest, and rather discovered an inclination to do mischief, than a capacity of doing it; though it is not impossible that she might put her son in possession of those places that were left her for her dowry. Whether she resided afterwards

(9) Zurita. *Annal Aragon.*  
 Ferreras.

(10) *Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV.*

The king of  
Arragon,  
in conse-  
quence of  
his in-  
trigues  
with the  
Infants,  
invades  
Castile.

THE king of Portugal, being very desirous to have the double marriage actually accomplished, desired an interview with the queen Donna Maria, to which she readily consented, and there all the measures necessary were concerted. Upon this, she summoned an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*, where every thing passed with such regularity, and such immense sums were granted for the support of the young king, that the Infant Don Juan, who hitherto had stiled himself king of *Leon* and *Galicia*, and was actually in possession of some part of both countries, thought it most for his interest to renounce those titles, to which indeed he had no just pretensions, and to make the best terms for himself he could; which, having done, he came to the assembly of the states, did homage to the king, and swore to the established succession.

✓ *Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.*

in that part of the kingdom of *Leon* that acknowledged the Infant Don Juan, or whether, notwithstanding what she had done, she returned again to the court of *Castile*, is not very clear; but we have good reason to believe that there was, at least, as much of discontent as of devotion in her journey to *Rome*, where, however, she was well received by pope Boniface the eighth, who established the jubilee, and countenanced, at least, an opinion, which nothing but the superstition of those times could have rendered credible, that whoever visited the tombs of the apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, might obtain full and free pardon for all their sins (11). In this respect it may be the queen dowager Donna Violente might have her reasons, as well as other great personages who went thither the same year: but in all probability, the fatigue of such a journey was too great for a

person so far advanced in years, and might occasion her falling sick as she passed the *Pyrenees* in her return, and after a short illness died at *Roncevaux*, where she was likewise interred, which is the reason that her death is not mentioned by several of the *Spanish* historians. The celebrated Bayle (12), following Mariana, who was misled by another historian, upon whom the greatest blame ought to lie, has made some severe reflections on the king Don Alonso's character, as to the usage of this princess, which are not at all founded in truth, as we have shewn in the text; and this is the more extraordinary, since he might easily have perceived the contradiction, even in his own account; for how is it possible for a prince to use his wife unkindly, and desire to be rid of her, and be at the same time uxorious to a ridiculous degree.

(11) Rainald. A. D. 1300. Villani, Hist. Florent. lib. viii. c. 36. (12) See the article of *Alphonso* king of *Castile*, in his dictionary.

After



After all this, in conjunction with the Infant Don *Henry*, instead of obeying the queen's orders, he went to confer with the king of *Arragon*, with whom the two Infants made a secret and scandalous agreement, that, in consideration of his supporting them in their respective schemes, they would procure him the cession of the kingdom of *Murcia* <sup>2</sup>. In the mean time, the bishop of *Burgos*, whom the queen had sent to *Rome*, procured, but not without a vast expence, the bulls and dispensations for which he was sent, which, upon his return, were publickly read in the cathedral church of *Burgos* <sup>2</sup>. The king of *Arragon*, however, in pursuance of the intrigues between him and the two Infants, invaded *Castile*; and though the people and the army were perfectly disposed to do what was fit for them to have done for the service of the king and kingdom, yet the private views of the nobility spoiled all. While the army of *Arragon* besieged *Lorca*, that of *Castile* remained altogether inactive, and this notwithstanding all the pains the queen took to prevent it <sup>b</sup>.

A. D.  
1301.

AFTER a siege of many months, the governor of *Lorca* entered into an agreement, that, in case the place was not relieved in fifty days, he would deliver it to the king of *Arragon*. The queen pressed the Infants to march with the army to its relief, which they at first declined, and at last refused; upon this, she put herself at the head of the army, and the Infants were obliged to follow her, though very unwillingly. They had, however, scarce taken the field, before they had intelligence that *Lorca*, though the time was not expired, was through treachery surrendered <sup>c</sup>. This, though a very bad action, was much exceeded by the Infants Don *Juan* and Don *Henry*, who suffered the king of *Arragon* to retire when they had him much in their power. The queen knew, but could not prevent this act of infidelity. Providence soon after enabled her to return the injury in the same way; for, by countenancing the malecontents in *Arragon*, she brought that monarch, of his own accord, to offer to evacuate *Murcia*, if she would grant him the single town and fortress of *Alicant*, which she refused, from a firm persuasion that it would be very soon in her power to recover, for her son, all that had been lost during a minority full of confusion <sup>d</sup>. Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, perceiving how

<sup>2</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>a</sup> RAINALD. Chronica general de Espana. <sup>b</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>c</sup> Chronica general de Espana. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>d</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

desperate

desperate his affairs were grown, left *Arragon*, in order to solicit assistance in *France*, where he found it utterly out of the king's power, how much soever it might be in his intention. The affairs of the church being in great disorder, Don *Gonçales Diaz Palamec*, archbishop of *Toledo*, held a council of his suffragans at *Penafiel*, in which many regulations were made, and, amongst the rest, it was intimated to the Infant Don *Henry*, that if he did not restore the places he had taken from the church, they would proceed to excommunicate him, and that they would do the same to any who should commit the like outrages for the future<sup>e</sup>.

*The Infant Don Juan* As the Infant Don *Juan* loved to fish in troubled waters, as he found a very ready associate in Don *Juan de Lara*, and found no great difficulty in drawing the Infant Don *Henry* into his projects, they, by the help of Don *Gonçales Gomez de Caldelas*, who was of his bed-chamber, insinuated to the young king, that he was too much a man to live under the restrictions of a nursery; and that, if he meant to make his subjects consider him, or desired to live, as a king, he ought to leave his mother, and live as he liked. The young king, like most other young kings, listened to these plausible offers, eloped, while the queen was gone to *Victoria*, to prevent, by a conference with the *French* viceroy of *Navarre*, a war on that side, and went to the lords<sup>f</sup>. It was not long before the Infant Don *Henry* found that he had mistaken his man; and that he had lost more by this revolution than the queen, to whom he returned, and exclaimed bitterly against those who had seduced their sovereign, and offered to have recourse to arms, on his own and her majesty's behalf. The queen, on the other hand, behaved herself, and, at last, taught him to behave, with moderation. The favourites engaged the king to celebrate his marriage with Donna *Constantia*, which the queen would not permit, till the king of *Portugal* restored those places he had taken from the kingdom of *Leon*, when the solemnity was performed with great magnificence<sup>g</sup>. Thus far things went well; but when an assembly of the states came to be held at *Valladolid*, matters wore another aspect. The people of the town were for shutting their gates, if the queen had not prevented it; and the deputies refused to assist without her consent.

1303.

<sup>e</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana.

<sup>f</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

<sup>g</sup> BRANDAON. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana.

AFTER

AFTER all this, the favourites attacked her conduct in that *Are obliged* assembly; insisted upon the restitution of the late king's jewels, which she had given to the Infanta Donna Elizabeth, and *to court her* favour to upon having a strict account of what had been expended in the *gain their* maintenance of her household; she complied with both *demands in* demands, and, when all things were at a stand, procured, by *the assembly* her influence, a free gift of two millions of marvadies, and *bly of the* four subsidies<sup>h</sup>. Upon the dissolution of that assembly, and *states.* after holding the states of *Castile* at Burgos, where, by the like means, the like grants were obtained, the king went to *Palencia*, where Don Alonso, the son of the Infant Don Juan, married Donna Teresa, the sister of Don Juan de Lara<sup>i</sup>. After this he entered into a kind of league or confederacy with these great lords, which so exasperated Don Henry, that he insisted upon the queen's entering into a like confederacy with him and Don Lopez de Haro, with which measure, for her own sake, she was obliged to comply; upon which the most considerable of the nobility resorted to her at *Valladolid*, from all quarters, to offer her their services<sup>k</sup>. This alarmed the favourites to such a degree, that they prevailed upon the king to go thither to try to pacify his mother. The queen received him with great kindness; but spoke to him with the utmost freedom; shewed him how much she had done for him, and how much he had done against himself; and concluded with telling him, that he would do well to guard against the result of his own confederacy; but that he had nothing to fear, with respect to his person or authority, from that of which his follies had compelled her to become the head<sup>l</sup>.

His favourites, being still in fear, pressed Don Ferdinand to *Death of* confer with his father-in-law the king of *Portugal*, at Badajoz, the Infant under pretence that he would give him a sum of money, by way *Don Hen-* of portion with the queen, which, at the conference, appeared *ry, and ge-* to have no foundation; but however, the king, being *nerous be-* acquainted with his son-in-law's expectation, gave him a million *haviour of* of marvadies, to prevent any coldness arising between him *the queen-* and his queen<sup>m</sup>. This interview so alarmed the Infant Don *dowager.* Henry and Don Diego de Haro, that they made a treaty with the king of *Arragon*, into which they would have drawn the

<sup>h</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

<sup>i</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana.

<sup>k</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

<sup>l</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

<sup>m</sup> BRANDON. Chron. var. antiq.

A. D.  
1304.

queen-mother; but she not only refused, but gave notice of to her son<sup>a</sup>. Immediately after the Infant Don *Hern* died without heirs, and the king instantly seized on all his estates; and so little care was taken of his body, that it has scarce been decently interred, had it not been for the queen who directed a funeral suitable to his rank as regent of the kingdom, at which she assisted in person, saying, upon the occasion, we ought to remember his birth, and forget his faults<sup>c</sup>. By her endeavours Don *Diego de Haro* was detached from that league into which he had entered; and, if the king would have followed her advice in all things, his affairs might have been restored; but he resembled his grandfather in the unsteadiness of his temper, and, by the advice of his favourites, concluded an alliance with the new king of *Granada*, who took the advantage of these troubles, and, like a wise prince, neglected nothing that might contribute to the prosperity of his subjects, and the establishment of his own affairs<sup>d</sup>.

*Treaties  
with the  
king of  
Arragon  
and the In-  
fants de la  
Cerde.*

THE king of *Arragon*, perceiving how prejudicial this scene of disturbance and confusion was to the interest of the Christians in *Spain*, proposed to the king of *Castile* concluding all differences between them by a solid and equitable peace, to which Don *Ferdinand* shewed himself very inclinable. Before any effectual measures could be taken on this head, Don *Diego de Haro*, after a very free expostulation with the king, by which, notwithstanding the interposition of the queen his mother, he could obtain nothing, broke out into an open insurrection, in conjunction with Don *Roderic de Castro*, a nobleman of great power in *Galicia*; but the latter being killed in one of his first exploits, the peace of the kingdom was, for the present, restored<sup>e</sup>. The king then sent the Infant Don *John* to regulate matters with the king of *Arragon*, and by them it was agreed, that all differences should be referred to an arbitrator on behalf of each of the kings, and an umpire, who was to moderate things between the arbitrators. Upon this plan the Infant Don *John* was to act for the king of *Castile*, the bishop of *Saragossa* for the king of *Arragon*, and the king of *Portugal* was to be the umpire; of all which Don *Ferdinand* gave notice to the queen his mother, desiring her consent, which she declined, but promised him not to oppose it. In consequence of this agreement, the king of *Portugal* came into *Castile*, and was received every-where with all possible magnificence: he then repaired to the place of conference, which

<sup>a</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica general de España.

<sup>c</sup> FERRERAS Hist. de España, part vii. sect. xiv.

nica de los Moros de España.

<sup>d</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

was

was *Campillo*, where things were quickly settled at the expence, as the queen dowager foresaw, of the king her son; for it was agreed, that the river *Segura* should be the common boundary between the dominions of the two monarchs in the kingdom of *Murcia*; so that not only the town and fortress of *Alicant*, but also several other places, and all the country on the north of that river, was yielded to the crown of *Aragon*<sup>r</sup>. This great affair decided, they proceeded to another, which was still of higher importance; for Don *Ferdinand* consented to refer the pretensions of the Infants *de la Cerda* to the kings of *Aragon* and *Portugal*, who determined that Don *Alonso de la Cerda* should have *Alba de Tormes*, *Bejar*, *Valdecarnea*, *Mançanares*, *Monçon*, *Gaton*, *Gibraeleon*, *Aljaba*, and other places, the revenue of which altogether was esteemed at four hundred thousand marvadies; that Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, his younger brother, should have the revenue of an Infant of *Spain*; and, on the other hand, the few places that Don *Alonso* still held were to be evacuated, and both brothers were to render homage to the king, previous to their reaping any benefit by this decision<sup>s</sup>. These great points over, all the three royal families met several times, feasted each other, and parted with all imaginable testimonies of the most perfect friendship.

A. D.  
1305.

THE king, Don *Ferdinand*, began now to have a clearer notion of things, and to be able to form a better judgment of men; but he still had his favourites, though the Infant Don *John* and Don *Juan de Lara* were no longer such: he was also very desirous of power, though hitherto he had enjoyed but a very limited authority. In order to compass these points, he found it absolutely necessary to bring back Don *Diego Lopez de Haro* to his duty, for he began to perceive the truth of what his mother had often told him, that he was a person of greater honour, and more to be depended upon, than any of the rest. The point in difference was between him and Don *Juan*, who claimed to be the heir of *Biscay* in right of his wife, the daughter of Don *Lopez de Haro*, Don *Diego's* elder brother. On the other side, Don *Diego* insisted upon his right as the heir male, and also in virtue of an agreement made with the Infant Don *Juan* and his wife, by which an equivalent was stipulated, and to the strict performance of which they had sworn. For the decision of this dispute, an assembly of the states was called, but they rose without determining any

Don Ferdi-  
nand finds  
himself  
obliged to  
court Don  
Diego Lo-  
pez de  
Haro.

<sup>r</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. BRANDAON.

<sup>s</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. BRANDAON. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

thing, Don Diego being in possession of *Biscay*, and fully determined to keep it <sup>t</sup>. Don Juan de Lara also, being offended with the Infant Don Juan, for not taking care of his interests in the treaty with the king of *Arragon*, entered into a close alliance with Don Diego de Haro, which offended the king extremely, as through certain stories that had been told him, which, however, were false, he had conceived an extreme dislike to Don Juan, whom he seems to have fixed upon already for an example to the rest of the nobility, that, by his punishment, they might be taught obedience.

1306.  
Attempts  
to reduce  
Don Juan  
de Lara  
by force of  
arms, in  
which he  
fails.

THE king, Don Ferdinand, laboured first to detach Don Diego de Haro from that close alliance he had contracted with Don Juan de Lara; in order to which, he proposed making his son, Don Lopez de Haro, master of his household; which post his father did not hinder him from accepting, but refused entering into any engagements either to procure or preserve it <sup>u</sup>. On the contrary, he brought Don Juan de Lara, after this, to court, and laboured all in his power to reconcile him to his master, which was also done in appearance. But, notwithstanding this agreement, the king, who could no longer bridle his temper, marched with a body of his own troops, and with another, commanded by the Infant Don Juan, tho' his mother laboured all she could to prevent it, against Don Juan de Lara, at *Arahda*. He was very hard pressed; but found means to escape, and, which must have astonished the monarch of *Castile*, passed through the midst of his camp with an escort of horse, in order to join Don Diego and Don Lopez de Haro, who were come, with a great body of forces, to his assistance. The king marched against them with his army, being extremely provoked at a message from the two lords, importing, that, as he made war upon them, he ought to release their allegiance <sup>v</sup>. The king's army beginning to crumble away, and those that remained acting rather according to their own notions than in obedience to orders, the Infant Don Juan, by the king's command, began to reprove some of the gentlemen who served therein; upon which they told him, that it was not the king's quarrel, but his; and that, since he was become weary of their company, they were very willing to leave him. As soon as the king observed this, he had recourse again to negotiation, and, by the interposition of the queen his mother, all things were at last adjusted upon these terms, that Don Diego de Haro should hold *Biscay* during his life, and that, upon his demise, that country, a very

1307.

<sup>t</sup> Chron. var. antiq.  
part iv. FERRERAS.

<sup>u</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan.  
<sup>v</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando  
IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

few

few places excepted, should belong to the Infant Don Juan and his wife, or to their heirs \*.

THIS treaty, which had been made with a great deal of secrecy, did not become public till the assembly of the states, held in the month of April, at Valladolid, was called upon to ratify and confirm it. This had such an effect on the temper of Don Juan de Lara, who considered it as a scheme laid for his destruction, that he quitted the place abruptly, after giving some public testimonies of discontent †. The queen-mother was, for the first time, misled, and gave her son advice which he and she both had reason to repent; and this was, to carry things to extremity against Don Juan, as the most effectual means to restore some lustre to the royal authority. Don Juan, having early intelligence of this, threw himself into the fortrefs of *Tordehumos*, with a small body of good troops: the king quickly invested him, and, though he made a very stout defence, brought him so low, that he was obliged to demand a conference with the Infant Don Juan. At this meeting he put the Infant in mind of their former friendship; observed, that though himself might be the first, it was not probable he should be the last victim; and that it was very unnatural for wise men to be the authors of their own destruction. This had its effect; the Infant Don Juan proposed very high terms to the king, in the name of Don Juan de Lara, and, upon his rejecting them, as he expected, insinuated to all the nobility, that the king was bent upon taking Don Juan's life, who, though a victim to justice in his eyes, ought to appear a martyr in theirs; upon which they unanimously shewed an inclination to change sides, Don Diego de Haro only excepted. The king, seeing things in this situation, desired him to interpose with Don Juan, and to advise him to come and ask his pardon, which he very readily did; and the king, having received him into favour, bent all his thoughts to the humbling the Infant Don Juan, who had been the principal author of all the disturbances during his reign ‡. About this time the knights Templars, who were prosecuted throughout all Europe, surrendered all their possessions in Spain to the Infant Don Philip, till the suit against them should be determined; and this involved him in a quarrel with the Infant Don Juan, who pretended that some of his vassals had been oppressed and injured by the Infant Don Philip, for the redress of which he had recourse to arms.

1308.

\* Chron. var. antiq. † Chronica general de Espana.  
 ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ‡ Chronica del Rey  
 Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

Engages in  
a war  
with the  
Moors,  
but with-  
out any re-  
markable  
success.

THE king, by the advice of his mother, neglected nothing that might engage that prince to return to his duty, which, however, was no very easy task; and, after a long negotiation, Don Juan prevailed, or, to speak with propriety, forced upon the king a change of measures and of ministers, whom he removed and replaced at his pleasure <sup>a</sup>. This done, the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon* had an interview at the monastery of *Huerta*, where it was agreed that prince *James* of *Aragon* should marry the Infanta *Leonora* of *Castile*; that both monarchs should make war on the *Moors*; and that they should send ambassadors to *Rome*, to procure such bulls from the pope as might, in some measure, supply the necessary expence <sup>b</sup>. In pursuance of these resolutions, the king of *Castile* took the field with a very numerous army, after he had dispatched Don *Juan de Lara* to *Rome* as his ambassador. He had also a good fleet at sea, which induced him to change the first plan of operation, and to besiege *Algeriza*, which was become exceeding strong, and was considered as one of the most important places that belonged to the king of *Granada*. While this siege was carried on, the king's army made various expeditions by detachments from before the place; in one of which they became masters of *Gibraltar*, then of no great consequence, and in another they lost Don *Alonso Perez de Guzman*, who had done so many and so great services to the crown of *Spain* <sup>c</sup>. They might also have taken *Algeriza*, if the Infant Don *Juan* had not abruptly quitted the siege, which induced many of the nobility to follow his example. Upon this the king of *Granada* offered Don *Ferdinand* a sum of money, together with *Quesada* and *Bedmar*, which had been recovered by the *Moors*, if he would conclude a separate peace, with which, finding himself unable to carry on the war, he complied <sup>d</sup>.

1309.

Forms a  
design to  
get Don  
Juan as-  
sinated,  
which  
proves  
abortive.

THE king, in his return from this campaign, meditated a strange design, which he thought requisite to his own safety, and this was removing out of the world the Infant Don *Juan*, from whom he had received so much vexation. He began with attaching Don *Juan de Lara*, who was returned from his embassy, to his service, by bestowing upon him the important post of master of his household; tho' in order to do this, he was obliged to remove the Infant Don *Pedro* his

<sup>a</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>b</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. RON.

SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>c</sup> Chronica de los Moros

de Espana. Chronica general de Espana.

<sup>d</sup> Chronica de

los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

brother.



brother<sup>e</sup>. The marriage of his sister the Infanta Donna Elizabeth with John duke of Bretagne, which was to be celebrated at Burgos, seemed to offer the king a fair opportunity of executing a design that nothing could justify. The queen-mother invited the Infant Don Juan to that solemnity, who was so cautious as to demand a safe-conduct, which the queen readily granted: the king, notwithstanding this, directed those, who had his orders to kill the Infant, to post themselves in such a manner, as to surprize him in his return from visiting the queen-mother. The preparations for this black affair could not be so secretly managed, but that they came to the ear of this princess, who thought herself bound in honour to give notice of his danger to the Infant Don Juan, who fled privately out of the city, and was followed by many of the nobility, who did not know what designs might be formed against them<sup>f</sup>. This attempt upon the Infant Don Juan rendered him more powerful, and not at all less troublesome, than before; so that the king was obliged to have recourse to the pope, to whom he intimated, that some of his seditious subjects hindered him from making war upon the Infidels, and therefore desired, that authority might be given to some ecclesiastics to restrain them from troubling his government, by threatening them with the censures of the church; which favour he obtained<sup>g</sup>. On the third of August, the queen, Donna Constantia, was delivered of her son the Infant Don Alonso; but the joy occasioned thereby was quickly clouded by the king's falling dangerously sick at Palencia, from which, however, he recovered, contrary to the opinion of his physicians<sup>h</sup>. The heavy accusations brought against the knights Templars being thoroughly examined, in a council held at Salamanca for that purpose, the order was acquitted, to the great honour of that assembly, which equally disregarded private views and popular clamour. A revolution also happened in Granada, where the king Mohammed Aben-Alhamar, who was blind, was deposed, and thrust into prison, and his brother Mohammed Aben-Nazar placed upon the throne<sup>k</sup>.

THE kings of Castile and Arragon, having an interview at Calatayud, agreed upon another marriage between the Infant Don Pedro, the king's brother, and Dona Maria, daughter to the king of Arragon<sup>l</sup>. The queen-mother, Donna Ma-

A. D.  
1310.

<sup>e</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan.

<sup>f</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. ubi sup.

<sup>g</sup> RAINALD.

de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>h</sup> Chronica general

<sup>i</sup> FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vii. sect. xy.

<sup>k</sup> Chronica de

los Moros de Espana.

<sup>l</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD.

SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

*detrimen- ria, with the assistance of several prelates, brought about a re-*  
*of the king conciliation between the king and the Infant Don Juan and*  
*and king- his party, which had like to have proved fatal to this mon-*  
*dom. arch ; for having invited them to a supper, and exceeding a*  
*little in his usual course of diet, he was seized with a distem-*  
*per which, not without imminent danger, he escaped m. But,*  
*notwithstanding this agreement, new disputes quickly arose,*  
*and Don Juan de Lara, doubting of his safety, retired into*  
*Portugal. The prudence of the queen-mother prevented this*  
*flame from breaking out ; but, however, the measures con-*  
*certed with the king of Arragon for renewing the war against*  
*the Moors, was, for the present, hindered by these jealousies*  
*from being put in execution n. The king of Castile reclaim-*  
*ed from the king of Portugal the places given up, in his mino-*  
*rity, by the Infant Don Henry ; and the king his father-in-law,*  
*to prevent disputes, offered to leave all the matters in differ-*  
*ence to the king of Arragon, which was accepted ; but it*  
*seems the great point of Don Ferdinand was to get a little mo-*  
*ney, to procure which he mortgaged to the crown of Portugal*  
*Badajos and some other places, as the Portuguese historians*  
*inform us o.*

1311.

*Death of*  
*Don Fer-*  
*dinand*  
*IV. of*  
*Castile, as*  
*some think,*  
*by Divine*  
*judgment.*

THE factions and disturbances which had hitherto limited the king's power and inclinations, being in some measure appeased, the king laid before the states, at *Valladolid*, the expediency of renewing the war with the *Moors*, and proposed to them a plan for that purpose ; with which they were so well pleased, as to take upon themselves the whole expence of the campaign p. The Infant Don *Pedro* was declared general and commander in chief, and, in that quality, assembled the forces on the frontiers of *Andalusia*, and in the beginning of the month of *June* laid siege to *Alcaudeta* in the mountains. The king, Don *Ferdinand*, when the siege was pretty far advanced, set out for the army, and fixed his quarters at *Martos*, a place at a small distance from the camp: here he found Don *Pedro* and Don *Juan de Carvajal* prisoners, who were charged with killing Don *Juan Alonso de Benavides*, as he came out of the royal apartments, one evening, at *Palencia* q. The king was no sooner informed of this, than he ordered them to be thrown over the rock, without any form of trial. The

m Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

n Chronica general de Espana. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

o EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. BRANDAON.

p Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada, par MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

q ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana.

two brothers protested their innocence, of which they affirmed they could give the clearest proofs, but to no purpose. When they came to die, they summoned the king to answer for this act of injustice, at the tribunal of Almighty God, in thirty days<sup>1</sup>. The king went to the camp, where he found the siege so far advanced, that there could be no doubt of his becoming master of it very soon; however, finding himself indisposed, he thought proper to retire to *Jaen*, where he signed the capitulation on the fifth of *September*, and also a peace with the king of *Granada*, on certain conditions, with which he seemed very much pleased, and he was thought to be out of danger<sup>2</sup>. But having taken some refreshment on the seventeenth, and falling afterwards asleep, his domestics, when they came to wake him, perceived that he was dead; and what *Ferreras* observes was thought very remarkable by the old historians: this was the thirtieth day from the death of the two brothers. He farther observes, that we ought not from hence to pronounce rashly concerning either his guilt or theirs (O). As his whole reign had been a series of confusions,

A. B.  
1312.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. var. antiq. *Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.* <sup>2</sup> *FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part. vii. sect. xiv. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. por HERRERA.*

(O) We find this matter of *Don Ferdinand's* death very cautiously treated by *Mariana* (1), who, on the one hand, informs us, that the king was infirm; that he was too much addicted to the pleasures of the table; that he had, more than once, ran the hazard of dying suddenly before of such excesses; and that many think he died of such an excess now (2). These facts are fairly collected from ancient histories. On the other side it appears, that, in the first transports of his passion, the king was exceedingly violent; and that some of his courtiers knew well enough how to excite these transports, and were wicked enough to avail themselves of them against such as they were willing to remove (3). There prevailed at that time a very strong opinion, arising very probably from executions apparently unjust, that such adjudications to the tribunal of God were answered by a particular interposition of Providence; and this, *Mariana* says, was the common notion with respect to pope *Clement* the fifth and *Philip* the Fair of *France*, whom the knights *Templars* summoned to appear and answer before God for the crying acts of injustice done to them in this world (4). But he ob-

(1) *Historia de Espana, lib. xiv.*(2) *Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV.*(3) *Mariana Hist. de Espana, lib. xv.*(4) *Idem. Ibid.*

sions, so his death proved the cause of still greater mischiefs, as it made way for another minority, before those evils were in any degree removed that had been introduced during the last; and when there were many of those living who, from motives of ambition and private interest, had been the principal actors in the disorders of the two last reigns, and who, though farther advanced in years, were not at all better disposed towards each other, or towards the public, which gave those who had its safety and prosperity really at heart a most melancholy prospect

*A schism in the assembly of the states, and two regents thereupon chosen.*

A. D.  
1313.

THE young king, Don *Alonso*, was scarce entered into the third year of his age, when the death of his father placed him upon the throne; and the prudence of his grandmother recommended him to the care of the bishop of *Avila*, and the inhabitants of that town, who were distinguished even in Spain for their unalterable affection to their sovereigns<sup>t</sup>. That princefs having declined the regency, the two principal pretenders to that high office were the Infant Don *Pedro* and the Infant Don *Juan*, each of whom came with an army into the neighbourhood of *Palencia*, where the states were assembled, in order to fix their choice, which, notwithstanding the utmost pains taken by some true patriots, was found impracticable; so that one party retiring to the convent of St. *Francis*, voted the tutelage and regency to the queen-dowager, Donna *Maria*, and her son the Infant Don *Pedro*; while those who met at the convent of St. *Paul*, bestowed their suffrages on the queen-dowager Donna *Constantia*, and the Infant Don *Juan*<sup>u</sup>. Both parties had recourse to arms; and both endeavoured to

<sup>t</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, por Don JUAN NUNEZ DE VILLASAN. / FERRERAS Historia de España, part vii. sect. xiv.*    <sup>u</sup> *Chron. var. antiq. Rop. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.*

serves, with regard to the fact before us, it admits of no doubt at all, that is to say, that two brothers certainly summoned the king, fixed the period of thirty days, on the last of which the king died (5); and from hence, in the old *Spanish* chronicles, he is called Don *Fernando el Emplazado* (6), that is Don *Ferdi-*

*mand who was impleaded, or called to answer.* In cases of this nature historians cannot be too precise, tho' at the same time this precision does not at all clear the doubt, whether the king died in an ordinary or extraordinary manner, but ascertains the fact only that he was summoned and did die on the thirtieth day (7).

(5) *Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. c. 10.*

*gnal de España, lib. xv.*

(7) *Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. c. 10.*

*Mariana. Mayerne Turquet. Ferreras. P. a' Orleans. Abbé Vayrac.*

get the person of the young king into their hands, in which, however, neither prevailed; but, towards the end of the year, the queen-dowager, Donna *Constantia*, dying suddenly, opened a prospect of accommodation; and the troubles that broke out amongst the *Moors* hindered them from reaping any advantage from those which at present distracted the Christians <sup>w</sup>.

THE queen, having nothing at heart but the public tranquillity, earnestly solicited the two Infants to consent to some agreement for that purpose, which she at last brought to bear by her influence over Don *Juan*; and it was stipulated between them, that the custody of the king's person, and the care of his education, should be left intirely to the queen, and that the regents should exercise that authority respectively in the places by the votes of which they were chosen <sup>x</sup>. In the spring of the succeeding year, this agreement was solemnly confirmed by an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*; the people of *Avila* resigned the king's person to the care of the queen his grandmother, who carried him to *Toro* <sup>y</sup>. The Infant Don *Pedro* embarked in the civil-war of *Granada*, and behaved himself with great reputation <sup>z</sup>. In the month of *September* there was another assembly of the states at *Carrion*, where they obliged both the regents to give security for so much of the public money as should come to their hands, and for exhibiting, as often as required, a distinct and just account <sup>a</sup>. The Infant Don *Juan* saw, with envy and chagrin, the high reputation the Infant Don *Pedro* had obtained, and therefore hindered his drawing any troops out of the kingdom of *Leon*, and the rest of the provinces under his jurisdiction; which, however, did not prevent his making a campaign with as much, or rather more, honour than he had acquired by the last <sup>b</sup>. These successes were far from lessening the envy of the Infant Don *Juan*, who began to take umbrage at the expence. Don *Pedro* thereupon applied himself to pope *John* the twenty-second, who directed the archbishop of *Toledo*, and two other prelates, to publish the croisade, and to raise a large sum of money upon the clergy, for the support of the war; by which *Ishmael* king of *Granada* found himself so much pressed, that he demanded succours of the king of *Fex*, and, to facilitate the receiving them, put *Algeriza* and several other places into his hands, which gave the Christians much

*The In-*  
*fants Don*  
*Juan and*  
*Don Philip*  
*assume the*  
*admini-*  
*stration.*

1314.

1315.

1316.

<sup>w</sup> Chronica general de Espana.<sup>x</sup> Chronica del Rey

Don Alonso el Ouzeno, por Don JUAN NUNEZ DE VILLASAN.

<sup>y</sup> Chron. var. antiq.<sup>z</sup> Chronica general de Espana.<sup>a</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.<sup>b</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

concern, and, it is probable, the Infant Don Juan some pleasure.

1317.  
The pope  
sends over  
a legate to  
compose  
the fac-  
tious dis-  
putes in  
Spain.

THE Infant Don Juan, who had hitherto troubled himself no farther about the war, than to impede it, no sooner perceived that, in virtue of the pope's bull, it produced money than he demanded a share of it; and this naturally excited fresh disputes. The queen-regent, however, and the pope's nuncio, interposed with some effect. An assembly of the states being held at *Valladolid*, the two Infants assisted therein, and, to the surprize of most of the nobility, gave unquestionable tokens of their being thoroughly reconciled: upon which it was determined, that the pope's bull's being general, the tax upon the clergy should be levied throughout the whole kingdom, and received by both regents, who, for the future, should equally concur in the military service, as well as in the direction of the civil government; which proposition being cheerfully accepted by the Infant Don Juan, he began to raise forces throughout the whole extent of his government, which, on the other hand, was highly agreeable to the Infant Don Pedro, who found the *Moors*, in consequence of the supplies they had received from *Barbary*, much superior to any troops that it was in his power to bring into the field. A circumstance that might have had very dangerous consequences to the common cause of the Christians.

1318.

Christians  
defeated by  
the Moors,  
and both  
the In-  
fants die  
on the  
spot.

IN the spring of the succeeding year, the Infant Don Pedro assembled his troops in the kingdom of *Jaen*, and made himself master of *Piscar*, in which, through some degree of negligence, the *Moors* had but a very small garrison; and as soon as he was informed that Don Juan, with the forces under his command, was arrived in *Andalusia*, he marched without delay to join them at *Baena*. They proceeded from thence into the kingdom of *Granada*; and, having taken *Mora*, plundered all the country in the neighbourhood of the capital, till the *Moorish* army, being completely assembled under the command of *Ozmín*, a very brave and experienced general, advanced towards them in order of battle, which the Infants did not decline. The two armies appeared in sight of each other on the twenty-seventh of *June*. The Infant Don Juan was on the right, with the forces of *Leon* and *Galiccia*, the military orders, and the troops of the archbishops of *Toledo* and *Seville*; the Infant Don Pedro on the left, with

\* *Chronica general de España*. RAINALD. d *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno*. FERRERAS *Historia de España*, part vii. sect. xiv.

\* *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan.* part iv. f *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno*.

*Chronica de los Moros de España*.

the veteran forces that had been accustomed for so many years to fight and conquer in these wars. The *Moors*, it is said, made their principal effort against Don *Juan*, upon a supposition that his troops were fresh raised. But we can scarce depend on what the *Spanish* authors say of this battle, which they acknowledge to have lost, but are unwilling to own that they were beat. They also admit that both the Infants died upon the spot, but assert that neither of them were killed. Don *Juan*, say they, finding his troops ready to give ground, sent to his colleague for a reinforcement, which the Infant Don *Pedro* immediately ordered; but, the troops refusing to obey, he rode from one corps to another, exhorted, menaced, beseeched, till, through passion and fatigue, he fell dead from his horse; the news of which being carried to Don *Juan*, produced the like effect on him; and upon this the army retired in the best order they could, leaving, however, the body of Don *Juan* upon the field, which the *Moors*, on their request, permitted them to search out the next day, in order to its being interred & (P).

THIS

& *Chronica de los Moros de Espana*. FERRERAS *Historia de Espana*, part vii. sect. xiv. MAYERNE TURQUET.

(P) The true circumstances of this battle, and of the manner in which the two infants lost their lives, are not easy to be collected, more especially from the antient historians (1). The most probable relation, however, is that of *Mariana's* (2), which the reader may compare with what is said in the text, and which, therefore, we should have placed there, if that author had cited his authorities. He tells us, that when the Infant Don *Juan* joined the army, which was very numerous, since there were no fewer than nine thousand horse in the field, he was resolved to advance into the neighbourhood of *Granada*, in order to attack the whole force

of the *Moors*, who, as he assures us, kept close within the place, and could not be provoked to fight on any terms. When the army had continued there all *Saturday* and *Sunday*, without performing any thing of consequence, and without being able to invest the place, it was found requisite, or rather necessary, on the *Monday*, to retire; the Infant Don *Pedro*, who had hitherto commanded the rear, being now in the van, and Don *John*, who had been all along in the front, having the command of the rear. It was then that *Ozmin* marched out of *Granada*, with five thousand horse, and a proportionable body of infantry, not with any thoughts of fight-

(1) *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ourseno*. *Chronica de los Moros de Espana*.  
(2) *Historia general de España*, lib. xv.

*This calamity re-  
vives the  
disputes  
and in-  
trigues  
which had  
been paci-  
fied.*

THIS disaster, for such it certainly was, and the victory plainly on the side of the *Moors*, had most terrible consequences; for the enemy made themselves masters of *Huesca* and several other places, ravaged the country about *Jaen*, and took the town but not the citadel of *Martos*, while those who ought to have been employed in the defence of their country were contending about the regency<sup>a</sup>. The number of these pretenders was greater than at the death of *Don Ferdinand*: of these the chief were the Infant *Don Philip*, uncle to the king, *Don Juan Emanuel*, who had the command of the frontier of *Murcia*, son to the Infant *Don Emanuel* and the Infanta *Donna Constantia* of *Arragon*, *Don Juan*, son to the Infant *Don Juan*, and *Don Ferdinand de la Cerda*, who was just reconciled to the court; and each of these endeavoured to raise forces, in order to support his claim by

<sup>a</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.*

ing, or at least of coming to a general engagement, but with a view to harraßs the Christians in their retreat. In order to do this the more effectually, *Ozmin* directed his march so, that the army of the Infants was obliged to move all day long without being able to come at any water, and this, as the weather was excessively hot, distressed them to the last degree; which, when *Ozmin* perceived, and that the two Infants persisted in this precipitate retreat, he caused several small bodies of horse to approach very near, and even to attack them, but with express orders to retire as soon as the Christians put themselves in a posture of defence, by which method having tired them gradually, till they were scarce able to move; at length, when it was evening, he attacked the rear-guard, and threw them speedily into confusion. It was then that the Infant *Don Pedro* faced about, and would have engaged the troops

he commanded to march to their relief; but they were so excessively fatigued, and withal so extremely provoked against the Infant *Don Juan*, whom they looked upon as the sole author of all their misfortunes, that they did not move; which threw *Don Pedro* into such a passion as quite overcame his spirits, weakened by long travel, extreme heat, and great thirst, so that he fell from his horse, being either struck with death, or killed by the fall; which fatal accident was the principal cause of that total route which followed, and that must naturally have been attended with a prodigious loss, and made way for the *Moors* recovering abundance of places that had been taken from them by the Christians but a little before, and which either were not fortified, or, upon the first news of this defeat, were abandoned, as was common enough on all sides in these wars (3).

(3) *Mayerne Turq. et Histoire general de España, liv. xiii.*



hint of arms <sup>1</sup>. Another singular event happened soon after, which was the marriage and divorce, on the same day, of the prince of *Arragon* and the Infanta *Leonora*; for as soon as the ceremony was over, the prince declared that what he had done was to oblige his father, and to comply with the terms of the treaty between the two crowns: that he took no exception whatever to the princess; but that, nevertheless, he was determined not to live with her; and soon after this abrupt parting with his wife, he publicly relinquished all right to the crown, which the states of the kingdom secured to his younger brother <sup>2</sup>.

A. D.  
1319.

THE disturbances in *Castile* increased daily, and the calmness, moderation, and prudence of the queen, which had formerly done so much, was now less effectual; but however, what little was done could be attributed to nothing else. She granted many favours to Donna *Maria Diaz*, the widow of the Infant Don *Juan*, and to his son, who was sur-named the *deformed*, which induced them to ask more; so that the queen was at length forced to refuse, and afford them that pretence which they wanted for being ingrateful. She raised Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda* to the post of master of the king's household; for which, at the time, he was exceedingly thankful, but deserted her soon after, though he still kept his employment <sup>1</sup>. Don *Juan Emanuel* was so desirous of being regent, that he took the title before it could be given him; and his assuming it induced the Infant Don *Philip* to do the like; which divided the best part of the kingdom, even to the frontiers, where *Cordova* declared for Don *Juan*, and the city of *Seville* for the Infant <sup>m</sup>. Don *Juan the deformed* had a great party in the states of *Castile*, assembled at *Burgos*, and was for obliging both parties to lay aside the title before a legal regent was elected, having great hopes that this would make way for himself; but the queen, Donna *Maria*, acquainted this assembly, that it would be by far more safe to confirm those who had taken the title of regents, than to augment the confusion by declaring a third, to which they acquiesced <sup>2</sup>.

1320.

BUT Don *Juan the deformed*, in conjunction with Don *A cardinal Ferdinand de la Cerda* and others, entered into a solemn confederacy, and then sent the queen word, that, if she would Rome to not unite with them against her son the Infant Don *Philip*, endeavour

<sup>1</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana. <sup>2</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ZURIT, Annal Arragon. <sup>1</sup> Chron var. antiq. <sup>m</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana. <sup>a</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

they

a new-re-  
conciliation.

1321.

The queen,  
Donna  
Maria;  
dies, which  
greatly  
augments  
the disturb-  
ances in  
Castile.

they would join unanimously with Don Juan Emanuel against her and the Infant both. The queen was so embarrassed, that she knew not which way to move; she had no great reliance upon Don Juan Emanuel, though he had treated her from the beginning with great civility and respect; and though the party of the Infant Don Philip was strong, yet by no means strong enough to act against all the rest. At length, to gain time and better advice, she sent the confederates word, that they should have her final answer by the mouth of the cardinal legate, whom the pope had sent on purpose to assist her in quieting these disorders; with which they were little satisfied<sup>o</sup>. In the mean time the Infant Don Philip concluded a truce with the king of Granada, for that part of Andalusia which acknowledged his authority, which left that monarch at liberty to besiege Lorca. The inhabitants, having no reason to hope for succours, defended themselves with that obstinacy, which despair only can inspire, and ruined the army of the Moors to such a degree, that the king was at length obliged to raise the siege, and retire into his own territories<sup>p</sup>.

THE cardinal legate assured the confederates, on the part of the queen, that, since it was absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, she would prevail upon the Infant Don Philip to desist from his pretensions to the regency; and, at the same time, the cardinal offered to use his utmost endeavours with Don Juan Emanuel to do the same. But when he entered upon this negotiation, he found little probability of success: at length, however, he prevailed, that nobleman being rather wearied than persuaded into a compliance<sup>q</sup>. This point gained, the cardinal called a council at Valladolid, to regulate the discipline of the church, which, as we may easily imagine, had suffered exceedingly in those times of confusion; and the cardinal was of opinion, that the clergy could have no weight, while their lives did no credit to their doctrine<sup>r</sup>. This council hindered the assembly of the states from being opened at Palencia so early as otherwise it might have been, and it was hardly opened, before the queen, Donna Maria, was seized by that distemper which carried her to her grave. She died, as she had lived, with firmness and tranquility of mind; pious without affectation, and supported her dignity by the lustre of her virtues. In her last moments she exhorted the nobility to be careful of the person, and attentive to the education, of their young monarch, and to have a just respect for his sister

<sup>o</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. RAINALD. de los Moros de Espana. Chron. general de Espana. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

<sup>p</sup> Chron.

<sup>q</sup> Chron.

<sup>r</sup> Conc. tom. ii. part ii. col. 1682. Card. d. AGUIRRE Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 556.

the Infanta Donna *Leonora*. She breathed her last on the first of *June*, when the affairs of the kingdom were in the utmost confusion; and in this respect her demise was a favourable event; for it affected all parties to such a degree, that the cardinal legate prevailed upon them to consent to a cessation of hostilities for the remainder of the year \*.

A. D.  
1322.

As soon as that term was expired, a civil-war broke out in *Infant* all quarters, with so much the more fury, as it had been check-*Don Phi-* ed by this short restraint; Don *Juan Emanuel* shewed that lip and his cruelty was equal to his ambition, by the murder of some *Don Juan Emanuel* persons of distinction in *Castile*, which rendered him univer-*act as re-* sally hated, and gave great advantages to the Infant, Don *Philip*. To sustain himself after so flagrant an error, he was *gents, and* constrained to join with Don *Juan* the *deformed* and Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda*; and this confederacy enabled him to bring *against each other.* an army into the field, sufficient to look the Infant in the face, but they did not judge it proper to fight †. The young king, *1323* Don *Alonso*, seeing nothing but discord, confusion, and bloodshed, amongst his subjects, and his own influence scarce extending farther than his court, wrote to the principal magistrates in all the great cities, to put them in mind that he should very soon be of age, and that they ought to reflect that they could then have no other master ‡.

THESE letters had some little effect, and but a little: *Don Alonso* however, he no sooner entered his fifteenth year, than he *so begins to* made choice of a person of integrity and probity to go to the *take upon* city of *Seville*, in order to feel the pulse of the inhabitants. *himself the* He executed his commission so discreetly, that the citizens de-*govern-* clared for the king, who lost no time in going thither. Upon *ment, as* his arrival, he issued his letters for convoking a general assem-*soon as* bly of the states at *Valladolid*; to which both the regents re-*turned of* sorted, and laid down their authority §. This pacific disposi-*fourteen.* tion did not last long: Don *Juan Emanuel* quitted the court in discontent, and projected a marriage between his daughter and Don *Juan* the *deformed*, that he might attach him effectually to his interests. Those who were about the young king's person, saw plainly the consequences that would attend such an alliance, and insinuated to him, that the only way to prevent it was to espouse Donna *Constantia* himself; and, upon the first whisper of this, Don *Juan Emanuel* returned to

\* *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.* ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, part vii. sect. xiv.

† *Chronica general de Espana.* *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.*

‡ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

§ *Chronica general de Espana.* *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.*

*Valladolid,*

*Valladolid*, in the highest transport of loyalty and affection for the king's service \*.

*AB, with much severity, in order to recover some appearance of justice.* THE king, Don *Alonso*, when he had once taken possession, was resolved not to pass his days as his father had done, with the title of sovereign, and in a state of subjection. We may be thought to assume this hastily, considering his tender age, and that we ought rather to ascribe it to such as were about his person, and in his favour. However, as the king was the chief actor in all that was done, and as things of that kind could not have been done but by a person capable of contriving them, we take this for a convincing argument, that, young as he was, Don *Alonso* might listen to the advice, but not to the dictates, of his ministers. He formed a small corps of troops, which were constantly about his person, picked men, and thoroughly devoted to his service. With these he pursued a crew of banditti to the castle of *Valdenebra*, strong by situation, though but indifferently fortified. The king summoned the place in form; but these desperate wretches refused to submit; upon which he caused it to be attacked, and, being carried by storm, put every one of the malefactors to that kind of death he deserved †(Q). He pursued

\* ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS. † ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. *Chronica general de Espana*.

(Q) The chief persons about the young king were Don *Garcilasso de la Vega*, who had been lord lieutenant of *Castile*, strongly attached to the Infant Don *Pedro*, and, for that reason, extremely hated by the Infant Don *Juan*, and his son Don *Alvaro Nunez Osorio*, a young cavalier of a good family, much of the king's disposition, the companion of his diversions, and rather his favourite than his minister. We must add to these one *Joseph* a Jew, upon whom he chiefly relied in affairs relating to money, as had been long the custom in *Spain*, notwithstanding the clamour of the people,

the complaints of the clergy, and the remonstrances of the pope (4). The first of these might possibly give the young king some useful information as to the state of his affairs; but it is more likely that his grandmother instructed him in the capital maxims of government, and pointed out to him particularly the mischiefs arising from faction, and how much it was his interest to reduce the exorbitant power of those great lords who made no difficulty of opposing the royal authority, and who thought they had a right to oppress the people, while they were so lucky as to have vassals

(4) *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso xi. Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. xv,*

ready

sued the same conduct to the same sort of people, where-ever they could be found, and this, in a few months, cleared all the great roads in *Spain* that had been, for many years, infested by these banditti, who retired to *Don Juan* the deformed for protection <sup>2</sup>.

AT *Burgos* the king chastised severely such as had been *Causes* guilty of cruelty and oppression during his minority, but at the same time took a resolution of gaining *Don Juan* the deformed, *the de-* if it was practicable, by fair means, though he knew that he *formed to* had been practising with the courts of *Arragon* and *Portugal* *be assassi-* to raise fresh disturbances, and had laboured to engage *Don* *nated, and* *Alonso de la Cerda* to revive his claim to the crown. He *avows it* came, at the king's command, to *Burgos*, attended by a strong *to the peo-* corps of troops, and by a stronger of banditti and murderers, and, in complaisance to him, the king forbid his subjects to molest them. He then tried every method, and made all the offers possible, to engage *Don Juan* to return to his duty, and to give him proper assurances of it; but he refused, to which he was principally moved by an advertisement from *Don Juan Emanuel*, that in becoming the king's father-in-law, he did not cease to be his friend <sup>2</sup>. After parting in this manner, the king visited the rest of *Castile*, punishing malefactors where-ever he came with unrelenting severity. On his arrival at *Toro*, and receiving advice of new intrigues between the two

<sup>2</sup> Chron. var. Antiq.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, par Don JUAN NUNEZ VILLASAN.

ready to fight in defence of this extravagant power in their lords, and, which is still more extraordinary, inclined to mistake this power for liberty. But it is not at all probable that either the queen or his ministers put any of the great things which he afterwards performed into this young prince's head, because, in fact they wear the appearance of originals, and flow intirely from the same spirit which the king *Don Alonso* exerted when he was certainly at liberty to follow the bent of his own disposition (6). This attack of the castle of *Valdeobra*, the first of his exploits,

affords a sufficient proof of the truth of what we advanced; he was desirous to establish a reputation for justice, and to make the first instances of that severity which he saw would be requisite to restore the royal dignity and public peace altogether unexceptionable even to the wisest, universally agreeable to the nation in general; and having by this step formed the character, and made an impression, we shall see him, through his whole reign, pursuing his first point, and laying the foundation of his own greatness, in the ruin of faction (7).

(6) Ferreras *Historia de Espan.* tom. vii. f. 47. xiv  
*Hist. Hispan.* part. iv. *Francisci Taraphæ de reb. Hisp.*

(7) *Roderic Santii*

A. D.  
1325.

Don *Juans*, he ordered his favourite Don *Alvaro Nuguez Oforio*, to engage Don *Juan* the deformed to come to him, under pretence that the king was inclined to give him the Infant Donna *Leonora*; with some difficulty he was drawn thither, and received by the king, on the last day of *October*, with all imaginable marks of kindness and favour <sup>b</sup>. The next day he was invited to a feast, but as he entered the hall he was stabbed, and two gentlemen with him, who, upon the first appearance of violence, had drawn in his defence <sup>c</sup>. The very next day the king appeared in public, and being seated on a throne of state, and having admitted persons of all ranks into his presence, he stood up and told them that Don *Juan* was a traitor, whom the misfortunes of the times had rendered too big for the laws; that his crimes, which he enumerated, together with the proofs, made it necessary to remove him, which had been done by his orders, to prevent a new civil war; that notwithstanding this, he meant to make the laws the measure of his authority; and that none of his subjects had reason to fear, from what had happened to Don *Juan*, except those who meant to imitate his conduct. He proceeded next to seize all his estates; and having given an equivalent in money to Donna *Maria Diaz*, the mother of the late Don *Juan*, he annexed the lordship of *Biscay* to the crown <sup>d</sup>. Don *Juan Emanuel*, though he had just gained a considerable victory over the *Moors*, made a truce with the king of *Granada*, and retired to the castle of *Chinchilla*, resolved not to trust his person in the hands of a prince capable of such sentiments and of such actions <sup>e</sup>.

Archbishop  
of Toledo,  
brother to  
Don Juan  
Emanuel,  
removed  
from the  
chancery.  
1326.

THE next year the king went to *Segovia*, and enquired into a seditious tumult that had happened there two years before, in which some blood had been shed, and for which those who had been most culpable were now severely punished. Thence he proceeded to *Toledo*, hearing the complaints of the people wherever he came, enquiring diligently into the truth of the facts, and punishing, with equal severity, such as had been guilty of bad actions, and such as were either weak or wicked enough to bring false accusations <sup>f</sup>. While he resided there, the Infant Don *Philip* died on the fifth of *June*, much regretted by his nephew <sup>g</sup>. Upon certain intelligence that Don

<sup>b</sup> *Chronica general de Espana.*  
Don *Alonso el Ouzeno*.

<sup>c</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don*  
*Alonso el Ouzeno.* <sup>d</sup> *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan.*  
*part iv. Chronica general de Espana.*

<sup>e</sup> *Chronica de los Moros de Espana.*  
*Chronica general de Espana.*

<sup>f</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don*  
*Alonso el Ouzeno.*

<sup>g</sup> *FERRERAS. MAYERNE TUR-*  
*QUET.*

*Juan Emanuel* was endeavouring to raise fresh troubles, the king removed his brother-in-law, the archbishop of *Toledo*, from the post of chancellor, with which that prelate was so offended, that he exchanged his see for that of *Tarragona*<sup>a</sup>. As for *Don Juan Emanuel*, no invitations or promises could induce him to quit his retreat; where he studied how to revive those troubles to which he owed his greatness, and issued his orders on all sides to his dependants, agreeable to these resolutions; of which the king being informed, he gave the government of the marches of the kingdom of *Murcia*, which *Don Juan* inherited from his father, to a nobleman upon whom he could more safely rely<sup>1</sup>.

THE next year the king took the field against the *Moors*, *Don Juan* with whom *Don Juan Emanuel* had entered into an alliance. *Emanuel* The king ordered the admiral of *Castile* to clear the seas, who *revolts and* defeated a strong squadron from *Barbary*, with troops on *renounces* board; and coming to pay his duty to the king at *Seville*, pre- *his allegi-* sented him with 300 slaves. The king laid siege to *Olvera*, *ance to* and from thence made some expeditions, in which he was not *king Alon-* very successful; however, he persisted in his design, and at *so.* length reduced that and several other places<sup>k</sup>. On the frontiers of *Murcia* there was an insurrection, excited by *Don Juan*, which had no great effect; however, the king, who would not be insulted without shewing his resentment, immediately gave away all his employments; and, which perhaps was not altogether so justifiable, put his daughter, *Donna Constantia*, who had born the title of queen, under a guard. *Don Juan*, upon this, sent him word that he renounced his allegiance, and that he looked upon himself as at liberty to take what measures he pleased<sup>l</sup>. He then addressed himself to the king of *Aragon*, representing how nearly his daughter was allied in blood to that crown, and how injurious the usage was that she had met with from the king of *Castile*. His complaints were held reasonable, and that monarch promised him all the assistance in his power; in hopes of which, *Don Juan*, with what forces he could collect, began to make incursions into *Castile*, which he wasted with fire and sword<sup>m</sup>.

1327.  
We have already seen the great troubles and disturbances *In conse-* arising from ambition, resentment, and private interest; but *sequence of* nothing hitherto related comes near to those troubles that *which the*

<sup>a</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. var.

Antiq.

<sup>k</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana. RODERIC

SANTI Hist. Hisp. part iv.

<sup>l</sup> Chronica del Rey Don

Alonso el Ouzeno.

<sup>m</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv,

ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica general de Espana.

*disorders in* were excited by Don Juan Emanuel, whose turbulent spirit *Castile be-* was supported by abilities, that Providence, in compassion to *come much* human society, very rarely bestows upon such men. A body *greater* of troops from Arragon traversed the dominions of Castile, in *than ever.* order to join him, and marked their route with fire and sword, wherever they passed. The prior of St. John, who was very closely connected with Don Juan, prevailed upon Toro, Zamora, and some other places, to declare against the king, under pretence that he was wholly governed by Don Alvaro Nunez Osorio, whom the king had lately created count of Trastamara<sup>a</sup>. The king, who had assembled a considerable army near Seville, passed from thence to Cordova, where he caused Don Juan Ponce de Cabrera to be beheaded for the share he had in the sedition raised there, and put some other persons to death on the same account; and having found means to engage the court of Arragon, where Don Alonso had lately mounted the throne, to withdraw his countenance from Don Juan, he caused Escalona to be invested, which was one of the strongest places in Don Juan's possession<sup>o</sup>. In the mean time, Garcilasso de la Vega, whom he had promoted to the dignity of chancellor, being at Soria in Castile, and having declared that he had the king's orders to provide, in the most effectual manner, for the security of that kingdom, some secret friends of Don Juan whispered it about, that he had private orders to put some persons of distinction to death. This gave rise to a conspiracy, in consequence of which, the chancellor was stabbed upon his knees at church, with twenty-four persons more, amongst whom were his son, and several of high rank<sup>p</sup>. The king, having concluded a marriage with Donna Maria, Infanta of Portugal, which he intended to celebrate as soon as the campaign was over, sent for Donna Leonora his sister from Valladolid, when, through the arts of Don Juan, a rumour being spread that the king intended to marry her to his favourite the count of Trastamara, the people revolted, upon which the king was obliged to raise the siege of Escalona, to march thither. The inhabitants of Valladolid shut their gates, and held out a siege, which the king carried on with such vigour, that the town must infallibly have been taken, if the same arts that produced their revolt had not raised a sedition in the king's camp, where several of the prin-

<sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. <sup>o</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chron. general de España. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. vii. sec. xiv. <sup>p</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, &c.



principal nobility told him plainly, that the only way to put an end to these disturbances was to disgrace the count Don *Alvaro*, which was presently done<sup>1</sup>. The count thereupon retired to his castle of *Belbar*, where he commenced rebel in his turn; but Don *Juan Ramirez*, with the king's consent, pretended to desert to him, and being kindly received by the count, took an opportunity to stab him; this put an end to all the insurrections in *Castile*: the king, towards the close of the year, celebrated his marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, and gave his sister, Donna *Eleonora*, in marriage to Don *Alonso*, king of *Aragon*; and thus an end was put to all troubles for the present<sup>2</sup>.

A. D.  
1328.

IN the beginning of the next year, the king having held an assembly of the states at *Burgos*, and conducted his sister, Donna *Leonora*, to the frontiers of *Aragon*, he concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the monarch of that country, and with the king of *Portugal*, in order to prosecute the war against the *Moors* with effect<sup>3</sup>. The conferences for this purpose being over, the king went to *Saria*, where he made a strict inquisition into the murder of *Garcilasso de la Vega*, punished such of the principal persons with death as could be found, and seized the estates and effects of such as had concerted their security by a quick retreat<sup>4</sup>. Don *Juan Emanuel* in the mean time had projected several marriages, by the means of which he proposed to aggrandize Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, Don *Juan de Lara*, and to bind them to his party, of which, though the king had timely information, yet he made fresh offers to that potent lord, to engage him to return to his duty, and even went so far as to offer him to set his daughter at liberty, and to pay him a considerable sum of money, if, instead of disturbing the peace of his country, he would concur in making war against the *Moors*<sup>5</sup>.

The king labours to bring Don Juan Emanuel back to his duty, but without effect.

1329.

DON *Alonso*, after conferring once more with the king of *Portugal*, proceeded to the frontiers, and finding his forces in excellent order, began the operations of the campaign with the siege of *Tebe*. *Ozmin*, who commanded the *Moorish* army, practised various stratagems in order to divide the Christian troops, but to no purpose: however, he encouraged the besieged to make a gallant defence, afforded them frequent succours, and spun out the campaign to the first of *August*, when

Makes a campaign against the Moors, and falls into an intrigue with Don-

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica general de Espana*. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

<sup>2</sup> *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.* ZURIT. *Annal Aragon*. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

<sup>3</sup> ZURIT. *Annal Aragon*. *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, &c.* EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. var. Antiq.* <sup>5</sup> *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.* *Chronica general de Espana*.

na Leonora the place surrendered, and the Moors abandoned several little towns and castles in the neighbourhood \*. Upon the king's return to *Seville*, he entered into an amour with Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, a lady of high quality, and great endowments of mind, by whom he had several children (R). There he received

\* EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. *Chronica de los Moros de España.*

(R) We are constrained, in order to render the current of our relation more intelligible, to enter a little into the secret history of this reign, which, tho' we are always unwilling to do, yet is sometimes requisite to be done. By comparing the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* historians one might be tempted to affirm that Don *Alonso* of *Castile* had at this time no less than three wives, or, to speak with propriety, who were, or whom he persuaded to think themselves such. The first was Donna *Maria* of *Portugal*, whom he married rather from a principle of policy than affection, and with whom he lived but indifferently, reproaching her with the want of issue, though they had not been long married, and which, some writers tell us, she took pains to wipe away (5). She was a prudent woman, and knew how to dissemble more passions than one. The second was Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, the daughter of Don *Pedro Nunez de Guzman*, and the widow of Don *Juan de Velasco*, lately deceased: her riches and her wit set off to great advantage a person so fine,

that she was esteemed the greatest beauty in *Spain*. The king, from the time he became enamoured of her, preserved no decency in his family or with the world, but behaved towards her in public as if she had been his queen, while Donna *Maria* had as little state about her as if she had been his mistress (6). The third was Donna *Constantia*, the daughter of Don *Juan Emanuel*, to whom the king had been contracted, and with whom he continued to hold a private correspondence by letters, in which he told her that she was the first mistress of his affections, and gave her hopes that, by the help of a divorce, she might one day become the partner of his bed and throne (7). Each had their political intrigues. The prior of *St. John*, who had excited the great revolt in *Castile*, was the queen's chancellor; and thro' him she corresponded with Don *Juan Emanuel* and Don *Juan de Lara*, in favour of whom she brought the king her father into a war with the king her husband (8). Donna *Leonora* had also a correspondence with Don *Juan Emanuel*, and with other great

(5) Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iii. Mayerne Turquet *Histoire general d'Espagne*, lib. xiv. (6) *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso XI. Mariana*, lib. xv. (7) Faria y Sousa, *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iii. (8) Mariana. Mayerne Turquet. Faria y Sousa. Ferreras.

ceived ambassadors from the king of *Granada*, who offered to become his vassal, and to pay an annual tribute of twelve thousand pieces of gold, which was accepted, chiefly with a view of depriving Don *Juan Emanuel* of the protection of this prince<sup>x</sup>.

THE king returning from *Seville* into *Castile*, was met in 1330. his passage, very unexpectedly, by Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, *Receives* who told him, that being heartily weary of the life he had *Don Alonso de la Cerda into* hitherto led, he was very desirous of passing the remainder of his days in peace; and that, forgetting past disputes, he hoped the monarch of *Castile* would consider him as a prince of his blood, and as his faithful subject. The king received him *favour,* with the utmost affection, gave him an ample establishment, *and grants him an* and assured him he might depend upon his favour and *establishment.* protection<sup>y</sup>. At his coronation the same year, at *Burgos*, Don *Alonso de la Cerda* assisted, and did him homage; and the feasts which attended this ceremony, were the most magnificent that ever had been seen in *Castile*<sup>z</sup>. Don *Juan Emanuel*, who for two years past had affected to live in such a manner as to give the king no umbrage, entered now into a treaty with *Donna Leonora de Guzman*, and offered, if she could prevail upon the king to repudiate the Infanta of *Portugal*, and to marry her, he would return to court, and depend upon her protection; but that lady generously answered, that if he would return to his duty, he might depend upon her favour; but that she did not either hope or desire to espouse the king<sup>a</sup>. About the same time, by a stroke of that policy which was

<sup>x</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de España.*

<sup>y</sup> *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.*

<sup>z</sup> *MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS.*

<sup>a</sup> *Chron. var. Antiq.*

persons about the court, who knew that to gain her was the only way to gain the king's favour. *Donna Constantia*, by her father's direction, managed a correspondence with the king with great dignity and decency; acknowledged that her hopes were once fixed upon him, reproached him with the ill usage of his queen; and intimated, that his mistress had other gal-

lants (9). In a word, *Donna Leonora* knew how to govern the king, and was proud of it. The queen was able to govern herself, and, by doing so, triumphed in the end. *Donna Constantia*, by her address, maintained an interest in the king, till, by his consent, she espoused the prince of *Portugal*, of which country she became afterwards queen.

(9) *Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iii.*

natural to him, he caused it to be insinuated to the king of *Portugal*, that the queen, his daughter, was very miserable, that Donna *Leonora de Guzman* was in possession of the king's affections, and that his own daughter, Donna *Constantia*, was a better match for the prince of *Portugal*, than the king's niece Donna *Blanca*, daughter to the Infant *Pedro*, who had many infirmities<sup>b</sup>.

*Institutes  
the order  
of the  
Band,  
which is  
since  
grown into  
disuse.*

THE king, who had intelligence of these proceedings, instituted a new order of knighthood, with a political view of attaching those, upon whom it was conferred, in a more particular manner to his person, which, from the knights wearing a ribbon over their right shoulder, was stiled the order of the band. At first it was in very high esteem, but by degrees grew into disuse<sup>c</sup>. The king of *Granada* made this year a voyage to *Africa*, in order to demand assistance from *Abul Assan*, king of *Morocco*, under pretence that Don *Alonso* of *Castile* had nothing so much at heart as the utter extirpation of the *Mohammedans* in *Spain*, and having obtained from him the promise of powerful succours, and a present supply of 7000 horse, he returned very well satisfied into his own dominions, where he no sooner arrived, than he renewed his intrigues with Don *Juan Emanuel*; who was employed in raising a new citadel at *Ucles*. He had engaged Don *Juan Nugnez de Lara*, and several other persons of great distinction, in a confederacy; and it was agreed that they would be all ready to act at a convenient time<sup>d</sup>. The queen, Donna *Maria*, was brought to-bed of the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, and soon after Donna *Leonora Guzman* was delivered of Don *Sancho*, to whom the king gave the lordship of *Le Desna*<sup>e</sup>.

*Abul-  
Malic,  
with an  
army, ad-  
vances to  
Gibraltar,  
and forms  
the siege.*

THE reinforcement from *Africa* arrived on board a fleet of transports from *Morocco* at *Algeriza*, under the command of *Abul Malic*, the son of *Abul Assan*; the Christian fleet under the command of Don *Alonso Tenorio*, having put to sea with an intention to hinder them from debarking, but came too late<sup>f</sup>. The first service the *African* troops performed, was besieging *Gibraltar*, in which commanded Don *Vasco Perez de Meyra*. Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, upon advice of this siege, assembled a powerful army in order to relieve it, and in his march had a conference with Don *Juan Emanuel* and Don *Juan de Lara*, who pretended an inclination to submit

<sup>b</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. *Chronica general de Espana*. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>c</sup> MARIANA. FERRERAS.

<sup>d</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno*. *Chronica de los Moros de Espana*.

<sup>e</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

<sup>f</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno*. *Chronica de los Moros de Espana*.

themselves,

themselves, and invited the king to dine with them in their castle of *Becerril*, which he accepted, and they promised to dine with him the next day, but, either through fear or falsehood, they broke their words, and the treaty came to nothing. Not long after this, *Don Juan Emanuel* sent the king word, that if he would order his arrears to be paid, he would make a powerful diversion through the kingdom of *Jaen*, and prevent the kingdom of *Granada* from joining *Abul Malic*. *Don Alonso*, like a great prince, complied with his demand; *Don Juan Emanuel* behaved also like himself, that is, he took the money, and broke his word. The king, however, marched to the relief of *Gibraltar*, but when he was within sight of the place, he was informed that the governor had betrayed it.

*Don Alonso* continued to advance, invested that place and besieged it, but for want of provisions was forced to raise the siege; however, a supply arriving just as the army broke up, the king returned thither again. The king of *Granada* having joined *Abul Malic*, marched with a numerous army to raise the siege. *Don Alonso*, as became a prudent officer, remained within his entrenchments, and could not be drawn out to fight. All his caution, however, proved ineffectual; for *Don Juan Emanuel*, *Don Juan de Lara*, and *Don Juan Alonso de Haro*, with the very money that the king had given them, had raised forces, and ravaged *Castile* in such a manner, that the king was obliged to conclude a truce with the *Moors*, and to march to the relief of his subjects; another motive which determined him to this measure, was the intelligence he had received, that several lords in the kingdom of *Jaen* were on the point of joining the *Moors*, for which he caused one of their heads to be struck off, when he arrived in those parts; but the rest executed their purpose, and fled to *Granada*. The king's affairs, however, were in so perplexed a situation, that the king of *Morocco*, refusing to ratify the truce, unless the tribute of the king of *Granada* was remitted, he was obliged to comply, his subjects in *Castile* being so much distressed by the rebels, that they dispatched express upon express to hasten the king's march to their assistance, which, without doubt, afflicted him extremely, after all the pains he had taken to recover these noblemen to his service.

*Don Juan Emanuel, and other malecontents, raise new troubles in the kingdom.*  
1333.

\* *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.* ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

<sup>h</sup> Chron. var. Antiq.

<sup>i</sup> *Chronica de los Moros de Espana.*

<sup>k</sup> *Chronica del Rey*

*Don Alonso el Ouzeno.*

<sup>l</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan.

*Chronica general de Espana.* *Chronica de los Moros de Espana.*

BUT

The king  
endea-  
vours to  
extinguish  
factions by  
extraordi-  
nary acts  
of severi-  
ty.

BUT though the king was very impatient, and did all that was in his power to comply with the requests of his subjects, yet it was Lent before he was able to leave *Seville*. When he came to *Ciudad Real*, a gentleman brought him a letter from Don Juan de Lara, in which he told him that he quitted his service for ever, and renounced his allegiance: the king having read this epistle, said it came a little too late, that he wasted his territories, and oppressed his people while he was yet in his service, and his subject; and therefore, said he, take this honest gentleman, who has been in all his secrets, and made no scruple of sharing in his rebellion, and strike off his hands and feet, and then his head<sup>m</sup>. This struck a great terror, and made people less inclined to have any correspondence with malecontents. The king prosecuted the war against Don Juan de Lara with incredible diligence, and hunted him very closely; but not being able to take him, he went into *Biscay*, which country he entirely reduced<sup>n</sup>. Upon his return to *Burgos*, a man was seized with letters from Don Juan Alonso de Haro, to Don Juan Emanuel and Don Juan de Lara, in which he pressed them not to submit to the king, but to do him all the mischief they could, assuring them of succours from the viceroy of *Navarre*. The king marched immediately, and surprized Don Juan de Haro in his castle, whom, after he had reproached with his perfidious behaviour, he ordered to be put to death; but he gave his lands to his two brothers<sup>o</sup>.

His con-  
duct is, in  
some mea-  
sure justi-  
fied by  
events.

AFTER all this, Don Juan de Lara wrote to some persons near the king, that perceiving he was marked for destruction, he was desirous of knowing whether the king was inexorable or not; and if not, he was now ready to submit to such terms as he should prescribe. The king sent him word to render the two castles he then besieged, to renounce all title to *Biscay*, and to put some of his best places into his hands as pledges for his fidelity, with all which he immediately complied; notwithstanding which, the king refused to see him<sup>p</sup>. The king having summoned the castle of *Rojas*, in which Diego Gilles commanded for Lopez Diaz, he returned no other answer than a shower of arrows and stones, though the persons were the king's immediate servants. After a short siege, he desired leave to march out, which was given him; but as

1334.

<sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.  
general de Espana. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>n</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. <sup>p</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

soon

soon as he and his garrison were in the field, the king caused him to be arrested, brought them to a court martial, by which the governor and officers were condemned to death. This severity had one good effect, for no gentleman would afterwards charge himself with the custody of a castle, without inserting, in the oath of fidelity to his lord, that he would defend it against all persons whatever, the king only excepted<sup>9</sup>.

AT the opening of the ensuing year, Don Juan Emanuel <sup>Upon a short interval of</sup> addressed himself to the king, with an offer of entire submission, and informed him that Don Pedro, prince of Portugal, finding it impossible to marry his niece Donna Blanca, <sup>quiet the king la-</sup> who was paralytic, was inclined to espouse his daughter <sup>bours</sup> Donna Constantia, if the king would be pleased to give his consent. Don Alonso answered, that, as to the first point, he <sup>to divert his nobles</sup> was content to pardon all that was passed, if Don Juan would <sup>with</sup> behave as a good subject for the time to come; and that as <sup>feasts.</sup> to the latter, he would consider of it, and give him an answer. Soon after came embassadors from the crown of Portugal upon the same subject; and the king, Don Alonso, having sent persons into that kingdom to examine into the matter of fact, upon their report that Donna Blanca was really afflicted with the palsy, he declared that he would not oppose the marriage of the prince Don Pedro with Donna Constantia, in hopes that this condescension would entirely restore the tranquility of his dominions; and to demonstrate how welcome this would be to him, he celebrated *Whitsuntide* at *Valladolid*, with public feasts and a carousal, to which all the nobility were invited, and in which himself and his knights of the band opposed all comers. 1335.

BUT he had scarce begun to please himself with these *Viceroy* of hopes, than they were dissipated by an accident he could not Navarre foresee; for *Henry de Solis*, viceroy of Navarre, published a *makes war* manifesto, in which he charged the *Castilians* with having *on Castile*, injured the subjects of Navarre on the frontiers, and that *without* he meant to do himself justice by arms. Don Alonso was so *cause or* desirous of quiet, that he offered any satisfaction, but the vice- *caution.* roy would accept of none; and having a very powerful army, made an irruption into *Castile*, on the side of *Tudela*, wasting every thing before him with fire and sword. Don Alonso assembled a body of troops for the defence of his dominions, and appointed Don Juan de Lara commander in chief, which

<sup>9</sup> Chron. var. Antiq.

<sup>1</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

Chronica general de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS:

he refused, and the king thereupon declared *Martin Fernandez Portocarrero* master of his household general<sup>†</sup>. Some of the principal nobility represented to the king, that he was by no means of a rank fit to command them; but that, to shew how sensible they were of the folly of private disputes, in a time of public danger, they thanked him for giving this opportunity of shewing their obedience, as he had done his sagacity in appointing one of the best officers in *Castile* to his command.

*Is severely  
beaten,  
and forced  
to make  
peace on  
worse  
terms than  
he might  
have had  
without a  
war.*

MARTIN FERNANDEZ marched with his forces, and the viceroy of *Navarre* sent him a haughty message, that he intended the next day to reduce *Alfaro*, and plunder the country in the neighbourhood. *Martin Fernandez* marched towards the abbey of *Futero*, which they had already taken, and the viceroy thereupon dispatched his cavalry, to cover his new conquest. The viceroy seeming to persist in his first design, drew out his whole army to support his horse, of which *Martin Fernandez* having received intelligence, prosecuted his march with great vigour, in order to give them battle. The dispute was sharp, but short, the army of *Navarre* being routed with great slaughter. He afterwards intercepted their cavalry in their retreat towards *Tudela*, and cut them off entirely, which put an end to the operations of the war, which was terminated afterwards by a peace, under the mediation of the crown of *France*<sup>‡</sup>. At this time the court of *Castile* appeared with unusual splendour from the arrival of two great embassies, one from the emperor of *Morocco*, and the other from *Edward* the third, king of *England*, whom *Don Alonso* treated with great dignity and respect<sup>¶</sup>. At the close of the year, a council was held at *Salamanca*, in which sixteen canons were made, the great point in view being to extinguish the custom which still prevailed amongst the *Spanish* clergy of marrying, which, to render it odious, the court of *Rome* confounded, with keeping concubines<sup>✱</sup>.

*The states  
declare  
against  
Don Juan  
Emanuel  
and Don*

WHEN the king *Don Alonso* had made such dispositions for war against the *Moors*, who he had certain intelligence were meditating a general confederacy against him, he discovered a new contrivance for disturbing the peace of his people amongst his own nobility. *Don Juan Emanuel* and *Don Juan de Lara* were at the head of this; and what equally

<sup>†</sup> *Histoire de Royaume de Navarre.* ROD. SANTI Hist. Hisp. part iv. *Chronica general de Espana.* <sup>‡</sup> *Chronica del*

*Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.* *Histoire de Royaume de Navarre.* P. DANIEL *Histoire de France.* <sup>¶</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist.

*Hispan.* *Chronica general de Espana.* FERRERAS. <sup>✱</sup> Card. D'AGUIRRE Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 584.



amazed and chagrined him, Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, John Nuñez de Lara, and Don Juan Alonso de Albuquerque, for whom he had always testified the highest esteem, were engaged with them, and the whole confederacy being formed under the protection of the king of Portugal. Upon this discovery, he sent for Don Pedro de Castro, who, though he was in one of his own castles, made no scruple of obeying his order. He expostulated the matter with him freely; assured him that he was so sensible of his past services, that having no other way to reward him, he had determined to marry his son the Infant Don Henry, to his daughter; and that, if he had at any time given him offence, he was willing to give him what satisfaction he pleased. Don Pedro, afflicted and ashamed, freely confessed his fault, and promised to reclaim Don Juan de Albuquerque, which, when he had performed, the king called together an assembly of the states, in which he fairly laid before them his condition and their own, with the several overtures he had made to Don Juan Emanuel, and Don Juan de Lara. The states immediately voted them both traitors, gave him five subsidies, and desired him to prosecute the war against them both, to their utter destruction<sup>a</sup>.

Don Juan Nuñez de Lara made several propositions, very plausible in their nature, to prevent the storm which he saw ready to fall upon him, but the king rejected them all. In the month of June, the king took the field and invested Lerma, in which Don Juan de Lara was with a numerous garrison, excellently well provided, and fortifications for those times in very good condition. Don Juan Emanuel made various attempts to succour and relieve him, but was so closely pursued by the king, whenever he was in the field, that he was at length forced to consult his own safety, and retire into Arragon, having more than once very narrowly escaped falling into the king's hands<sup>a</sup>; when the siege had continued for several months, and the place was in apparent danger, the secret friends of Don Juan de Lara practised every art to extricate him from his difficulties. The king of Portugal claimed him as his subject and vassal. Don Alonso answered he might be so; but he was also his rebel, and as such he would punish him. This produced a war between the two crowns, which, however, could not oblige the king to raise the siege<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

<sup>b</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. FARIA Y SOUSA. Chron. general de Espana.

<sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FARIA Y SOUSA.

<sup>b</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. FARIA Y SOUSA.

The queen Donna *Maria* was then prevailed upon to go to the camp, and to interpose in his favour, but that also was without effect. At length, when it was towards *Christmas*, his escape was contrived through a common sewer, of which the king, having intelligence, surprized his friends at the mouth of it, and it was with some difficulty that he got back. This humbled him to such a degree, that he sent to the king to know what terms he would be pleased to prescribe. Don *Alonso* answered, that he would grant him and his people their lives, except three persons who had deserted from his camp<sup>c</sup>. Don *Juan*, having first provided for the escape of these three men, named a day for delivering the place; and though the king sent him a horse, yet he chose to meet him on foot, kissed his hand with great respect, and assured him that he would be from that moment his most faithful servant. The king ordered the fortification of *Lerma* to be demolished, carried Don *Juan* with him to *Valladolid*, restored him to his post of standard bearer of *Castile*, and made him several considerable presents; which had such an effect, that, during the remainder of his life, he was the most steady and the most affectionate servant the king had<sup>d</sup>.

*A truce with difficulty concluded between the crowns of Castile and Portugal.*

1337.

THE new year brought with it new disturbances. Don *Pedro*, who had succeeded his father Don *Alonso*, as king of *Aragon*, was upon extreme bad terms with his mother-in-law Donna *Leonora*, sister to the king of *Castile*, which induced him to favour Don *Juan Emanuel*; and, on the other hand, produced a civil war in his own dominions, several great lords declaring on the side of the queen dowager; but at length, through the interposition of Don *Juan de Lara*, these disputes were compromised<sup>e</sup>. The mother of that lord, who had a very great interest with the king, presumed upon it so far, as to deliver him a letter from Don *Juan Emanuel*, in which he made great professions of penitence, and of inclinations to return to the king's service: to which Don *Alonso* answered, it was entirely in his own power, and that whenever he was disposed to give him proofs of his obedience, he might depend upon his favour. Upon which Don *Juan Emanuel* submitted<sup>f</sup>. In regard to *Portugal*, the war went on; the fleet of *Castile* was victorious by sea, and the king rejected all terms of accommodation, notwithstanding the pope inter-

<sup>c</sup> *Chronica general de Espana.* ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FARIA Y SOUSA.

<sup>d</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.* MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS.

<sup>e</sup> ZURIT. *Annal Arragon.* *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.*

<sup>f</sup> *Chronica general de Espana.* MARIANA. FERRERAS.

posed;

posed; at length, however, the legate putting the king in mind that every step he took to gratify his relentment was destructive of his interest, since it was very well known that the *Moors* intended to attack them both, he was at length prevailed upon to listen to some accommodation with his father-in-law; but, however, the negotiation was not perfected till the beginning of the year following <sup>e</sup>.

THE repeated advices he received from *Barbary*, left him *Excellent* no room to doubt that he should quickly find himself exposed *laws made* to as great danger from the Infidels, as any that his ancestors *for the re-* had overcome. For the king of *Morocco*, *Jacob Abul-Affan* was *formation* providing a prodigious force by land and sea, and having re- *of manners* duced the little kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Tremecen*, was to the *in the do-* full as formidable as any of his predecessors. The king *Don Alonso* ratified the truce with *Portugal*, and perhaps had done *Castile* it more readily, but that he was willing to make that monarch believe that he did not readily forgive any assistance given to his malecontents <sup>h</sup>. He afterwards held an assembly of the states of *Castile*, in which some excellent laws were made. Amongst the rest it was provided, that all fortresses should be considered as belonging of right to the king; and that none should presume to hold them against him; that no rank whatever should exempt men from the laws, or give them a title to do themselves justice; and that all persons should conform themselves in their garb and way of living to the condition of life they were in, so that none might be made poor by affecting a false shew of riches. These were published in the cathedral church of *Burgos*; for, in those rude days, they never expected that men should obey laws, unless they knew them <sup>i</sup>.

THE king went from *Burgos* to the frontiers of *Arragon*, to *Don Juan* confer with his sister the queen dowager, with whom he *Emanuel* found *Don Juan de Lara*, and his mother. After this inter-*submits,* view was over, *Don Juan* proposed to the king going to the *and is re-* castle of *Garcia-Munoz*, where he assured him that *Don Juan* *conciled to* *Emanuel* had given orders that he should be received with the *the king* utmost respect, and the place put into his hands. The king *Don Alonso* went and took possession of it, and upon his arrival at *Cuenca*, <sup>so</sup>. *Don Juan* himself came to pay his duty, and was so kindly and frankly received by the king, that he could not forbear telling him, that it should be the business of his life to remem-

<sup>e</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. FARIA Y SOUSA. RAINALD. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FERRERAS. <sup>h</sup> FARIA Y SOUSA. BRANDAON. Chronica general de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>i</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

ber the offences he had given him, and his study to make his majesty forget them. The king took this so well, that he confided to him the care of his interests at the court of *Arragon*, and sent him thither to manage them, which he did with great ability and equal integrity<sup>k</sup>. Pope *Benedict* the twelfth wrote about this time to the king, to thank him for the respect paid to his interposition in the affair of *Portugal*, and to exhort him to part with *Donna Leonora de Guzman*, and to lead a life worthy of a Christian prince<sup>l</sup>.

*A campaign against the Moors, in which the king is successful and Abul Malic slain.*

THE insinuations of *Don Juan Emanuel* had such an influence over the king of *Arragon*, that not content with accommodating every thing to the satisfaction of his mother-in-law, he resolved to enter into a close alliance with the king of *Castile*, as the only means for securing both kingdoms against the invasion of the *Moors*, which appeared every day more formidable; and having sent an ambassador for that purpose, a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded, from which both princes promised not to depart, or to make any truce with the Infidels, but in conjunction<sup>m</sup>. *Don Alonso* proceeded then to the frontiers, and at *Seville* conferred the honour of knighthood on *Don Juan de Lara*, with his own hand<sup>n</sup>. He entered the enemy's territories with a numerous and complete army, and ravaged the country about *Ronda*, till, through want of provisions, they found themselves obliged to retire, which the *Moors* observing, thought it a very favourable opportunity to strike one of their great blows. Accordingly they issued out of the place with great fury, and fell upon the rear of the Christian army. *Don Juan Emanuel*, *Don Juan de Lara*, and the grand master of the order of *St. James*, who commanded there, repressed them but faintly, and restrained the ardour of the soldiers for some time; till at length, being at a great distance from the place, those three officers having conferred together, faced about at once, and charged the *Moors* so vigorously, that they fled to an adjacent mountain, which was of very difficult ascent. The *Castilian* cavalry, however, dismounted, and forced their passage up, though with difficulty and loss; but of this numerous detachment of the *Moors*, there did not escape a single man<sup>o</sup>. In the autumn, *Don Alonso de Guzman*, grand master of the order of *St. James*, beat the king of *Granada* before *Silos*. *Abul-*

<sup>k</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica general de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>l</sup> RAINALD. Epist. Benedict XII.

<sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>n</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

<sup>o</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. FARIA Y SOUSA.

*Malic;*

*Malic*, with the army of *Morocco*, was still more unfortunate, for he was defeated by Don *Alonso's* generals, and killed in his retreat <sup>p</sup>. This year would have ended happily, if the grand master of the order of St. *James*, resenting too hastily some ill usage from Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, had not revolted against the king, notwithstanding that he used all possible means to bring him back to his duty, which he renounced so entirely, as when the king approached the walls of the fortress where he was, in order to expostulate with him, he caused him to be repulsed with arrows and stones, some of which fell on his shield, and others wounded his horse, for which, when it was reduced, the king caused him to be put to death <sup>q</sup>.

A. D.  
1339.

ABUL-ASSAN, king of *Morocco*, not at all discouraged by the defeats of the preceding year, or the loss of his son, prosecuted the war with a degree of fury, that sufficiently spoke his resentment. He assembled a great army, a vast quantity of military stores and provisions, and a fleet of 200 sail, exclusive of thirty galleys. Don *Alonso* did all that was possible to provide against the effects of this invasion, and, if possible, to prevent it; for, by the rudeness of the winter, he lost several of his ships, and by the unwholesomeness of the season, a great number of men, which put it out of the power of the admiral to hinder, with six ships and twenty seven galleys, the *Moors* from passing. Donna *Elvira*, the wife of the admiral, hearing what weak and improper judges said, wrote to her husband, that his fidelity was suspected, and that it was supposed he had received a vast sum of money to let the *Moors* pass; upon which the admiral, having received a reinforcement of six galleys, sailed with so inconsiderable a strength, and to wipe off this imaginary stain, sacrificed himself and the whole fleet, five galleys only excepted <sup>r</sup>. The king Don *Alonso* provided *Tarefa* for a long siege, and was forced to apply to the king of *Portugal*, his father-in-law, for assistance by sea; and in order to obtain it, had recourse to the queen Donna *Maria*, who wrote in the most pressing terms to the king her father, and sent it by the dean of *Toledo*, her chancellor; upon which he sent the fleet of *Portugal* to *Seville*.

Don *Alonso* dispatched also a minister to *Genoa*, and Don *Apeace Juan Martinez* to expostulate with the king of *Arragon*, for not sending the vessels he had promised to his fleet. The king

<sup>p</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. <sup>q</sup> MARIANA. FERRERAS. <sup>r</sup> Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

cluded between the crowns of Castile and Portugal. answered plainly, that it was for want of money to equip them, otherwise he had ten galleys which he would have sent. Don Juan advanced the money necessary, and instead of ten, the king sent twelve\*. The *Genoise* also sold him their assistance, but sold it dear. While the king was employed in these precautions, the king of *Morocco* transported upwards of sixty thousand men into *Spain*; and when the king of *Castile* had notice of this, he sent an embassy to Don *Alonso*, king of *Portugal*, to thank his father-in-law for the succours he had given him, and to let him know that he was desirous of turning the truce, which they had concluded, into a solemn peace, which was signed on the tenth of *July*. One of the articles was, that the king should permit Donna *Constanza*, the daughter of Don *Juan Emanuel*, to go into *Portugal*, to consummate her marriage with the Infant Don *Pedro*, to whom she had been espoused by proxy, some years before. When Don *Alonso* laid down the pen, after signing this treaty, Don *Juan Emanuel* seized his hand, and kissed it with great transport, assuring him he would never forget the obligation conferred upon him by this favour; and the king, to heighten it, gave him leave to conduct his daughter in person, and sent some of the greatest men in the kingdom to accompany him, and to be witnesses of the marriage†.

Abul-As-  
san invests  
Tarefa  
with a  
prodigious  
army, and  
is joined by  
the king of  
Granada. ABUL-ASSAN, king of *Morocco*, arrived in the latter end of the summer; and having joined the army of the king of *Granada*, marched to invest *Tarefa*, in which was *Juan Alonso de Benavides*, and came before it on the 23d of *September*. He immediately gave the king notice of the situation things were in, and prepared to make as good a defence as possible. The siege, however, was carried on with all imaginable vigour, and the place in great danger, when the garrison received fresh spirits from the appearance of the fleet of *Castile*, under the command of the new admiral Don *Alonso Ortiz*, riding in the streights, by whom the daily supplies of provisions, which hitherto the *Moors* had received, were intercepted, and the besiegers reduced to the utmost distress. The face of things was quickly changed, a tempest dispersed the Christian fleet, and all, except three galleys, were lost, which plunged the garrison once more into deep distress. The king being informed of their circumstances, took a generous resolution of hazarding all for their relief.

\* BRANDAON. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. PRÆRERAS.  
† FARIA Y SOUSA. BRANDAON. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alfonso el Oursino. PRÆRERAS.

He sent the queen into *Portugal*, to procure what succours she could from the king, her father; and that brave prince, as soon as the queen had informed him of the situation that her husband's affairs were in, resolved to march to his assistance with the whole force of his kingdom.

Don *Alonso* received him at *Seville* with all possible marks of gratitude, reverence, and friendship; and when the two of *Castile* armies had rested and refreshed themselves, they marched towards the enemy, being about eighteen or twenty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. They arrived in sight of *Tarifa*, on Sunday the 29th of *October*, and held it for a good omen, that they received intelligence of Don *Pedro de Men- cado's* arrival in the streights, with the fleet of *Aragon*. In the night, the king threw a reinforcement of one thousand horse and four thousand foot into *Tarifa*; and the next morning, having made the necessary dispositions, and sent a strong detachment to join the *Portuguese*, he advanced to attack the king of *Morocco*, while the king of *Portugal* did the same against the king of *Granada*. The dispute was long and obstinate, more especially on the side of the king of *Castile*, but at length the *Moors* were defeated, with the loss of near half their army, amounting to two hundred thousand men. The king of *Granada* retired into his own dominions, with the broken remains of his forces; the king of *Morocco* retired first to *Algeria*, thence to *Gibraltar*, from whence he passed to *Ceuta* in the night; the two kings, after having provided for the security of *Tarifa*, went together to *Seville*, where prodigious rejoicings were made; the king of *Castile* offered his father-in-law all the prisoners and plunder that were taken, which he generously refused; and it was with great difficulty that he was brought to accept a few of the principal prisoners, some very rich arms, and a few jewels. His son-in-law accompanied him two days journey, in his march towards *Espremos*. The king of *Castile* from this time, as well out of gratitude as piety, conversed with Donna *Leonora de Guzman* no more, except in public, and as the mother of his children.

THE king, Don *Alonso*, sent an ambassador with his own standard, twenty-four horses richly caparisoned, and twenty-  
so reduces

\* BRANDAON. *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno*, par. DON JUAN NUNEZ DE VILLASAN. *Chron. de los Moros de España*. \* EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. *ROD. SANTI* Hist. Hispan. ZURIT. *Annal Arragon*. *Chron. de los Moros de España*. *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno*. MARIANA. *MAYERNE TURQUET*. FERRERAS.

*Alcala de four Moors to lead them, as a present to the pope at Avignon*<sup>x</sup>. Benzayde, The king having summoned the states of his dominions, and Moclin, having laid before them his wants, they, in consideration of his late victory, and the zeal expressed for them, and the good of his subjects, made him a tender of a large free gift, which he refused, and accepted only of a part, saying, that his own necessities forced him to take that, and the sense he had of theirs, to decline the rest. The king had formed a design of investing *Alcala de Benzayde*, a place of great importance to him, because the loss of it could not but be very sensible to the king of *Granada*, since it opened a passage into the heart of his dominions. By causing a report to be spread that he intended to attack *Malaga*, and causing some of his ships to appear before it, he drew the king of *Granada's* forces on that side, which left him at liberty to invest *Alcala* without opposition. He had no sooner formed the siege, than Don *Gilles de Bocanegra*, brother to the duke of *Genoa*, arrived with a strong squadron of galleys in the streights, and prevented any troops passing from *Barbary*. The king of *Granada*, however, was reinforced by the best part of that corps, which his ally, the king of *Morocco*, had left at *Algeriza*, and with these and with his own army he attempted to relieve *Alcala*, but in vain; upon which Don *Alonso*, having offered the garrison that they should march out and be escorted to whatever place they pleased, they very readily accepted these terms. While the king was employed in this siege, some of his generals reduced the castle of *Moclin*; and after the surrender of *Alcala*, the king made himself master of several places of less importance; which so alarmed the *Moorish* prince, that he offered to become his vassal again, and to pay him the accustomed tribute; to which Don *Alonso* added, that he should renounce his alliance with *Abul-Assan*, which he rejected, and thus the negotiation ended<sup>y</sup>.

1341.

The king at length undertakes the very important siege of *Algeriza*.

THE king found great difficulty in raising the supplies for the next year, and money was extremely necessary, as he had the *Genoese* and other foreigners in his pay, and therefore what he could not obtain from the states, he borrowed. The king of *Morocco* had made vast preparations, and seemed disposed to return once more into *Spain*. Don *Gilles de Bocanegra* sunk, burned, and took twelve of his galleys that lay in port; and being afterwards joined by ten galleys from *Portugal*,

<sup>x</sup> RAINALD. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hisp. part iv. MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>y</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de España. MARIANA. FERRERAS.



and the squadron of *Arragon*, attacked and beat the whole *Moorish* fleet with great loss<sup>2</sup>. The king, notwithstanding he found some backwardness in the nobility, who were really tired out with the length and the hardships of the service, to rid himself once for all from the apprehensions he was under from *Barbary*, resolved to besiege *Algeriza*, which, as he was informed, was at that time but indifferently provided: this equally amazed and chagrined the king of *Granada*, who endeavoured and found several methods of conveying succours into the place, which kept Don *Alonso* before it all the rest of the year. The *Moor* attempted likewise its relief, by negotiation and by force, but without effect. He likewise commissioned a *Moor* to make an attempt upon the king of *Castile's* person, which was happily discovered and prevented, the fellow, as he deserved, being put to death<sup>3</sup>.

THERE are few instances in history of a more remarkable *Artillery* siege than this of *Algeriza*, in which, on both sides, there was manifested all that human skill and courage could perform; the king of *Morocco* raised another great army, and assembled a vast fleet; but when he was ready to pass the streights, one of his sons revolted; and though he found means to have him killed, yet one of his adherents personated him and maintained a rebellion. The king of *Granada*, having received a part of the succours which his ally had promised, under the command of prince *Aly*, another of his sons, attempted over and over again to raise the siege, and ventured several actions, in which they were defeated by Don *Juan de Lara*. The besieged thundered upon the king's camp with cannon, which were here first employed, as all the *Spanish* historians agree<sup>4</sup>. Besides this opposition from his enemies, Don *Alonso* found himself much straitened in other respects. He could not leave the siege to seek supplies, and his credit was gradually exhausted. At length he thought of a stratagem, which procured him those aids his subjects had refused to his fortitude in necessity. He sent his own plate, and that of the lords who were with him, to *Seville*, where he ordered it to be coined into pieces current, at a higher rate than the standard; of which the inhabitants in his great cities having notice, offered him a large free gift to desist from that expedient, which he willingly accepted<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. BRANDAON. <sup>3</sup> Chron. de los Moros de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS. <sup>4</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. <sup>5</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espan.

Remarkable circumstances during this siege, which attracted the eyes of all Europe.

THE pope and the *French* king likewise sent him large sums<sup>d</sup>. The fame of this siege was so great, that Don *Philip*, king of *Navarre*, repaired thither with a great body of troops, and died in his return: several *English* and *French* men of quality, with considerable reinforcements, came thither, and served for a time; but the extream length of the siege tired out all the strangers, and brought the king into fresh distresses for money, the *Genoese* threatening to return or to revolt if they were not paid<sup>e</sup>. On the other hand, the king of *Granada* made a proposition to pay the whole expences of the war, if the king would raise the siege; and this, in effect, was a fresh distress, for his hungry troops importuned the king to close with these offers; but his good sense furnished him with an expedient to turn, even this, to his advantage; for he demanded three hundred thousand pistoles in gold, and granted a passport for a gally to go to *Ceuta* to receive them from the king of *Morocco*. This gally in her return, notwithstanding the king's passport, was attacked by the *Genoese*, but, however, escaped; but, instead of bringing the money, brought an order to hazard a battle, and to save the place at any rate. These orders were obeyed, and the *Moors* thoroughly beaten<sup>f</sup>. Still the place held out, notwithstanding the port was blocked up, not only by a strong squadron, but by a kind of dyke, in spite of which one *Muza*, a *Moorish* seaman, at stated times when the nights were dark, passed with fifty small vessels that drew little water, and carried supplies of provisions; so that, notwithstanding the king's information was true, that their magazines were low at the beginning, yet they were, by this means, supplied, and the place remained in the hands of the *Moors* all this year<sup>g</sup>.

1343. *Algeriza at last rendered to Don Alonso by the kings of Morocco and Granada.*

AT the beginning of the next, the king discovered *Muza's* practice; and having made such alterations in his dyke, as rendered it impossible for the future, of which *Abul Assan* being informed, he directed the king of *Granada* to make the best terms for the garrison he could. That prince proposed to Don *Alonso*, that the troops and inhabitants should have free leave to march out; that he would acknowledge himself his vassal, and pay the usual tribute; and that a truce should subsist for fifteen years; the king, to maintain his dignity, reduced the truce to ten years; and upon these terms the capi-

<sup>d</sup> RAINALD: P. DANIEL Hist. de France. FERRERAS:

<sup>e</sup> Historia de Royaume de Navarre. Chron. var. Antiq. P. DANIEL. FERRERAS.

<sup>f</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. ALPHONSI a Cartagena reb. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

<sup>g</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

tulation was signed on the twenty-sixth of *March*, when the plenipotentiaries of the king of *Granada*, kissed Don *Alonso's* hand, in token of homage<sup>a</sup>. The place was evacuated the next day, and Don *Juan Emanuel* entered it with a corps of troops, and the banner of *Castile* displayed, to the immortal honour of this great prince, and of his faithful nobility; by whose constancy, expressed in expending vast sums for his service, and by exposing their persons, this great conquest was attained. As soon as the king came to *Seville*, he ordered that the princesses, daughters of *Abul-Affan*, who were taken in that monarch's camp, at the defeat of *Salsedo*, should be provided with most magnificent equipages, and sent them with a suitable train on board his own galleys to *Ceuta*, without ransom, and with all the rich jewels in their possession when taken. *Abul-Affan* was amazed at this act of generosity, and soon after sent an embassy to return the king of *Castile* thanks, and to testify his esteem by presents of jewels, rich arms, gold and silver stuffs, most exquisite balsams and perfumes, together with lions, tigers, ostriches, and a considerable number of camels and horses<sup>b</sup>. Soon after, Don *Alonso* received ambassadors from *England* and from *Arragon*, the former in reference to a marriage, which he thought proper to defer, and the latter in regard to the alliance subsisting between the two crowns, which the king was content to renew for ten years<sup>c</sup>.

A. D.  
1344.

THE sovereignty of the *Canary* islands, held in vassalage from the holy see, by a tribute of four hundred pistoles a year, having been conferred by pope *Clement* the sixth on *Louis de sovereign-la Cerda*, count of *Clermont* in *France*, son of Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, the king of *Castile*, at the request of the pope and of that young prince, desisted from his pretensions to them, as appears by his letters, dated *February* the eighteenth, which, however, proved of little service to this nominal monarch, notwithstanding that he procured the like renunciation from the king of *Portugal*<sup>d</sup>. The king indeed was entirely occupied in finding ways and means to discharge the vast debts he had contracted during the tedious siege of *Algeria*, in pacifying the king of *Portugal*, who took it much amiss that he

The pope bestows the sovereignty of the Canary islands on Don Louis de la Cerda.  
1345.

<sup>a</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de España. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ALPHONS. a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. MARIANA. MAY-GENE TURQUET. FERRERAS.* <sup>b</sup> *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron. de los Moros de España. Chron. general de España. RAINALD.* <sup>c</sup> *ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.* <sup>d</sup> *BRANDAO. Chronica general de España. RAINALD.*

A. D.  
1347.

was not comprised in the peace he made with the kings of *Morocco* and *Granada*, and in protecting his sister the queen of *Arragon*<sup>m</sup>. The kingdom of *Castile*, it is true, and the dominions annexed to it, enjoyed a profound peace, which, however, contributed very little to repair the losses sustained by the late war, since the inhabitants were afflicted with a grievous plague and other calamities these distresses created; by which the king endeavoured to remedy to the utmost of his power, by several wise regulations, and by sparing them in the point of supplies as much as it was possible. He would in all probability have pursued this method of acting, at least, to the expiration of his truce with the *Moors*, if his ambition had not been awakened by an unforeseen event, which seemed to promise himself and his subjects very great advantages<sup>n</sup>.

1348.

*Don Alonso resolves to break the truce with the Moors, and besiege Gibraltar.*

ONE of the sons of *Abul Assan*, forgetting the respect due to him by the laws of nature as well as civil society, had taken up arms against him, and thrown all that monarchy into confusion; of which *Don Alonso* was no sooner informed, than he conceived in his mind a scheme for turning these dissensions in *Barbary* to his advantage. He called, with this view, an assembly of the states at *Alcala de Henares*, where he laid before them the situation things were in, the probability there was of his making himself master of *Gibraltar*, the only place that monarch held in *Spain*; and thereby removing all fear of leaving his successors under the necessities of fighting for their crowns, on terms as precarious as those upon which he fought the battle of *Salsedo*. This assembly closed with the king's proposition, and granted him the supplies that he demanded, which, however, was chiefly owing to his dexterity in managing such assemblies, an art in which he has hardly been excelled. These points settled, he sent to demand of the king of *Arragon* a squadron of gallies, and ambassadors likewise to other foreign powers<sup>o</sup>. About the beginning of the month of *August*, having intelligence that four *Arragonese* gallies had joined his fleet, and that it was cruising off *Gibraltar*, he traversed *Andalusia* with a potent army, and invested that place, round which he opened a large and deep trench.

*Dies of the plague before that*

THE siege continued that whole year, notwithstanding the king was so fortunate, at least in appearance, as to see all his schemes take effect; for his fleet effectually prevented succours

<sup>m</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. P. DE ESPINOSA. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>n</sup> Chronica general de Espana. FERRE-RAS, Historia de Espana. MARIANA. MEYERNE TURQUET.  
<sup>o</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ALONSO MORGADO. Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

coming

coming by sea; the king of *Granada* was afraid to attempt <sup>place at</sup> any thing openly, and the confusions in *Morocco* prevented that <sup>the very</sup> monarch from being able to do any thing for its relief. The <sup>time it was</sup> garrison and inhabitants therefore being in want of provisions, <sup>about to</sup> and the fortifications in a manner ruined, began to think of a capitulation, when the plague broke out in the camp<sup>p</sup>. The Infant (of *Arragon*) Don *Ferdinand*, his nephew Don *Juan Nunez de Lara*, who was always near his person, Don *Ferdinand Emanuel*, and other great lords, pressed him either to raise the siege, or at least to retire himself; but it was in vain: he observed to them that *Gibraltar* had been lost during his minority, that he was under a kind of obligation to recover it to his country, and that the plague might reach him in his court as well as in the camp. It may be, he had not considered, that though this enterprize had been very maturely concerted, and executed with great circumspection, yet it was a direct violation of the law of God, and of nature; and that, therefore, notwithstanding these favourable appearances, he had no reason to flatter himself with success. However it was, the plague seized him at that critical juncture, and of it he died on *Good-Friday*, *March* the 26th, exceedingly regretted by the army, and by all his subjects<sup>q</sup>. His nephew the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, Don *Juan Nunez de Lara*, Don *Ferdinand Emanuel*, and some other noblemen, attended the king's body when it was removed from the camp; and the *Moors* in *Gibraltar* shewed, upon this occasion, a politeness that ought to have covered their enemies with confusion: they suspended hostilities that whole day, and refused to take advantage of that sorrow and confusion which reigned through the Christian camp. The king's body was carried first to *Seville*, and deposited in the royal chapel till it could be removed to *Cordova*, where, by his last testament, he desired to be buried with his father<sup>r</sup>.

THE peace and glory of his country expired with Don *Don Pedro Alonso*. His successor, Don *Pedro*, surnamed the *cruel*, was the cruel the only surviving son by the queen; for Don *Ferdinand* died *succeeds his* in his infancy: but by Donna *Leonora de Guzman* he had father, *Sancho*, who was weak in his mind and infirm in his body; and is *go-* Henry Frederick, whom the *Spaniards* call *Fradrique Her-* vernoed by *nando* or *Ferdinand*, and *Tello*<sup>s</sup>. At the time of his demise, *his mother*

<sup>p</sup> Chron. var. antiq. *Chronica de los Moros de Espana*. FER-  
RERAS.

<sup>q</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. *Chronica general de Espana*. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FER-  
RERAS.

<sup>r</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FER-  
RERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

<sup>s</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro primero*, &c.

and Don  
Juan de  
Albu-  
querque.

Don *Pedro* was in his sixteenth year; and though not a legal minor, yet absolutely governed by the queen his mother, and her favourite Don *Juan Alonso de Albuquerque*. The siege of *Gibraltar* was carried on after the king's death, till orders could be received from court, and was then raised, though the place might have been easily taken<sup>1</sup>. But the spirit of government was lost, and the spirit of intrigue occupied the court. Donna *Leonora de Guzman* retired immediately to *Medina Sidonia*, which the king had given her, which was well provided and excellently fortified. She had intrusted it to the care of Don *Alonso Coronel*, an experienced officer, who had long enjoyed her protection, and who, as soon as the king expired, fought that of the queen. Many persons of great distinction, and most of the nobility of the illustrious house of *Guzman*, resorted to Donna *Leonora*, which filled the court with apprehensions: these, however, it was thought proper to dissemble; and upon the faith of Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, and Don *Juan de Lara*, Donna *Leonora* was prevailed upon to go to the court at *Seville*, where, without any ceremony or regard to their faith, she was clapped into prison<sup>2</sup>. Her sons, notwithstanding this were well received; and the king gave them to understand, that though he would not protect their mother, with whom he had no connections, yet he should always consider them as his brethren. They were permitted to visit Donna *Leonora*, who, in spite of the endeavours of the court, procured for Don *Henry*, Donna *Joanna*, the sister of Don *Ferdinand Emanuel*; which marriage so provoked the queen, that she gave orders for arresting Don *Henry*, but he made his escape into *Asturias*<sup>3</sup>. The king falling ill soon after, increased those jealousies that were but too high already; and upon his recovery, Don *Juan de Lara* and Don *Ferdinand Emanuel* retired from court, and died soon after, the former at *Burgos*, and the latter at *Valena*<sup>4</sup>.

1350.

Consents,  
at their  
instigation,  
to the  
murder of  
Donna  
Leonora  
de Guzman.

THE king Don *Pedro* removed in the beginning of the year from *Seville*, and carried with him Donna *Leonora*, under a guard. He visited, however, his brother Don *Frederick*, and feasted with him several days. After this, the court removed to *Talavera*, where, by the persuasion of his mother, the king consented to the death of the unfortunate Donna *Leonora*, the first stain on the annals of his reign, which were afterwards wrote in blood. This place belonged to the dowager, and to

<sup>1</sup> Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS.

Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro primero, &c.

<sup>3</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS.

perpetuate

perpetuate the memory of this cruel act, is thought to have received the epithet of *Talavera de la Reyna*, which it still retains<sup>7</sup>. Upon the king's arrival at *Burgos*, which city had shewn some dislike to Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, he sent for *Garcilasso de la Vega*, the son of the late chancellor; and as soon as he came into his palace, caused him to be murdered, and his body thrown into the street: he attempted likewise to have got Don *Nunez de Lara*, the only son of Don *Juan*, and then a child, into his power, but without effect; however, he died soon after, and then he seized all the estates of that family<sup>2</sup>. Don *Carlos*, surnamed the *wicked*, king of *Navarre*, made him a visit at *Burgos*, where he was well received, and after he had remained there some time, the two kings parted perfectly pleased with each other<sup>3</sup>. The states of *Castile* assembled at *Valladolid*, were not very complaisant to the king, who, as soon as they rose, went with his mother to *Ciudad Rodrigo*, in order to confer with his grandfather the king of *Portugal*. That monarch gave them a great deal of good advice, and engaged, or rather obliged, the king to be reconciled to his brother Don *Henry* count of *Traстамара*<sup>4</sup>, who had taken shelter in his dominions, and who, notwithstanding, had no great confidence in the king or his favourite.

A. D.  
1351.

THE tranquility of *Castile* could be of no long duration, under a prince so much hurried away by his passions. He prepared to reduce Don *Alonso Fernandes Coronel*, and having dropt some expressions that alarmed his brethren the counts Don *Henry* and Don *Tello*, they retired privately from court, and stood upon their defence, fully persuaded, that if the king had them once in his power, they should never have such an opportunity again<sup>5</sup>. The king Don *Pedro* followed them into *Biscay*, and took several places; and it was while he was thus employed, that Don *Juan Alonso de Albuquerque*, from a base ambition, and through an unworthy scheme of politics, plunged this unfortunate prince in that fatal amour, which brought upon him destruction and disgrace. He had observed that the king had expressed some emotion at the sight of *Maria de Padilla*, a young gentlewoman who lived as a companion with his own wife, and who being now grown somewhat older, was become a perfect beauty. By proposals of

Becomes enamoured of Donna Maria de Padilla, which proves the ruin of his affairs.

<sup>7</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS.

<sup>2</sup> MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET.

<sup>3</sup> Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro primero, &c.

<sup>4</sup> BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro primero, &c. FERRERAS.

<sup>5</sup> FERRE-RAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. sec. xiii. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.

A. D.  
1352.

promoting their interests, he drew her relations to consent to his scheme of her becoming the king's mistress, though he knew that the queen his mother was actually treating of a marriage for the king, with Donna Blanca, daughter to the duke of Bourbon. His scheme succeeded to his wish, the king saw Donna Maria at Sahagun, and became captivated to such a degree, that the common people of those times believed, and the bulk of the *Spanish* historians have reported, that he was bewitched by her<sup>d</sup> (S). An excuse, which, however it might operate heretofore, will do nothing now.

THIS

<sup>d</sup> MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xvi. c. 18. RAINALD. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

(S) We shall have occasion to say so much of this lady, that it seems requisite to give the reader some particulars relating to her in a note, that he may be acquainted with her more particularly. She was of a good, though not of a great, family, and is by some writers represented as if educated according to the custom of those times, in the house of Don Juan de Albuquerque, rather than as an attendant on his lady (1). She was a little woman, but exquisitely beautiful, and was endowed with so many rare qualities, that it is said, abating her criminal complaisance for the king, she was by no means unworthy of a crown (2). How far this complaisance was criminal may, notwithstanding, admit of some question, since, after her demise, the king Don Pedro asserted that he was lawfully married to her, in the presence of Don Juan de Hincstrosa her brother, Don Diego Garcia de Padilla his own

chancellor, and his first chaplain (3). The two last were living at the time, and swore it to be truth. We shall hereafter see, that this monarch made no scruple of marrying at any time to gratify his desires, and therefore might very possibly do it now, though it must be acknowledged that it was kept very secret; and when published by the king, and sworn to, it was very far from meeting with entire credit (4). The reader may meet with some very judicious and moral remarks upon the consequences of the king's ill conduct, in regard to this lady; the mean and low spirit of his courtiers, in paying her the most profound respect, and the generous freedom of cardinal Albornoz, who not only disdained such a behaviour, but both spoke and wrote freely to the king upon the subject, till he found himself in so great danger, that he thought it best to retire to Avignon, to be safe from the resent-

(1) *Cronica del Rey Don Pedro de Pedro Lopez de Ayala. Histoire d'Espagne, par Mazerne Turquet.* (2) *Historia general de Espana, par Mariana, lib. xvi.*

(3) *Pedro Lopez de Ayala, por Ferreras, part. viii. sec. xiv.*

(4) *Historia de Espana,*

ment



THIS intrigue did not hinder the king from pursuing his revenge against Don Alonso Fernandes Coronel, whom he besieged all the winter in his castle of *Aguilar*, took the place by storm, in the beginning of the spring, and put that nobleman and many of his relations to death\*. In the month of February, Donna Blanca arrived in Spain, and was received by the queen dowager Donna Maria, and by the queen Donna Leonora, the king's aunt†. Don Juan de Albuquerque was at that time in Portugal, but returned upon the first news of it to court; and finding that the kindred of Donna Maria de Padilla began to supplant him in the king's good graces, he applied himself with all imaginable diligence, to persuade the king to go and consummate his marriage with Donna Blanca at *Valladolid*, in which he found more difficulty than he expected. But the relations of Donna Maria de Padilla prevailed upon him more easily to receive his brethren Don Henry and Don Tello into his favour, though each of them came attended with such a number of armed followers, as left them no reason to fear any thing from his displeasure. But as they gave out that they were not afraid of him, but of Don Juan de Albuquerque, he received this excuse, and behaved towards them very kindly‡. At length, with much persuasion, he went to *Valladolid*, and in the presence of the two queens, and of all the princes of the royal blood, he espoused Donna Blanca, but left her abruptly the next day, to return to his mistress§. Don Juan de Albuquerque retired in discontent

1353.

\* Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.

† ROB. SANTII, Hist. Hispan.

‡ Chron. del Don Pedro

de Castilla. FERRERAS.

§ Chronica del Rey Don Pe-

dro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET.

ment of a monarch whose hands were already dipped in blood (5). The learned Mr. Bayle has vouchsafed this lady an article in his dictionary, which is drawn from the historian last mentioned; and she also occupied the first place in a celebrated history of royal mistresses, where, if not accurately, her story is at least elegantly told (6). She was absolutely mistress of the king's

heart for nine years; and he was so much afflicted with her death, that he had almost lost his senses (7). Her uncle became his principal favourite; and he committed acts of the greatest violence and injustice, in order to bestow upon her two brothers, Don Diego and Don Juan, the grand masterships of *Calatrava* and *St. James*.

(5) *Hist. gen. de Espana, par Mariana, lib. xvi. sources, premiere partie.*

(7) *Ayala, Mariana, Ferreras, &c.*

(6) *Historia des Fa-*

from

from court, and refused to go towards *Toledo*, as the king directed. As soon as Don *Pedro* was informed of this, he quitted that city, and returned to *Valladolid*, where he staid two days with the three queens, which was the last time he saw his consort Donna *Blanca*<sup>1</sup>. He proceeded from thence to *Olmedo*, to his mistress, and sent for Don *Juan de Albuquerque* thither, under pretence of a reconciliation; but, in reality, with a design to cut him off with his principal adherents. Donna *Maria de Padilla*, having some connections with these lords, gave them notice of the king's design, upon which, not without danger and difficulty, they retired into *Portugal*. The king was no sooner informed of this, than he shut up his queen Donna *Blanca* in prison, married his brother Don *Tello* to Donna *Joanna de Lara*, the heiress of that family, and removed from all their employments the creatures of Don *Juan de Albuquerque*<sup>2</sup>. And thus, for the present, the court of *Castile* received quite a new face.

*Causes  
himself to  
be divorced,  
marries Donna  
Joanna  
Fernandez de  
Castro,  
and leaves  
her.*

1354.

THE king, understanding that Don *Juan Nunez de Prada*, grand master of the order of *Calatrava*, was retired into *Arragon*, he wrote to him in the strongest terms, assuring him he had nothing to fear, upon which that lord returned into *Castile*. On his arrival at *Almagro*, the king caused him to be seized, and ordered him to renounce his dignity; and then compelled the knights to elect Don *Diego de Padilla*, brother of his mistress: but understanding that the knights were not mighty well satisfied with a renunciation, he, to prevent their restoring the old grand-master, directed him to be murdered; one of the foulest actions of his whole reign<sup>1</sup>. He next took it into his head to make his addresses to Donna *Joanna Fernandes de Castro*, the widow of Don *Diego de Haro*; and finding no other way to gratify his desires, he prevailed upon two of his bishops to declare his former marriage null, and then married Donna *Joanna* publicly. He left her, however, almost as soon as he had done his former queen; and understanding that his two brothers had entered into a league with Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, he married Donna *Isabella*, younger sister to Donna *Joanna de Lara*, to Don *Juan of Arragon*, and declared him lord of *Biscay*, in prejudice to his brother Don *Tello*, who had married the eldest sister<sup>m</sup>. The king then ordered Donna *Blanca* to be removed to *Toledo*,

<sup>1</sup> FERRERAS. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARIANA.

<sup>1</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ZURITA, Annal Arragon. FERRERAS.

<sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. Chronica general de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

where,

where, having humbly desired leave to perform her devotions in the cathedral, she refused to come out of it, and by a very moving speech induced the inhabitants to revolt in her favour<sup>a</sup>. Don Henry, count *de Trassamara*, with the rest of the confederates, repaired thither, and began to take the best measures they were able for reducing the king to reason, in which they were not a little disappointed by the death of Don Juan *de Albuquerque*, who was poisoned by an *Italian* physician. Their party, however, by degrees, became so strong, that the king found himself obliged to come to them to *Toro*, where he consented to all that they asked, and dissembled with such address, that he deceived not only them, but the pope's legate; but having, in the mean time, by a secret treaty, detached some of the members of the league, he took the advantage of a thick fog, and withdrawing out of their hands, retired to *Segovia* <sup>o</sup>; a circumstance that alarmed those whom he left behind, and who knew his implacable and sanguinary temper.

THE princes who remained firm in the confederacy, were *The city of* the king's three brothers, Don Henry count of *Trassamara*, Toledo, the grand master Don Frederick, and Don Tello, lord of *Biscay*, which had in right of his wife, with Don Ferdinand *de Castro*, brother declared to the lady whom the king had abused, under pretence of *for queen* marriage, and who had himself espoused the sister of those Blanca, of this league, now followed the king; who having artfully reduced by drawn from the states at *Burgos* considerable supplies, took the field with a good army, and upon various pretences cut off several great lords, whom he suspected. At length he made an attempt upon *Toro*, where the queen his mother was under the protection of the count Don Henry, by whose valour and prudence the king's army was repulsed <sup>p</sup>. Don Pedro, disappointed and provoked, marched with all possible diligence towards *Toledo*, sending word before him, that, yielding to the prayers of his people, he resolved to live with the queen Donna Blanca as became him. The count Don Henry marched thither also, with such expedition, that he got into the city; yet the greater part of the inhabitants, confiding in the king's promises, received the king's troops also, and the count finding himself obliged to retire, took his measures with such address, that having seized and plundered the king's camp, he returned with credit to *Talavera* <sup>q</sup>. The king no

<sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. FERRERAS.

<sup>p</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUETT.

<sup>q</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.

sooner

sooner found himself master of the place, than he sent the queen Donna Blanca prisoner to *Sigüenza*, caused several noblemen to be beheaded, and twenty-two of the principal inhabitants to be hanged. Amongst other severities, he thought fit to imprison the bishop of *Sigüenza*; which so irritated the pope, that he sent word to his legate to excommunicate him, and put all the places in his obedience under an interdict. Don Pedro, notwithstanding, made another attempt upon *Toro*; and, after all that had passed, amused the cardinal legate with such fair promises, that he absolved him from the excommunication, and took off the interdict; but being quickly undeceived, he had recourse to these ecclesiastical thunders again<sup>r</sup>. It does not appear, that, except their temporal consequences, the king heeded them much.

1355.  
Makes  
himself  
master  
of *Toro*,  
and of the  
person of  
the queen-  
mother  
and her  
adherents.

THE king having reduced his mother, and those who adhered to her in *Toro*, to great extremities, and having found means to draw off his brother the grand-master Don *Frederrick*, became at length master of the place; the queen dowager Donna *Maria* retiring to the *Alcazal*, with Donna *Joanna*, the wife of Don *Henry* count *de Trastamara*, and most of the nobility repaired thither likewise. As the place could not hold out long, she sent in the most humble manner to her son, to desire he would promise life to her, and those who were with her; which he refused, and they were compelled to surrender at discretion. They were no sooner in the king's power, than he ordered most of the nobility to be put to death in the presence of the queen dowager, who fainting at so barbarous a spectacle, was carried back senseless to the palace<sup>r</sup>. Amongst so many acts of cruelty, there was one which had an air of generosity: there was in the place one *Martin Abarca*, a nobleman of *Arragon*, to whom the king Don *Alonso* had committed the care of Don *Juan*, a son of his by *Leonora de Guzman*. He sent to the king from the place, where he was concealed, and desired him to spare the life of Don *Juan*, and of himself. The king answered, that if he produced Don *Juan* immediately, that prince should be saved; but that his own death was a thing settled. The generous old man brought his pupil instantly to the king, to whom, having recommended him in the most pathetic manner, he offered himself to die; upon which the king told him that it was his intention he should live and enjoy his favour<sup>r</sup>. He thought fit, however, to proscribe his brothers, Don

1356.

<sup>r</sup> RAINALD. MARIANA. FERRERAS.      \* Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARIANA. MATHERNE TUQUET.      † Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. FERRERAS.

*Frederick* and *Don Tello*, and some attempts were made to assassinate them; but people were become now so much afraid of him, and trusted so little to his promises, that he was not able to accomplish his bloody purposes so easily as he had formerly done. He gave *Don Henry* count *de Trastamara* leave to retire to *France*, but posted murderers upon the roads through which he was to pass; but being well accompanied, he retired safely, though not without difficulty, out of his dominions. This year a war broke out between him and *Don Pedro* of *Arragon*, about a dispute at sea, which had very bad consequences<sup>u</sup> (T). By which we may discern how early princes began to be jealous of the slightest injuries offered to their dominion of the sea.

THE war with *Arragon* brought back the count of *Trastamara* into that prince's dominions, who employed him in *Don* his service, and gave him considerable appointments. *Don Henry* *Pedro* of *Castile*, however, gained some advantages this campaign, and might have obtained greater, if he had not laboured to corrupt the views of his two generals *Don Juan de la Cerdá*,<sup>ed to her.</sup>

<sup>u</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro* de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala ZURIT. *Annal Arragon.* MARIANA. FERRERAS.

(T) The king, *Don Pedro*, having embarked at *Port St. Mary's*, was amusing himself with the sight of his subjects fishing for tunnies, when a squadron of ten gallies belonging to the king of *Arragon*, commanded by *Don Francisco Carrillos*, came upon the coast, and took two vessels under *Pisan* colours, but freighted by the *Genoese* with oil for *Alexandria*. As this was done in the very sight of the king, he sent two persons of distinction to let *Don Francisco* know, that those vessels were under his protection at the time they were taken, and that therefore he expected they should be discharged. *Don Francisco* answered, that, his master being at war with the *Genoese*, he took them to be good prizes, and therefore sold them without delay. *Don Pedro*, upon this, seized the effects of the *Catalan* merchants at *Seville*, by way of

satisfaction. He sent also an ambassador to the king of *Arragon*, to demand that *Don Francisco* should be put to death, or sent prisoner into *Castile*. The king of *Arragon* answered very mildly, that he disapproved his admiral's conduct, and that he would call him to an account for it, upon his return. The ambassador of *Castile*, who, probably, had secret instructions, replied, that his master would take a proper satisfaction by force of arms. The monarch of *Arragon* told him, in return, that he saw no ground for a breach between the two crowns; but that, if he was attacked, he would repel force by force, and trust the decision of the cause to the supreme Being, who is the sovereign distributor of justice. Upon these grounds the war began, which *Mariana* describes as bringing desolation and destruction on both kingdoms.

*husband,* and Don *Alvaro Perez de Guzman*, which induced them to revolt; when the latter, being defeated and taken, the king *by Pedro deCarillo.* caused him to be presently put to death. The pope's legate obtained a truce, which the king of *Castile* speedily broke; and, as if he had been afraid to leave a single good action upon record, finding *Martin Abarca*, whom he had suffered to return home in one of the plates he took, he caused him to be put to death<sup>w</sup>. His brother Don *Henry*, being under continual apprehensions that he would put his wife Donna *Joanna Emanuel*, whom he had taken at *Toro*, to death, one *Pedro Carillo*, who had been long in his service, and unable to bear his master's passionate complaints, left him, and went to the king. He told that prince that he had been extremely ill used by the count, that he was well acquainted with many others, who had personal resentments against him; and that if he would give him leave to raise a troop of these, he would put his brother into his hands, either dead or alive. The king accepted the proposition with joy; upon which *Pedro Carillo* assembled at his expence a strong body of horse; composed of gentlemen well affected to his master, with which entering *Toro* suddenly, he took Donna *Joanna* out of prison, and carried her safe to her lord<sup>x</sup>. Don *Ferdinand*, Infant of *Arragon*, about the same time reconciled himself to his brother<sup>y</sup>, so that Don *Pedro* had various causes of chagrin.

1357.

*The king causes his brother, Don Frederick, and his cousin, Don Juan de Arragon, to be murdered.*

As nothing irritated this prince so much as the escapes of those whom he had destined to destruction; so having still about him Don *Juan* of *Arragon*, the brother of Don *Ferdinand*, and his own two brothers Don *Frederick* and Don *Tello*, he resolved to dispatch them all by degrees, and to make use of them in dispatching each other. He resolved to begin with his brother Don *Frederick*, the grand master, with which he acquainted the Infant Don *Juan* of *Arragon*; whom, in consideration of his assisting his designs, he promised to make lord of *Biscay*. His brother was slain in his presence, on the 27th of *May*, in the hall of his palace at *Seville*, and he afterwards dined in the very room, before the body was removed<sup>z</sup>. He directed also several other lords to be killed the same day; and afterwards set out with his cousin Don *Juan* of *Arragon* for the castle of *Aguilar*, where he had determined to treat his brother Don *Tello* in the same manner; nor was he a little

<sup>w</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. RAINALD. FERRERAS.

<sup>x</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>y</sup> Chronica general de Espana. ZURITA. Annal Arragon. Chron. var. Antiq.

<sup>z</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

chagrined

chagrined at finding he was withdrawn; however, he secured his wife, and, to shew how much he was in earnest in this pursuit, understanding that his brother had fled by sea, he went on board a ship, in order to follow him, but a storm obliged him quickly to return<sup>a</sup>. He then proceeded in his journey to *Biscay*, and carried his cousin Don *Juan* with him, who, having acted in all things as the creature of his will, pressed him to perform his promise of making him lord of that country. The king gave him to understand that it was necessary to assemble the states of that country for that purpose; which being done, they resolved, according to the instructions they had received, that they would never have any other lord than the king himself. Don *Pedro* sent intelligence of this to his cousin, and assured him that he was very sorry for this disappointment. Don *Juan* understood him too well to pay any respect to this message, and therefore retired from court; yet he suffered himself to be deceived by a second, in which he gave him to understand, that he would endeavour to persuade the states to admit of his renunciation in his favour. Don *Juan* went to meet the king at *Bilboa*, where he then was; and as soon as he entered the audience chamber, and paid his respects to him, a person behind knocked him down, while those about him stabbed him in many places; some say the king gave him his mortal wound with a javelin. However this might be, the body was presently thrown out of a window, from whence the king looked out and insulted it, in the hearing of the people who gathered about it<sup>b</sup>. His aunt, queen *Leonora*, and the wife of Don *Tello*, he shut up in prison, seizing upon all they had; but in the mean time his brother the count Don *Henry*, with the army of *Arragon*, took several places upon the frontiers, while the king, in order to revenge himself, caused a potent fleet to be equipped at *Seville*<sup>c</sup>, to ravage the coasts.

AT the opening of the ensuing year, the pope sent a legate *Poisone his* into *Spain*, to accommodate these differences between the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*. Don *Pedro* received that *aunt Don-* prelate with all the marks of deference and respect imaginable; complained of exceeding ill usage he had met with from the king his neighbour; notwithstanding which, out of pure regard to his holiness, he was ready to make peace upon the most moderate terms; such as, that the king of *Arragon* should *na Leono-* *ra and* *the widow* *of Don* *Juan.*

<sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>b</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARJANA. FERRERAS. <sup>c</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla.

deliver up to him Don *Francisco Perellos*, with whom he had reason to be offended; should banish his brothers and all the *Castilians* in his service; should restore *Alicant*, *Oribuela*, and other places that formerly belonged to *Castile*, and pay him half a million of pieces of gold for the expences of the war. The cardinal reported these terms to the king of *Arragon*, and laboured to soften their resentments against each other, but to very little purpose <sup>d</sup>. As soon as the fleet at *Seville* was ready, Don *Pedro*, to shew how much he was inclined to peace, proclaimed Don *Ferdinand*, Infant of *Arragon*, Don *Henry* count of *Trastamara*, and their adherents, traitors; and that his resentment might not seem to be confined to words only, he ordered his aunt, the queen dowager of *Arragon*, Donna *Leonora*, to be put to death, and caused Donna *Isabella*, the widow of the Infant Don *John* of *Arragon*, to be poisoned <sup>e</sup>. He went afterwards to spread desolation with his fleets on the coast of *Catalonia*; but while he was thus employed, his brother, the count Don *Henry*, made an irruption into his territories; gained a complete victory, and killed his favourite Don *Juan Fernandez Hinestroza*, who was uncle to Donna *Maria de Padilla*, who was this year brought to-bed of her son Don *Alonso* <sup>f</sup>, whom his father afterwards procured to be owned by the states for the lawful heir to the crown.

Other instances of the king's barbarous, vindictive and avacious temper.

Don *Pedro*, though he could not repair the loss of the last battle, yet revenged it upon such of his subjects as were in the interests of his brethren, or whom he so much as suspected of being so. The many examples he made in this way, so frightened the most considerable persons in his dominions, that many, merely out of fear, went and joined the count Don *Henry*, and others retired into *Portugal*, where the king gave them a good reception; but after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile his neighbours, at length took part with the king of *Arragon*, as the more reasonable <sup>g</sup>. The king Don *Pedro* had a good army in the field, which gave him an opportunity of gratifying his resentments, which he did in many instances; but it happens fortunately for us, that the nature of this history does not oblige us to give an exact catalogue of his murders. We are, however, compelled to take notice, that in his march towards *Najara*, where his brother the count Don *Henry* was with his army, a priest very earnestly desired audience of him,

<sup>d</sup> RAINALD. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FERRERAS. <sup>e</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>f</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. <sup>g</sup> BRANDAON. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FERRERAS.

which,



which, when he had obtained, he told him that St. *Dominick* had commanded him in his sleep to admonish him to beware of his brother Don *Henry*, by whose hands he should certainly fall. The king was at first a little surprized; but having recollected himself, ordered the priest to be burnt alive, which was done; and soon after, the king lost the opportunity of reducing his brother, who had shut himself up in *Najara*, when it was actually in his power<sup>b</sup>. Towards the close of the year, he entered into a negotiation with the king of *Portugal*, whom he secretly advised, that as the persons who had taken shelter in his dominions were men who had given him great offence, he would, upon putting them into his power, deliver up those who had taken refuge in *Castile*, for putting to death *Agnes de Castro*, the king of *Portugal*'s wife, in his father's lifetime, and by his orders. This was soon accepted, and punctually performed on both sides; in consequence of which, most dismal slaughters ensued: amongst these was *Samuel Levi*, a Jew, who had been his treasurer during the whole reign of Don *Pedro*. It does not appear that he suffered for any other crime than that of being rich; and that the king might have an opportunity of possessing himself of about 160,000 pistoles in gold, and upwards of 4,000,000 in silver. It is probable he had obtained still more, if, in the midst of those tortures, employed to force from him a discovery, this miserable man had not died sooner than Don *Pedro* expected<sup>i</sup>; at least this the king's unextinguished avarice tempted him to believe.

A. D.  
1360.

MOHAMMED BARBAROSSA, who had raised himself to the throne of *Granada*, having, in consequence of a league made with the king of *Arragon*, invaded the territories of *Castile*, Don *Pedro*, whose passions made him frequently take sudden and strange resolutions, concluded, by the interposition of the pope's legate, a peace with the king of *Arragon*, that he might be at liberty to revenge himself upon the *Moors* of *Granada*<sup>k</sup>. About this time, the king, from what particular motive does not appear, ordered his beautiful, but unfortunate wife, *Donna Blanca*, to be put to death, in the fortress of *Xerez*, where she had been long confined (U). The governor

*Puts the queen Donna Blanca to death, and aims at assassinating Don Henry.*

<sup>a</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.*  
*MARIANA.* <sup>i</sup> *EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.* *Chronica general de España.* <sup>k</sup> *RAINALD.* *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.* *ZURITA, An. Aragon.*

(U) We are told by some fruits of another extraordinary historians, that the murder of adventure. The king, Don *Pedro*, being one day hunting, a the unhappy queen was the rustic,

A. D.  
1361.

governor excused himself from obeying the order; but the king soon sent another person who fulfilled his intentions, as some say, by poison<sup>1</sup>. In the mean time, Don Henry, count de *Traстамара*, and his associates, found themselves constrained to retire once more into *France*, which they did, however, with the less regret, because they discovered that the king of *Aragon* had actually been taking measures to raise his brother the Infant Don *Ferdinand* to the throne of *Castile*, who, for that important service, was to make him a cession of the kingdom of *Murcia*. This treaty, however, was not extremely well performed on either side; but as hostilities ceased, Don *Pedro* of *Castile* made the use he intended of it, and engaged in a war with the *Moor*s of *Granada*, which was managed with indifferent success. This year, and but a small time after the queen, deceased Donna *Maria de Padilla*, leaving a

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.*

rustic, who made a most rueful appearance, came up to him, and admonished him to desist from persecuting so religious and virtuous a princess, and live with her as he ought to do, if he meant to escape the heavy vengeance of God. Upon this the king ordered the man to be seized, and thrown into a dungeon, while some of his creatures were ordered to make a strict enquiry, whether the queen had not some hand in sending this messenger; but, being satisfied that this conjecture was groundless, he ordered the peasant to be set at liberty, whether from his imprisonment only, or from all the miseries of this life, is not very clear; for it is asserted that the man was never seen afterwards: he judged from hence that his ill usage of the queen, having raised her many friends, and him as many enemies, the most effectual method to prevent any future attempts in her favour was to remove her out of the world; and, having entrusted

ed a physician with this commission, he went to the place where she was confined, and dispatched her with a dose of poison. The *Spanish* historians seem to make a point of rendering that justice to the queen which her husband refused her: they represent her as the best princess that ever sat upon the *Spanish* throne; and the eloquent *Mariana* is more eloquent than usual in deploring her misfortunes, which he observes began with her marriage, and ended with her life. Donna *Maria de Padilla* did not survive her many weeks; and the son which the king had by her followed her to the grave soon after. It may be, that authors are too bold in affirming these were the judgments of God upon the king for the unjust treatment of so good a princess; but it may be very true history, that this was the current opinion at the time, and in that light very well deserved to be recorded.

son,

son, Don *Alonso*, and three daughters, Donna *Beatrix*, Donna *Constantia*, and Donna *Isabella*, by the king Don *Pedro*, who is said to have expressed great sorrow for her death<sup>m</sup>. But his subjects were far from looking upon this event as a calamity.

In the month of *January*, the king of *Castile* ordered the *His forces* grand master of *Calatrava*, accompanied by Don *Henry* defeated by *Henriquez*, and some other old officers, with 1000 horse, the Moors and 2000 foot, to surprize *Cadiz*, which, though a place of *before the* so great importance to the king of *Granada*, was according *town of* to his intelligence but indifferently guarded. Artifices of *Cadiz*, this kind were familiar to the *Moors*; the army of *Castile* ad- *with great* vanced near the place without discovering an enemy; a small *lost* party was detached to the very suburbs of the city to gain intelligence, a more considerable body followed to support them; the first saw no troops, the latter retired from an apprehension of an ambuscade, without being pursued. This proceeding was too fine for the Christian generals, they concluded the city to be defenceless and secure, upon which, they sent off detachments to plunder the country on every side. As soon as those detachments were at a considerable distance, a small detachment of *Moorish* horse came out of the city, and skirmished with the like number of Christians, who passed the bridge for that purpose. By degrees the *Moors* grew stronger, the remains of the army under the command of the generals, were obliged to engage to bring off their friends. It was then that they saw their ruin plainly, a great body of *Moors* having passed the river, attacked them in the rear, and the Christians being surrounded, were very speedily defeated, the grand master, Don *Henry*, and most of the chief commanders taken prisoners<sup>n</sup>. Guilt is never secure: *Mohammed Barbarossa* had usurped the crown of *Granada* from his master, who, to save his life, had retired to *Ronda*, and therefore this victory, instead of rejoicing, alarmed him. He knew that the king of *Castile* was equally impetuous and obstinate; he was sensible he had provoked him, and he was conscious of his superiority. He acted, however, very prudently in this critical situation; he understood that the grand master and Don *Henry* were the king's principal favourites; he set them at liberty without ransom, he sent by them magnificent presents to Don *Pedro*, and he desired them to mediate a peace<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> ZURIT. Annal Aragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. Chron. de los Moros de España. FERRERAS.

<sup>n</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. Chronica de los Moros de España.

<sup>o</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. Chronica de los Moros de España. FERRERAS.

Mohammed Bar-  
barossa,  
king of  
Granada,  
murdered  
by Don Pe-  
dro of Cas-  
tile.

ALL this, however, had no effect; Don *Pedro* carried on the war with such fierceness, that at length *Mohammed Barbarossa* resolved to go in person to *Seville*, and submit himself to a prince, whom he found it not in his power to resist. He demanded and received a safe conduct for this purpose, and then executed his design. Don *Pedro* received him with all the kindness and affability imaginable, and ordered one of the principal lords of his court to make a great feast for his new vassal. But being informed that *Mohammed* had brought with him great treasures, and that those who attended him had very rich jewels, he caused them to be seized at that feast; and having mounted the king of *Granada* upon an ass, sent them out into the most public place with a herald, proclaiming before them, that the king of *Castile* had condemned them to be put to death, as traitors against their lawful sovereign *P*. Some say that Don *Pedro* with his own hands gave the king of *Granada* a mortal wound, and afterwards cut off his head <sup>9</sup>. However that may be, it is universally confessed, that this unfortunate monarch, with thirty-seven of the principal persons in his court, were there slain, in breach of public faith, and spoiled of all their wealth (W). After this, the head of  
*Mohammed*

<sup>P</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. RON.  
SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>9</sup> FERRERAS.

(W) The death of *Mohammed* king of *Granada* was attended with so many aggravating circumstances, and carried in it such pregnant marks of barbarity, that one cannot easily conceive Don *Pedro* could hope to ward off any part of the shame that ought to attend such a glaring breach of hospitality, and a violation so apparent of public faith. Yet, in consequence of his being long practised in such mysterious and bloody expedients, he formed a scheme of setting this atrocious act in so plausible a light, that some well-meaning people have been deceived by it. He pretended that *Mohammed* had usurped the crown of *Granada*, and therefore was a fit object for

public justice, which was executed upon him, and his adherents; not, indeed, according to the ordinary forms, to which usurpers have no title, because it would be unjust to allow the benefit of laws to those who have taken the benefit of them from others. There would, indeed, have been great weight in this, if *Mohammed* had fallen into his hands as a prisoner of war; but as he knew who he was, and what he was, before he granted him a safe conduct, as he had received his homage and his presents, and taken him into his protection, these arguments were of no weight at all. Besides, avarice and cruelty were the natural vices of this monarch, both of which were gratified in this  
foul

*Mohammed Barbarossa* being fixed upon a pole, he sent it to *Mohammed Yago*, at *Ronda*, advising him to go back to *Granada*, and resume the government, which he accordingly did; the *Moors* being so terrified at this action, that they received him without hesitation.

THE king of *Castile* soon after called an assembly of the states at *Seville*, where he declared to them that he was lawfully married to *Donna Maria de Padilla*, before he espoused any other woman, in the presence of four witnesses, of whom her uncle *Hinestroza* was deceased, but the rest were living, whom he accordingly produced; and these were the grand master of *Calatrava*, *Donna Maria's* brother, his own chancellor, and his own chaplain, who swore what the king had said was true; upon which *Don Alonso* was acknowledged for the king's successor, and his three sisters in case of his demise, according to the ordinary rules of succession. He proceeded from thence to *Soria*, where he had solicited *Don Carlos*, king of *Navarre*, to meet him. *Don Pedro* entertained that prince, not only with all the splendour and magnificence, but with all the kindness and respect imaginable. One day, however, after dinner, *Don Pedro* took the king of *Navarre* aside, and told him, that having revenged himself on the king of *Granada*, for hindering that vengeance he would otherwise have taken of the king of *Arragon*, he found himself now at liberty to chastise that monarch to the utmost, in which he hoped he would not refuse him his assistance. Instead of observing that the peace still continued, or that himself had no quarrel against that king, *Don Carlos* approved of all, and promised his concurrence; the fate of the king of *Granada* was fresh in his mind, and the sight of the king of *Castile's* troops, of whom the town was full, would not suffer him to recollect any scruples, so that they parted very good friends. The war began the same year, and being made by surprize, *Don Pedro* of *Castile* gained some considerable advantages; the king of *Arragon*, on the other hand, recalled

\* *Chronica de los Moros de Espana.* MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET.

\* *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Ped.* LOPEZ de Ayala.

\* *Histoire de Royaume de Navarre.* *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla.*

foul action; and therefore it is the duty of an impartial historian to discover the fallacy, and to shew that these pretended motives of justice were, in fact, the

colours only which this cunning prince invented after the fact, to cover the most crying of all crimes.

the

the count of *Trastámara*, and the followers of his fortune <sup>u</sup>. On the eighth of *October* died Don *Alonso*, whom his father Don *Pedro* had declared his successor, upon which that monarch made his will, under an apprehension that his grief might cost him his life <sup>w</sup>; but at the same time he made all imaginable preparations for carrying on the next campaign with vigour. In order to this, he not only pressed the kings of *Portugal*, *Granada*, and *Navarre*, to send troops and ships to his assistance, but entered likewise into an alliance with *Edward* the third, of *England*, the terms of which were settled with his son *Edward* the black prince <sup>x</sup>.

*The Infant Don Ferdinand of Arragon cruelly murdered by his brother.* THE king of *Arragon*, though he paid great respect to Don *Henry*, count of *Trastámara*, yet he secretly revived his design of raising his brother, the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, to the throne of *Castile*; which coming to take air, most of the exiles quitted the count Don *Henry*, and adhered to the Infant; and amongst these deserters were his own brethren, which occasioned no little discord. It is not at all unlikely, that this scheme was divulged in order to promote a peace. Don *Pedro*, through the pope's legate, expressed himself not averse to it; and the plan, upon which he offered to treat, was this: he was willing to espouse Donna *Joanna*, the king of *Arragon*'s daughter, and to give his own daughter, Donna *Beatrix*, to the Infant Don *Juan*, son and heir of the king of *Arragon*; but previous to these measures and some others, he expected that the king of *Arragon* should oblige him so far as to put his own brother, together with three or four of his brethren, who were at the court of *Arragon*, to death, without delay <sup>y</sup>. At this, that monarch did not much hesitate, tho' it may be doubted whether he was in earnest or not; however, his brother Don *Ferdinand* being exceedingly alarmed, excited a mutiny among the *Castilians* who were about him, and Don *Henry*, count of *Trastámara*, desired leave to retire into *France*. In this confusion, the king of *Arragon* ordered his brother, the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, to be arrested, who, resenting this usage, and endeavouring to defend himself, was slain <sup>z</sup>. In the midst of these troubles, Don *Pedro* had a son

<sup>y</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FERRERAS.  
del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.

<sup>z</sup> CHRONICA  
\* BARNES'S  
Life of Edward III. BRANDAON. Chronica de los Moros de  
España. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. FERRERAS. <sup>y</sup> RAI-  
NALD. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro  
de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. <sup>z</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

born by one of his mistresses, whom, upon this event, he determined to marry, and therefore broke off the treaty <sup>a</sup>.

ALL the *Castilians* who were in exile, uniting with zeal, *Confederacy be-*  
under the count Don Henry, in whom lay all their hopes, the *king of Arragon* was forced to treat him with much respect. *between the*  
At the same time, advancing towards the frontiers of his do- *kings of*  
minions, he had a private interview with the king of *Arragon,*  
*Navarre,*  
who had hitherto acted in favour of *Castile* from constraint. *and the*  
They agreed to set up the count Don Henry, and pull down his *count Don*  
brother; but, at the same time, resolved that the king of *Henry.*  
*Navarre* should have *Biscay* and *Castile* for his share, the king  
of *Arragon* the realms of *Murcia* and *Toledo*, and that count  
*Henry* might keep the rest if he could <sup>b</sup>. In order to bring this  
fine project to bear, a new interview was appointed at the  
castle of *Sos*, on the frontiers of *Navarre*, to which the count  
Don Henry was invited, in order to communicate to him so  
much of their scheme as might induce him to assist in the  
execution of it. The count consented to the interview, but  
upon condition that the castle was put into the hands of  
Don Juan Ramirez de Arellano, as not caring to trust himself  
to the good faith of those monarchs. This was agreed to, Don  
Juan put into possession of the place, which he garrisoned  
with his own vassals, and then the two kings and the count  
Don Henry repaired thither, with a very few domesticks <sup>c</sup>.  
While the conference lasted, the monarchs of *Arragon* and  
*Navarre* proposed to Don Juan, the massacring the count  
Don Henry and all his forces, which that nobleman rejected  
with equal firmness and contempt; so that, in the end, they  
found it their interest to treat the count of *Trastamara* on the  
footing of an equal, and as a prince whom they meant to  
assist in becoming king of *Castile*. That prince discovering  
soon after the plots that had been formed against him, took  
a sudden resolution to quit *Spain*; but the king of *Arragon*,  
with some difficulty, pacified him, and made a new treaty, to  
the performance of which both parties swore, in the presence  
of the archbishop of *Tarragona* <sup>d</sup>. But it was, notwithstanding,  
but indifferently kept. 1363.

THE next year was full of events of the same kind, and of  
treasons and murders; which, relating more particularly to the  
affairs of *Arragon*, belong to another place. We must, how-  
ever, take notice, that Don Tello betrayed his brother and  
An army brought out of France

<sup>a</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. RAINALD:  
du Royaume de Navarre. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

ANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

Annal Arragon. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del  
Rey Don Pedro de PBO. LOPEZ de Ayala.

<sup>b</sup> Hist.

<sup>c</sup> MARI-

<sup>d</sup> ZURIT.

Bertrand  
du Gues-  
clin, and  
others.

1364.

1365.

the king of *Arragon* to the king of *Castile*, who still carried on the war with great vigour and success, both by land and sea<sup>c</sup>. As the king of *Arragon* saw clearly, that, in the course of this war, he was in great danger of losing his dominions, or at least a great part of them, unless the scheme of deposing Don *Pedro* of *Castile* actually took effect, he began the next year to turn his thoughts that way in earnest, and Providence furnished the means of chastizing that barbarous prince. There were at that time in *France* upwards of 20,000 veteran troops, who had served against the *English*, and, from being the defenders, were now become the terrors of that country. These, by the assistance of the king of *Arragon*, the count Don *Henry* took into his pay. Under the command of the famous *Bertrand du Guesclin*, and *John de Bourbon*, count de la *Marche*, they began their march for *Catalonia*, and brought with them likewise some of their old enemies, the *English*, under several officers of note; for their common wants had made them very good friends, and their business in *Spain* was to get money<sup>f</sup>.

The count  
Don Hen-  
ry ad-  
vances to Ca-  
lahorra,  
and is pro-  
claimed  
king of  
Castile.

THESE forces were no sooner arrived and reviewed, but Don *Henry*, count of *Traстамара*, entered *Castile*, and summoned the town of *Calahorra*, which immediately opened its gates. As soon as he was in the town, by the advice of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, he caused himself to be proclaimed king, and then began his march directly towards *Burgos*, where his brother Don *Pedro* then was<sup>g</sup>. The nobility and people solicited that prince, who had a numerous army, not to stir, assuring him of their fidelity; but he told them that he knew his brother's inclinations and theirs better, and would therefore march to *Seville*, in order to secure his children and his treasures. The count Don *Henry* meeting with little opposition, came to *Burgos*, where, finding most of the nobility of *Castile*, they readily accepted him for their king, and he was solemnly inaugurated a few days after<sup>h</sup>. One of Don *Pedro*'s creatures, to save his life, discovered an immense treasure in gold; and the *Jews*, who were ever in danger in such cases, made him a present of a vast sum of money<sup>i</sup>. *Henry*, who had hitherto known little but danger and distress, and who perhaps was made wise by his brother's misfortunes, resolved;

<sup>c</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>f</sup> P. DA-

NIEL Histoire de France. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

<sup>g</sup> Chronica

del Rey Don Henrique Segundo de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.

<sup>h</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

<sup>i</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FERRE-

RAS.



by the actions of one day, to secure the crown to himself and his descendants. His politics were not deep or refined, but they were very sensible and solid. He had in the day of his calamity made many promises, which had been taken in current payment by those who had advanced him to the throne; he thought it would contribute to keep him firmly settled thereon, if he performed them punctually; and this he did the very day he was crowned king. The count *de Ribagorça*, who had married the heiress of *Don Juan Emanuel*, had all the estates of that family, with the title of marquis of *Villena*; to *Bertrand du Guesclin* he gave the lordship of *Molina*, and his own county of *Trasamara* to his brother *Don Tello*; the lordship of *Biscay* to another brother of his, *Don Sancho Albuquerque* and *Le Desma*; and, in short, to all who had rendered him service, he gave, if not to the value of their services, yet beyond their expectations<sup>k</sup>.

*Don Lopez de Luna*, archbishop of *Saragossa*, upon the king's letter, conveyed the queen and her children to *Burgos*<sup>l</sup>. *Don Pedro* soon after their arrival, the king marched towards *Toledo*, *Don Pedro* retired into *Portugal*, who the year before had concluded a marriage for his daughter *Donna Beatrix*, with the Infant of *Portugal*, sent her thither with a vast fortune in ready money; and, having embarked his treasures on board his fleet, quitted that city with his army, which he still commanded in person, and marched into *Galicia*<sup>m</sup>. *Don Gilles de Bocanegra* fitted out a small squadron, and seized the ship in which the king's treasures were, which fell into the hands of his brother *Henry*, and amounted to thirty-six quintals of gold, and a prodigious quantity of jewels, which he had been amassing all his reign<sup>n</sup>. *Don Pedro* changing his intentions, proceeded to the frontiers of *Portugal*, and gave notice of his arrival to the king, who sent him word, that he could not prevail upon his son to marry his daughter, whom he therefore thought fit to restore with all her fortune<sup>o</sup>; he went next to *Albuquerque*, where he proposed to leave his children: the inhabitants prevented that, by shutting their gates against him; this obliged him to demand a safe conduct through *Portugal*, into *Galicia*, where the people received him very cheerfully, through the persuasion of the archbishop of *Compostella*, whom he rewarded very strangely; for, understanding that he was immensely rich, he murdered

<sup>k</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.*<sup>l</sup> *MARIANA.**MAYERNE TURQUET.*<sup>m</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro.**BRANDAON.*<sup>n</sup> *Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.*<sup>o</sup> *BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.**Chronica del Rey Don Pedro.*

him,

A. D.  
1366.

Edward  
prince of  
Wales,  
surnamed  
the Black  
Prince, un-  
dertakes to  
restore  
him.

him, and seized all that he had<sup>p</sup>: then leaving the government of *Galicia* to Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, he marched to *Corunna*, and embarked his troops on board his fleet, with which he sailed to *Bayonne*, in order to demand assistance from the prince of *Wales*<sup>q</sup>. The king, Don *Henry*, after receiving the submission of all *Andalusia*, marched with an army into *Galicia*; and having fully satisfied his mercenaries, dismissed them, reserving only the forces of the count de la *Marche*, those of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, of *Hugh Corbelay*, whose *English* name, for he was an *Englishman*, was Sir *Hugh Calverly*, and some others<sup>r</sup>. Don *Ferdinand de Castro* shut himself up in *Lugo*, with a good garrison, which the king besieged; thinking his presence, however, necessary in *Castile*, he made an agreement with Don *Ferdinand*, that he should surrender all the places he held, if he was not relieved by Don *Pedro* before *Christmas*, in consideration of which he would bestow on him the lordship of *Castro de Xerez*; with the tide of count, because it had belonged formerly to his ancestors. On the king's arrival at *Burgos*, he summoned an assembly of the states, who very cheerfully gave him all that he could ask, for the defence of himself and his dominions<sup>s</sup>.

THE king, Don *Pedro*, who in his passage had touched at *St. Sebastian*, and received on board thirty-six thousand pistoles in gold, which he had there, brought so much wealth into *Guienne*, that he was extremely welcome to the *Black Prince*, and to all the great lords of that country, who very readily offered him their services, in consideration of his money<sup>t</sup>. After mature deliberation, it was resolved that the prince should go in person, with a numerous body of his victorious troops, to restore him to his dominions; which troops the king was to pay, and to bestow upon the prince the province of *Biscay*, and some other places. The constable of *Guienne* was to have the town of *Soria* and its district; and the king of *Navarre*, in consideration of a passage through his country, was to have the fortrefs of *Alfaro*, and all the country as far as *Navarrette*; and, for the just performance of these promises, the king gave his children as hostages<sup>u</sup>. It was not long before king *Henry* obtained a pretty good account of these transactions, upon which he invited the king of *Navarre* to an interview, in which, having taken great pains to

<sup>p</sup> BRANDAON. *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro*. FERRERAS.  
<sup>q</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro*. <sup>r</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo*. <sup>s</sup> *Chronica general de España*. ROD. SANTILL *Hist. Hispan.* part iv. FERRERAS. <sup>t</sup> BARNES'S *History of Edward III.* *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro*. <sup>u</sup> *Histoire du Royaume de Navarre*. *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro*.

shew

shew him his own interests, and how easily he might prevent Don Pedro and the prince of *Wales* from passing through his country, concluded with him a treaty for that purpose, to the due performance of which both kings were sworn, in the presence of the archbishops of *Toledo* and *Saragossa*; king *Henry* promising him *Logrono*, and giving him sixty thousand pistoles in gold <sup>w</sup>. Don Pedro having notice of this, offered him, not only the place before-mentioned, but *Victoria* also.

The king of *Navarre* concluded a treaty with him too; and, *Dexterous* to shew what a royal politician he was, when the *English* forces managed arrived upon his frontiers, he sent for *Oliver de Mauny*, who ment of was equin to *Bertrand du Guesclin*, and desired him to seize the king of upon his person, as he was hunting, and carry him prisoner Navarre to a fort of which he was governor, for which service in deceiv- ing both parties. he offered him a sum of money, and the castle of *Cherbourg* in *Normandy*, which *Oliver*, who was a foldier of fortune, accepted; so that Don Pedro and the prince of *Wales* passed through *Navarre* without any opposition <sup>x</sup>. Such *English* as had hitherto served king *Henry*, left him upon the approach of the *Black Prince*; notwithstanding which, he resolved to give the enemy battle, contrary to the opinion of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, and the foreign officers, who assured him that the troops of the prince of *Wales* were invincible, while in full health and vigour; but that if he drew them farther into the country, and exposed them but for a few weeks to the rays of a *Spanish* sun, they would either retire of themselves, or fall an easy conquest <sup>y</sup>. But Don *Henry*, knowing that his brother had many partizans, and being diffident, even of some of the troops in his own army, resolved to venture a battle, which was accordingly fought on the sixth of *April*, between *Najara* and *Navarrete*, where, through the fault of Don *Tello*, the king's brother, the left wing was quickly beat, which brought on a total route, notwithstanding the king exposed himself extremely to prevent it <sup>z</sup>. The loss was very great; and, besides the numbers slain upon the spot, there were many persons of distinction taken prisoners. The king, Don *Henry*, made his escape with all possible diligence through *Aragon*; into *France*; his queen, with her children, went to *Saragossa* <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. FERRERAS. <sup>x</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. <sup>y</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. <sup>z</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segunda. MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

*The king,* Don Pedro's natural cruelty shewed itself, not only in the  
*Don Pedro,* usage of the prisoners taken by his troops, but in causing a  
*seated* gentleman to be put to death, who fell into the hands of an  
*again upon* English lord, which produced an expostulation on the part  
*the throne,* of the prince of Wales, which, how much soever he disliked,  
*and again* he thought fit to dissemble<sup>b</sup>. They proceeded together as far  
*endangered* as Burgos, where the prince lodged in the monastery *De las*  
*by his* *Huelgas*, and his brother *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*,  
*wices.* in the convent of *St. Dominick*. The prince of *Wales* found  
 it necessary for his own safety to conclude a truce between  
 the crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and a treaty for himself  
 with the last-mentioned crown and that of *Portugal*, by  
 which he stipulated the reciprocal assistance of each power in  
 the division of the states of *Castile*, in case Don Pedro broke  
 his faith with them, which they all suspected; and then,  
 taking leave of him, returned back into *Guienne*, moved  
 thereto chiefly by a sickness that broke out in his army<sup>c</sup>.  
 Don Pedro, now left to himself, began to indulge, in a greater  
 degree than ever, that thirst of blood which rendered him  
 universally odious and terrible. At *Burgos*, *Toledo*, and  
*Seville*, some people of the first quality were put to death,  
 and numbers of inferior rank. In this political inquisition,  
 even women did not escape<sup>d</sup>. The king, Don *Henry*, did  
 not suffer his spirits to be sunk through his misfortunes; but,  
 on the contrary, solicited the count *de Foix*, who, out of mere  
 compassion, offered him a retreat in his country, the king of  
*France* by letters, and pope *Urban* the fifth, who then resided  
 at *Avignon* in person. He received from each of them, which  
 rarely happens in such cases, more than he could demand or  
 expect. The count gave him leave to raise forces in his territo-  
 ries, and allowed his son to command them. The pope re-  
 ceived him kindly, freed him (if we can suppose that in his  
 power) from all blemish of illegitimacy, and dismissed him  
 from his presence as legal a monarch as he could, and as rich a  
 one as it was convenient to make him<sup>e</sup>. The king of *France*  
 exceeded both; for he ordered his brother, the duke of *Anjou*, to  
 give him a large sum of money, made him a present of a strong  
 fortress on the frontiers of *Navarre*, and allowed him to raise  
 what troops he could. In virtue of these assistances, he assembled  
 an army, with which he entered *Castile*, after having passed  
 through *Arragon*, without the leave of that monarch, in the

<sup>b</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. FERRERAS. <sup>c</sup> BRANDAON.  
 ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. <sup>d</sup> MA-  
 RIANA. FERRERAS. <sup>e</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire de France.  
 RAINOLD. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

month of *September*, and, before the close of the year, was master of *Castile* and the kingdom of *Toledo*<sup>f</sup>.

THE generous manner in which he had behaved towards *Besieges, in* such as assisted him in his former expedition, had induced all, *conjunction* who were not murdered or imprisoned, to put themselves in *with the* motion for his service. By the end of the month of *April, king of* he became master of the city of *Leon*, the best part of that *Granada,* kingdom, and a great part of *Asturias*<sup>g</sup>. The city of *Toledo, the city of* however, refused to acknowledge him, though their archbishop had accompanied him in his exile. The king, having in vain *Cordova* tried every method to persuade them, at length invested the *without* city with a great army, being determined to reduce it by *effect.* force<sup>h</sup>. At this time, *Don Pedro*, with the very same intention, was before *Cordova*, with the king of *Granada*, who had brought six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot to his assistance, and they pushed this siege with so much vigour; that they became masters of a great part of the city by storm; yet the cries of the women, from the apprehensions of *Don Pedro's* cruelty, were so loud and piercing, that the sight of their sorrow banishing all sense of danger, the men returned with such fury to the charge; that they dispossessed the *Moors* of all the places they had taken, and threw the greatest part of them over the walls. The next day the two kings attacked them again, and were repulsed with loss; after which they raised the siege, and separated their forces<sup>i</sup>. The people of *Toledo*, finding themselves exceedingly distressed, sent to *Don Pedro* for succours; and several towns on the frontiers of *Navarre*, having entered into an association for their own defence, and having a small body of regular troops, commanded by *Don Tello*, sent likewise to assure him of their fidelity, and to receive his orders, letting him know at the same time, that, on the one hand, they were pressed by the king of *Navarre*, and on the other, by *Don Henry*. *Don Pedro* returned them for answer, that he was preparing to relieve *Toledo*, which might create a diversion in their favour; but if, notwithstanding they found themselves obliged to yield, he chose they should do it to his brother, and not to the king of *Navarre*. Yet *Don Tello* prevailed on them to take the contrary course, and to submit to the king of *Navarre*<sup>k</sup>. The king, *Don Henry*, in

1368.

<sup>f</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>g</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. <sup>h</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS. <sup>i</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Chronica de los Moros de España. <sup>k</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. MARIANA.

the camp before *Toledo*, created Don *Bernard de Foix*, the son of his friend, a count, and gave him the town of *Medina Celi*, from whom the noble family, bearing afterwards the title of dukes of the same place, descended<sup>1</sup>.

*The king,*  
*Don Hen-*  
*ry marches*  
*to give his*  
*brother*  
*Don Pedro*  
*battle.*

A NEW war having broke out between the *French* and *English*, *Charles* the fifth sent his embassadors to the king, *Don Henry*, before *Toledo*, with whom he made a perpetual league for themselves, their heirs, and successors; and the *French* king, in virtue of his engagements, promised to send *Bertrand du Guesclin*, with six hundred lances to his assistance<sup>m</sup>. *Don Pedro* having drawn together all the troops he was able to assemble, in the neighbourhood of *Seville*, summoned his principal ally, the king of *Granada*, to send him fresh assistance, which he very readily did; and with these, and with the forces of the kingdom of *Murcia*, he resolved to attempt the relief of *Toledo*. As soon as *Don Henry* had intelligence of this, he left the archbishop with a sufficient corps of troops to invest the place; and with the flower of his nobility, and a well appointed army, marched to find out his brother. He looked on it as a good omen, that at the very time he took this resolution, *Bertrand du Guesclin* arrived with his six hundred lances that had been promised him from *France*<sup>n</sup>. On his march he was joined by the grand master of *St. James*, with the forces he had brought out of *Andalusia*; and thus strengthened he advanced into the plains of *Montiel*. The country people making fires in the neighbourhood to give notice to *Don Pedro*, he surmised that these troops came to his assistance; but, before it was day, the next morning his advanced guards brought him advice, that *Don Henry* was in full march with all his forces to give him battle.

*Don Pedro*  
*defeated,*  
*and after-*  
*wards*  
*killed by*  
*his brother*  
*Don Hen-*  
*ry at*  
*Montiel.*

*Don Pedro* made the best disposition he could, and behaved very gallantly, but his troops never recovered the surprize they were in on the first attack, and were quickly routed<sup>o</sup>. But *Don Pedro*, with a small body of foot, threw himself into the castle of *Montiel*, while *Don Martin Lopez de Cordova*, with eight hundred horse, and a thousand cross bows, retired into the strong fortrefs of *Carmona*, which the king had intended for his own retreat, and where he had left his children<sup>p</sup>. This battle was fought on the fourteenth of

<sup>1</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

DANIEL Histoire de France. FERRERAS.

del Rey Don Pedro. Chronica de los Moros de España. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

Don Pedro.

<sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey

*March*; and the king, Don Henry, having considered the place into which his brother had thrown himself, caused a line to be drawn round it, well fortified and well guarded. Don Pedro soon found the place not tenable against his brother's forces, and besides this, his garrison were in great want of provisions; he therefore applied himself to *Bertrand du Guesclin*, and promised him a large sum of money if he would suffer him to pass through his quarters. *Bertrand* having consulted his officers, discovered this to the king, Don Henry, and, at his request, assigned an hour when Don Pedro might come to his tent, where Don Henry, followed by some resolute persons; rushed in, and, having struck him first in the face with his dagger, the rest fell upon him and put him to death on the twenty-third of *March*, when he was thirty-five years and seven months old<sup>a</sup>. This monarch was debauched, cruel, cunning, faithless, and covetous, in a supreme degree. After all the losses he had sustained, he left behind him at *Seville*, *Almodava*, and other places, no less than one hundred and fifty millions in gold and silver, besides jewels and plate to an immense value<sup>b</sup>. Besides his children by Donna *Maria de Padilla*, he left a son Don Juan by Donna *Joanna de Castro*, and two other sons Don *Sancho* and Don *Diego* by Donna *Isabella*, who had been governess to his son Don *Alonso*. His two eldest daughters, at the time of his death, were hostages in *Guienne*, and the rest of his children in the castle of *Carmona*<sup>c</sup>. He expired, therefore, with the most dreadful prospect before his eyes, in respect to all he held dear.

THE king, Don Henry, was far from remaining the peaceable possessor of his brother's dominions, by his death; Portugal but, upon his arrival at *Seville*, he acquired all his treasures, claims and which put him into a condition of maintaining the war against all his enemies, though they invaded his dominions almost on every side<sup>d</sup>. The first thing he did was to offer good terms to Don *Martin*, who commanded in *Carmona*, which, when he rejected, he caused the place to be blocked up. The towns of *Molina* and *Requena* declared for the king of *Arragon*<sup>e</sup>. *Ciudad Rodrigo*, *Le Desma*, *Alcantara*, *Zamora*, *Tuy*, *Corunna*, the city of *St. James*, *Lugo*, *Orenza*, and many other places,

<sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. MARIANA. FERRERAS. <sup>b</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. <sup>c</sup> MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>d</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. <sup>e</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

acknowledged Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Portugal*, who immediately coined money, with the arms of his own crown on one side, and those of *Castile* on the other<sup>v</sup>. The king of *Granada* likewise gave him a vast deal of trouble; and the king of *Arragon* entered into a league with the prince of *Wales* and duke of *Lancaster*, for facilitating the conquests he meditated in *Castile*; and he likewise entered into another treaty with the king of *Portugal*, who, in support of his pretensions, invaded *Galicia*<sup>x</sup>. On the other hand, *Toledo* having surrendered to the archbishop, and the queen and her children being come thither, the king went to meet them<sup>y</sup>. He had not been long there, before he received the news of the king of *Portugal*'s invading *Galicia* with a numerous army, upon which he marched thither with the troops that were about his person, with such celerity, that the king, Don *Ferdinand*, who was unwilling to risk a battle at so great a distance from his own dominions, left his troops in *Corunna*, and returned home by sea<sup>z</sup>. The king, Don *Henry*, was no sooner informed of this, than he directed his march into *Portugal*, and having made himself master of the city of *Braga*, desolated all the country round about with fire and sword; upon which Don *Ferdinand* sent him a challenge, to which Don *Henry* answered, that if he came with an army, he knew where to find him; soon after which, having executed all that he designed by this invasion, he dispersed his troops into garrisons on the frontiers, and returned into *Castile*<sup>2</sup>.

A. D.  
1369.

Don Henry  
defends  
his domini-  
ons against  
the kings of  
Portugal  
and Arra-  
gon.

AT this juncture, the enemies of the king Don *Henry* were many, and the obstacles he had to overcome were great; but his notions of government were clear, his temper moderate, his application indefatigable. He had many things to attend; he suffered none of them to escape his notice; he kept his frontiers well guarded; *Carmona* and *Zamora* blocked up, and two or three flying armies in the field. In the assembly of the states at *Medina del Campo*, he ballanced accounts with the officers of the foreign troops in his service, paid them their whole demands, and gave them considerable gratifications, telling the states at the same time, "to these strangers we owe our present safety; it is but just, therefore, we should

<sup>v</sup> BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. FERRERAS.

<sup>x</sup> Chronica de los Moros de España. BRANDAON. ZURIT. An-  
nal Arragon. MARIANA. <sup>y</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Hen-  
rique Segundo.

<sup>z</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. FER-  
RERAS.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.  
BRANDAON.

afford



afford them establishments; as for their posterity, they will be brave men and *Spaniards* <sup>b</sup>." The king of *Granada* had taken and rased *Algezira*, which gave the king great concern. He ordered his generals to lay waste the open country, which was extremely well cultivated, which forced the *Moors* to demand a truce, which his resentment did not hinder him from granting, because it was convenient for his affairs <sup>c</sup>. The *Portuguese* blocked up the river of *Seville* with a fleet; his admiral *Ambrose Bocanegra* broke through it, with seven stout galleys, having a large sum of money on board, with which he proceeded to *Biscay*, where he soon assembled a numerous squadron of large ships, well manned, with which he first beat the *Portuguese*, and then, by his master's orders, sailed to the assistance of the *French* monarch, and had the good fortune to defeat an *English* squadron, and to make the earl of *Pembroke* prisoner <sup>d</sup>. His brother, the Infant Don *Tello*, dying, he gave the lordship of *Biscay* to his own son, the Infant Don *Juan*, and by that means annexed it for ever to the crown <sup>e</sup>. On the frontiers of *Aragon* he kept a body of troops sufficient to defend his subjects, till his affairs were in such order as might enable him to recover what he had lost; and thus by degrees, and the happy management of events, the prospect began to clear on every side, and the mildness of his administration made him beloved at home, while his prudence and vigour rendered him respected abroad <sup>f</sup>.

A. D.  
1370.

In the beginning of the year, the pope sent his legates into *Becomes Spain*, with letters directed to the kings of *Castile*, *Aragon*, master of *Portugal*, to persuade them to a peace; and at the same *Carmona*, time he wrote to the prelates of *Toledo*, *Seville*, *Saragossa*, and *Coinbra*, requiring them to give all the assistance in their power to this good work. Don *Henry* received them with great kindness and respect, but advised them not to lose time at his court, since he was already as well disposed in that respect as they could wish, upon which they departed for *Portugal* <sup>g</sup>. In the mean time the king went in person to the siege of *Carmona*, where, some say, his life was in great danger from a sally made by the besieged. His guards, however, attempted the place by scaling, and about forty of them got into the town; but before they could force their passage to a gate,

peace with  
the king of  
Portugal.

<sup>b</sup> *Chronica general de Espana.* ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. MARIANA.

<sup>c</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.* *Chronica de los Moros de Espana.*

<sup>d</sup> BRANDAON. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FERRERAS.

<sup>e</sup> *Chronica del Rêy Don Henrique Segundo.*

<sup>f</sup> MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

<sup>g</sup> RAINALD. FERRERAS.

were surrounded and taken prisoners, and some days after, the governor ordered them to be put to death<sup>b</sup>. At length, famine and frequent losses compelled Don *Martin* to capitulate, when he offered to deliver up his master's treasures and children, provided he might be at liberty to go where he pleased. The king added he must likewise deliver up Don *Pedro's* chancellor, who had been the great instrument of his cruelties, to which he very readily agreed<sup>c</sup>. The king sent the treasures and the children of Don *Pedro* to *Toledo*, and ordered the chancellor and the governor to be put to death. The latter insisted that this was against public faith; but the king alleged the murder of the forty soldiers, which being likewise against public faith, left him, in the king's opinion, no title to it<sup>d</sup>. A severe judgment, but a good example. *Zamora*, and all the country of *Galicia*, quickly submitted; and the king of *Portugal* very wisely consented to a peace, and agreed to marry Donna *Leonora*, Infanta of *Castile*, with a portion of three hundred thousand crowns. Yet, soon after, falling in love with Donna *Leonora Tellez*, the wife of *John Lawrence de Acunha*, he sent ambassadors to the king of *Castile*, to excuse his declining the marriage; and, having caused the lady to be divorced from her husband, secretly made her his wife. The king of *Castile* told the ambassadors that he could always find a match for his daughter, and that though he wished him for his son-in-law, he was very well content to esteem the king of *Portugal* his friend and ally<sup>e</sup>. Towards the close of the year, at the request of the pope's legate, he concluded a truce with the crown of *Navarre*, and another with that of *Arragon*; and the face of peace being thus universally restored, he sent the Infant Don *Juan* to take possession of *Biscay*<sup>m</sup>.

A. D.  
1371.

That monarch, notwithstanding, meditates new disturbances.

As those who have done a great injury can seldom be brought to forgive sincerely, so the king of *Portugal*, apprehending the resentment of Don *Henry*, entered into a treaty with *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, who had married Donna *Constantia*, daughter to the king Don *Pedro*, invited him into his dominions, and promised to support his pretensions; upon which he assumed the title of king of *Castile*<sup>n</sup>. In confidence therefore of receiving these succours in due time, he made an irruption into *Galicia*, surprized *Tuy* and

<sup>b</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

MAYERNE TURQUET.

Segundo.

<sup>c</sup> BRANDAON. FERRERAS.

du Royaume de Navarre. RAINALD. ZURIT.

gon.

Segundo.

<sup>d</sup> BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique

<sup>e</sup> MARIAN.

<sup>m</sup> Hist.

some other places, which were speedily recovered by the king of *Castile*, who, when he once understood the bottom of the design, immediately undertook to cure the king of *Portugal* of a resolution to disturb him. In the first place, he sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of the *French*, that by finding employment for the *English* nearer home, he might be in the less danger of being troubled with them in *Portugal*; and at the same time he charged his admiral with negotiating the repurchase of those lands, which he had given to *Bertrand du Guesclin*; for, as he was now become constable of *France*, it was not at all probable he should ever think of returning into *Spain*, which proposal was readily accepted; and, for the sum of two hundred and seventy thousand crowns in gold, the king recovered all the places he had formerly granted him\*.

WHILE his fleet was thus employed, the king made an expedition into *Portugal*, and took several places; but, upon the application of the pope's legate, he consented to a short truce, and likewise renewed that with *Arragon* for eight months<sup>p</sup>. The truce being expired, Don *Henry*, in the very depth of winter, made himself master of *Viseo*, and from thence advanced towards *Coinbra*; but being informed that Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Portugal*, had retired thither to lie in, he sent her a compliment, importing that her presence was an invincible garrison<sup>q</sup>; upon which he moved towards the king of *Portugal*, who was encamped at *Santaren*; but finding that he would act only on the defensive, he proceeded to insult *Lisbon*, and, by the assistance of a squadron from *Seville*, he burnt part of the lower town, and some ships in the harbour<sup>r</sup>. This gave such weight to the endeavours of the pope's legates for obtaining a peace, that at length the preliminaries were settled, by which the king of *Portugal* engaged, that whenever king *Henry* sent a squadron to the assistance of *France*, he would likewise send five ships or gallies; that Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, and the rest of the exiles from *Castile* should be obliged to quit his dominions; and that Don *Sancho*, the king of *Castile's* brother, should marry Donna *Beatrix*, sister to king *Ferdinand*; and that Don *Alonso*, the natural son of king *Henry*, should marry Donna *Isabella*, the natural daughter of king *Ferdinand*, when they were of competent age: in consideration of which, the king, Don *Henry*,

1372.  
Don Hen-  
ry compels  
both him  
and the  
king of  
Navarre  
once more  
to demand  
peace.

\* P. DANIEL Histoire de France. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. FERRERAS. P Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. RAINALD. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. q BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. r BRANDAON. FERRERAS.

was to restore all the places he had taken. This treaty the two kings signed and swore to, in the presence of the legates; after which, the first of the two marriages was celebrated, and Donna *Isabella* was put into the hands of the king of *Castile*. A peace was some months afterwards concluded with the king of *Navarre*, who took advantage from thence to solicit the king of *Castile* to detach himself from *France*, and to make a league with the *English*, which the king absolutely refused, notwithstanding that the duke of *Lancaster* offered, in that case, to accept of a sum of money in lieu of his pretensions; to which, independant of the league, the king of *Castile* declared he had no objection: the truce with *Arragon* was also prolonged; and thus the peace of his dominions was once again restored, which enabled him to put his affairs into so good order; that he had no reason to fear any of his neighbours.

A. D.  
1373.

Concludes  
at length  
a sincere  
and solid  
peace with  
the king of  
Arragon.

THE duke of *Lancaster* being extremely piqued at the refusal of the king of *Castile* to quit the party of the *French*, resolved to carry his threats into execution, and with this view levied forces, and entered into a treaty with the crown of *Arragon*. The king, Don *Henry*, assembled a great army in the neighbourhood of *Burgos*, where a quarrel happening amongst the soldiers on the 19th of *March*, his brother, Don *Sancho*, interposing, to prevent a mutiny, received a wound in his face with a lance, of which he died, leaving his wife, Donna *Beatrix*, with child of a daughter, named Donna *Leonora*, who was afterwards queen of *Arragon*. The king was extremely afflicted, and, in the first transport of his passion, would have put to death all the soldiers that had any share in the quarrel; but the nobility pacified him; so that only a few of the most guilty were punished. He then sent to the king of *Arragon*, to put him in mind of their former friendship; to press him to send his daughter Donna *Leonora* to espouse the Infant Don *Juan*, prince of *Castile*, as they had been passionately in love with each other from their very childhood; and to assure him, that he was content to give him any reasonable satisfaction in reference to the disputes between them. The king of *Arragon* demanded, in a peremptory manner, the kingdom of *Murcia*. The king of *Castile* answered that it was true he had promised him that kingdom for his assistance, but

\* Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. BRANDAON. FARIA Y SOUSA.

† Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

‡ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

§ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

that

that this promise was made void by his entering into a treaty with the prince of *Wales*, and the share he had in deposing him; that, notwithstanding this, he was unwilling to have recourse to arms, in order to recover those places which he had seized in times of public confusion. After much altercation, a treaty was concluded, and signed by the two kings, on the 12th of *April*, by which a perpetual peace was stipulated for themselves and successors, the time fixed for the marriage, and the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of gold fixed as an equivalent for the restitution of the places which the king of *Arragon* was to restore<sup>2</sup>. This treaty was ratified and sworn to on the 28th of *May*, to the great satisfaction of both nations. The same year, the king being informed that the *French* had obliged the duke of *Lancaster* to abandon his design of invading *Castile*, by harrassing his troops in such a manner, that they were unable to prosecute their march, he thought himself obliged to return this favour, by making an expedition, in person, into *Guienne*, and sending also a strong fleet to their assistance, which terminated the operations of this year<sup>3</sup>.

A. D.

1374.

In the spring, Don *Carlos*, prince of *Navarre*, came to *Enters in Soria*, and there espoused, on the 27th of *May*, the Infanta to *fresh en-* Donna *Leonora* of *Castile*, and on the 17th of *June* following *gagements*, the Infanta *Leonora* of *Arragon* was married at the same *and a* place, to Don *Juan* Infant of *Castile*<sup>2</sup>. But Don *Alonso*, *treaty of* count of *Gijon*, the king's natural son, taking some distaste *marriage* to the princess of *Portugal*, whom his father had chosen for *with the* his wife, fled out of his dominions; and after visiting the court *king of* of *France*, and that of the pope at *Avignon*, he at length *Portugal* thought proper to return, and to comply with his father's inclinations<sup>2</sup>. The engagements he had entered into with the duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* king, who claimed the kingdom of *Majorca* by donation, gave some umbrage to the king of *Arragon*, but not sufficient to create any rupture between the two crowns, because the monarch of *Arragon* saw clearly, that if the king of *Castile* had meant any thing more than was pretended by those treaties, he would have stipulated greater succours; and, therefore, he thought it best to pass by an offence that might be augmented by taking notice of it. This had a good effect; for the king of *Castile* gave him to understand, that though he could not refuse his assistance to

1375.

<sup>2</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIAN. FERRERAS <sup>3</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. <sup>2</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FERRERAS. <sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

the

A. D.  
1376.

the brother of the *French* monarch, yet he meant not to infringe the treaty that subsisted between them <sup>b</sup>. The Infanta Donna *Beatrix* of *Portugal*, being the apparent heiress of that kingdom, the king of *Castile* proposed a match between her and his son Don *Frederick*, which the king of *Portugal* readily accepted, though Don *Frederick* was a bastard; and the children were accordingly married, with great solemnity, by proxy; but, as we shall see hereafter, this marriage never took effect. In the course of this year, died *Edward*, prince of *Wales*, which was considered as a favourable event in the councils of *Castile* <sup>c</sup>.

The king  
of Navarre  
attempts  
to sur-  
prize Lo-  
grono,  
and is sur-  
prized in  
his turn.

1377.

THE king of *Navarre* having entered into a project for exchanging the territories he possessed in *Normandy*, with the crown of *England*, for lands of an equal value in *Gascony*, he was resolved to send the prince Don *Carlos* to conclude and execute this bargain. As Don *Carlos* had married the daughter of the king of *Castile*, it was natural for him to consult him upon his journey, from which the king dissuaded him, as he was to take the court of his uncle, the king of *France*, in his way; where he must either deal perfidiously with that monarch, or avow to him his father's designs. The prince, notwithstanding, went with some counsellors of his father's, but they were arrested at *Paris*, and his companions proceeded against and condemned as traitors. In the mean time, king *Edward* the third, of *England*, died; notwithstanding which, the king of *Navarre* continued his intrigues with his grandson *Richard* the second <sup>d</sup>. He foresaw that this would bring on a war with the crown of *Castile*, and therefore projected the acquisition of *Logrono*, a place of great beauty and importance, standing in the midst of a fair plain on the bank of the river *Ebro*. The method he took was to corrupt Don *Pedro Manrique*, a nobleman of the nicest honour in *Castile*, and the sum he offered him was 20,000 pieces of gold. Don *Pedro* having first acquainted the king his master, closed with the proposals, received all the money at several payments, and, at the time appointed, admitted six hundred of the king of *Navarre*'s troops; but immediately after disarmed and made them prisoners of war, and was very near trapping the king himself <sup>e</sup>. Soon after, the Infant Don *Juan* of *Castile* made an irruption into *Navarre*, and advanced within sight of *Pampeluna*. At

<sup>b</sup> MARIAN. FERRERAS.

<sup>c</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.* BRANDAON. BARNES'S History of Edward III. FERRERAS.

<sup>d</sup> P. DANIEL *Histoire de France. Hist. du Royaume de Navarre.* *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.*

<sup>e</sup> *Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.*

this time there was a schism in the church of *Rome*, occasioned by the election of *Urban* the sixth, and *Clement* the seventh, to the papal dignity; the *French* adhering to the former, and the *English* to the latter; but the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon* very wisely declined owning either; and this by the advice of the wisest of their prelates and great lords <sup>f</sup>. So that in such cases as these, we find those suing to be acknowledged to have any power, who, as soon as that was admitted, laid claim to all.

THE king thought fit to hold an assembly of all the prelates in his dominions, in the town of *Illescas*, where a resolution was taken to sequester the papal revenues, till it could be known to whom they belonged; for the discussion of which matter another assembly was held at *Burgos* <sup>g</sup>. There the king of *Navarre* applied himself to Don *Henry*, to obtain a peace, of which his affairs stood in great need. The king of *Castile* prescribed to him such terms as he thought fit, and amongst the rest, discharging the *English* and the *Gascon* troops that were in his pay, to which the king of *Navarre* objected that he had no money to give them, and they would not go without; upon which Don *Henry* lent him a considerable sum; and having taken the necessary securities for his observing the peace, restored all that he had taken during the war <sup>h</sup>. In a very short time after the conclusion of this treaty, the king fell ill of a slow consuming disease, which having gradually wasted his strength, brought him at last to the grave, on the 29th of *May*, as is reported by Don *Pedro Lopez de Ayala* <sup>i</sup>; though many other historians report, that *Mohammed Yago*, king of *Granada*, perceiving that he had at length accomplished his plan of settling a firm peace with all his neighbours, suspected that it must be with a view of attacking his dominions with his whole force, and therefore prevailed upon an old servant of his to seek shelter at the court of *Castile*, as if he had been ill treated by him, and to watch an opportunity of poisoning the king, which he is said to have effected by a present of a pair of beautiful buskins, which were scented with a venomous perfume <sup>k</sup>. *Ferreras* considers this as a vulgar report, which might take rise from the king's falling ill not long after this present was made him. Indeed, if we consider the propensity of the common people to attribute the deaths of princes to some extraordinary cause, and their

*The death of Henry II. of Castile, with strong suspicion of poison.*

<sup>f</sup> RAIN. FER. ZURIT. *Annales Arragon.*    <sup>g</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.*    <sup>h</sup> *Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.*

MARTAN. FER.    <sup>i</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.*

<sup>k</sup> FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

implacable

implacable hatred of the *Moors*, it will not appear at all improbable.

*Don Juan succeeds the deceased king, and renews the truce with the king of Granada.* THE Infant Don Juan succeeded his father, and was crowned on the 25th of July, with his queen *Leonora*, at *Burgos*; and, on the 4th of *October* following, the queen was delivered, in the same city, of the Infant Don Henry<sup>1</sup>. About the same time arrived embassadors from *France*, to thank the king for the succours sent by his father and himself, which had done remarkable service. *Mohammed Yage*, king of *Granada*, dying, was succeeded by his son *Mohammed Guadix Abulhagen*, a prince of many virtues, and of a most pacific disposition, who immediately sent embassadors to felicitate the king Don Juan on his accession to the throne of *Castile*, and to renew the truce between the two crowns, during their reigns; which proposition was well received, and the embassadors returned highly satisfied with the civilities that were paid them<sup>m</sup>; and this, which seemed but a temporary expedient by the correspondence between their tempers, lasted all their reigns.

1379. *Makes a treaty, and consents to another marriage with the crown of Portugal.* THE young king of *Castile* resembled his father extremely in his temper, and laboured nothing so much as to preserve peace, and to protect his subjects in the full enjoyment of it; with this view he sent embassadors into *Portugal*, where they were extremely well received by the king Don *Ferdinand*, who, with some great and many amiable qualities, was one of the most fickle and mutable princes of that age<sup>n</sup>. He desired, therefore, that the marriage formerly contracted between Don *Frederick*, the king's natural brother, and his daughter, the Infanta Donna *Beatrix*, should be cancelled, that she might be at liberty to marry the Infant Don *Henry*, who was not quite a year old. To this the king readily consented; and though there was something very whimsical, not to say ridiculous, in this affair, yet the treaty was managed with a great deal of ceremony; a very singular clause inserted, that if either of the parties should die without issue, the other should inherit the dominions of both, and was with great ceremony ratified by the states of both kingdoms<sup>o</sup>. The monarch of *Castile* having adjusted these points, and dispatched a squadron of twenty men of war to the assistance of the *French*, went to *Toledo*, in order to assist at his father's funeral; and afterwards held an assembly of the states at *Medino del Campo*, where,

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.* <sup>m</sup> P. DANIEL *Histoire de France.* *Chronica de los Moros de España.*  
<sup>n</sup> BRAND. *Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.* <sup>o</sup> FARIA  
 Y SOUSA. BRAND. MARIAN. FER.

after



after mature deliberation, it was resolved to acknowledge pope Clement the seventh P. Before this assembly was dissolved, the king had intelligence, that in the midst of all that appearance of cordiality shewn by the king of Portugal, he was actually negotiating an alliance with Richard the second, of England, and with John, duke of Lancaster, who still continued to use the title of Castile, and whom Don Ferdinand had invited to come with a fleet and army to Lisbon. Don Juan, instead of expostulating upon this subject, ordered his forces to assemble, and the principal places on his frontiers to be repaired; being thoroughly persuaded, that the best way to prevent a war is to prepare for and provide for it in time.

A. D.  
1380.

ON the 25th of May deceased Donna Joanna, queen That dowager of Castile, a woman, distinguished by virtues the crown ne- most rare, as well as the most unaffected piety, whose firm- gotiates an- ness in adversity rendered her always respected, and whose alliance humility in the time of her prosperity was universally ad- against mired. The king being informed that his brother Don him at the Alonso held a private correspondence with the king of Portugal, same time, endeavoured to surprize him, but he made his escape into and soon Asturias, where he took shelter in his strong castle of Gijon; after com- mences war. to which, when the king followed him, Don Alonso came out, assured him that he had been misrepresented, upon which they were presently reconciled. The king, Don Juan, then resolved to attack Portugal, both by land and sea, before the arrival of their auxiliaries from England; but Don Ferdinand spared him the labour, by sending a fleet of four ships and twenty gallies to insult the harbour of Seville. In their passage they met the admiral of Castile, Don Ferdinand de Tobar, with twenty gallies, who at first declined fighting; but, perceiving that five of the Portuguese gallies were gone to take in water at a port upon the coast, he attacked the rest of the fleet with so much vigour, that he took sixteen gallies, and on board of one of them Don Juan Alonso, who was the queen's brother, and with these prizes returned in triumph to Seville. The king, Don Juan, besieged the castle of Almeyda and reduced it. On the 18th of July, the English fleet arrived in the harbour of Lisbon, commanded by Edmund, earl of Cambridge, the eldest son of the duke of York, having with him a small army of between three and four thousand men, his countess, and his son Edward, afterwards duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Agincourt, then a child

P RAINALD. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.  
 1 BRAND. FER. 2 ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.  
 3 Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. 4 MARIAN.  
 FER. MAXERNE TURQUET.

A. D.  
1381.

of six years old; notwithstanding which, the first thing done was, to marry him to the Infanta *Beatrix*, and they were not only married, but bedded in public. The good correspondence, however, between the *English* and *Portuguese*, did not last long; there were great complaints, and very probably not altogether without cause, on both sides; of which the king of *Castile* having notice, he resolved to shut up the port of *Lisbon* against fresh succours, and to deal with those who were already arrived as well as he could <sup>u</sup>.

The king,  
Don Juan,  
forces Por-  
tugal to  
conclude a  
secret and  
separate  
peace.

WHILE the king meditated certain important operations, both by land and sea, his brother Don *Alonso*, count de *Gijon*, actually quitted his dominions, and retired to *Braganza* in *Portugal*, with several lords who were attached to him. The king displeased the offence against him, continued his preparations, and fitted out a fleet, with which he gave great disturbance to the inhabitants of *Lisbon*, and obliged the king of *Portugal* to remove his court from thence <sup>w</sup>. As soon as his army began to be in motion towards the enemies frontiers, he signified to his brother, who was still at *Braganza*, that he should return without delay, upon which he repeated the order; Don *Alonso* returned for answer, that if he would send him the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, his second son, the sons of six of the principal nobility, and put a certain number of castles into his hands, for his security, himself and his friends would return. Don *Juan*, without taking the least notice of this proposition, sent a third order for him and his adherents to return to their duty by a certain day, on pain of being declared traitors, and all their estates confiscated; upon which his friends retired without taking leave, and, after a few days, he was constrained to follow their example <sup>x</sup>. The king of *Portugal* having assembled all his forces, and seeming determined to give the *Castilians* battle, the king created Don *Hernando Alvarez de Toledo*, and Don *Pedro Ruys Sarmiento*, marshals of the field, which was the first time that title had been heard of in *Castile* <sup>y</sup>. The king of *Portugal*, to shew he would not be vanquished by titles, gave that of constable to Don *Alvaro Perez de Castro*, and made *Vasquez de Azavedo* marshal <sup>z</sup>. The two armies being in sight of each other, the new constable and marshal advised their master to make peace, to which he readily listened, and granted them full powers for that purpose, but desired they would treat it with great secrecy. Upon this, they went in the night to the

<sup>u</sup> BRAND. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. <sup>w</sup> FARIA Y SOUSA. Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Primero. FER.  
<sup>x</sup> MARIAN. FER. BRAND. <sup>y</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. <sup>z</sup> BRAND.

camp of *Castile*; where, having acquainted the king with their commission, he likewise named two plenipotentiaries, by whom the peace was presently settled on the following terms. The Infanta Donna *Beatrix* was to be once more married to the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, son to the king of *Castile*, who was in the second year of his age; the *Portuguese* admiral, with his gallies and men, were to be set at liberty; and the king of *Castile* was to furnish a fleet to carry the *English* home. Don *Juan* scrupled this at first; but the *Portuguese* plenipotentiaries represented, that home they must be sent, and they had no fleet; and, if they had, they were afraid of its being seized in *England*; so that at length it was ratified<sup>a</sup>. As soon as this came to be divulged, the earl of *Cambridge* and his troops were extremely irritated; but the *Spanish* fleet arriving before the bay of *Lisbon*, and there being no remedy, they embarked, and were very safely carried home. The joy which the king Don *Juan* conceived at the conclusion of this troublesome affair, was quickly turned into grief, by the death of his queen Donna *Leonora*, in childbed, exceedingly regretted, as she was universally beloved by his subjects<sup>b</sup>. At the request of the king of *Navarre*, he interposed with the *French* monarch, for the liberty of the prince Don *Carlos*, and *Charles* the sixth granted it, as a very particular mark of his esteem. Upon his return home, the king, his father, sent him to return thanks to the king of *Castile*, in person, who received him very kindly, and dismissed him with rich presents, by which he attached him most cordially to his interests<sup>c</sup>.

A. D.  
1382.

As soon as it was decent, or perhaps a little earlier, the king *By his* of *Portugal* sent one of his ministers to insinuate to Don *Juan* marriage of *Castile*, that his daughter, the Infanta Donna *Beatrix*, be- with the ing of a fit age to be married, he would be much better pleased Infanta to have him for his son-in-law, than that the Infanta should Donna wait for the Infant Don *Ferdinand*. There was some oppo- Beatrix be sition to this in the councils of *Castile*; but, as the king him- acquires a self was inclined to the marriage, it was quickly concluded, title to upon condition that the children of the king and the Infanta Portugal. should succeed to the kingdom of *Portugal*; and that, in case the throne became vacant before such children were born, the queen-dowager should govern with the title of regent<sup>d</sup>. Donna *Leonora* accompanied her daughter to the frontiers: the

<sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. BRAND. <sup>b</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>c</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. <sup>d</sup> BRAND. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

king,

king, Don Juan, arrived at *Badajoz* on the first of *May*, from whence he proceeded to *Yelves*, where he espoused the Infanta Donna *Beatrix*, brought her the same afternoon to *Badajoz*; and the next day received the nuptial benediction in the cathedral church <sup>c</sup>. Soon after this his brother Don *Alonso* revolted the second time, or rather the third, and retired to *Gijon*, whither the king followed and reduced him; and, though he did not deprive him of his liberty, yet he reprimanded him severely <sup>f</sup>. In the assembly of the states, held soon after at *Segovia*, the old method of reckoning by the æra of *Cæsar* was laid aside for that of our Lord, according to *Ferreras*, in the year of that æra 1421 8. While the king was employed in regulating the domestic concerns of his government, he had intelligence that his father-in-law, Don *Ferdinand*, lay at the point of death; upon which he sent some persons, in whom he could confide, to *Lisbon*, and drew himself nearer to the frontiers. On the 22d of *October* that monarch departed this life, and left his dominions in almost inexpressible confusion <sup>h</sup>. Donna *Beatrix* his only daughter; had been acknowledged by the states as the legal heiress of the throne. The people in general, however, inclined to Don *Juan* the king's brother, who was son to Don *Pedro* by his second wife, the famous *Agnes de Castro*. This Don *Juan*, a few years before, falling in love with Donna *Maria Tellez*; sister to *Leonora* queen of *Portugal*, married her; which raised such a spirit of envy in the queen, that she caused it to be insinuated to Don *Juan*, that her sister was false to his bed; and that, if he was once free from so bad a wife, she was inclined to give him the Infanta Donna *Beatrix*: upon which, transported with jealousy and ambition, he barbarously murdered the innocent lady <sup>i</sup>. But discovering, when it was too late, the falshood of the queen's information, and of her promise, he retired into *Castile*; where, upon the death of his father-in-law, the king caused him to be arrested, together with his brother the count Don *Alonso*, whom their father had married against his will to a bastard daughter of the late king of *Portugal*, in whose right, or rather in whose name, he attempted to form some pretensions <sup>k</sup>. The queen-dowager had the title of regent; and her daughter, the reigning queen of *Castile*, was proclaimed queen of *Portugal*: but another brother of the late king, whose name was likewise Don *Juan*, but a bastard, being grand master of the military order of *Avis*;

\* ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIAN. FER.

† Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. \* Historia de España.

na. h BRAND. i MARIAN. FER. k Chronica

del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

feized upon the government, partly by force, partly with the consent of the people, and assumed the title of protector <sup>1</sup>. A. D. 1383.

THE more the king of *Castile* considered the affairs of *Portugal*, the more he found himself at a loss how to conduct himself therein. He was very desirous of complying with the engagements to which he had sworn at his marriage, and signified the same to the states of *Portugal*, assuring them that he was willing the queen-dowager should govern with the title of regent, during her life, and that he did not seek the crown for himself but for his posterity <sup>m</sup>. The queen *Leonora*, being constrained to quit *Lisbon*, retired to *Santaren*, and from thence intreated the king to come to her relief, as she had no other resource. Upon this Don *Juan* of *Castile* put himself at the head of his forces, and marched with them into *Portugal*. The grand master of *Avis* declared this a breach of the marriage treaty, and that he had forfeited all his rights thereby. At the same time he sent ambassadors into *England*, to make an alliance with king *Richard* the second, or rather with his uncles who governed him. The king of *Castile*, perceiving plainly that there was no hope of acquiring *Portugal* but by conquest, ordered his fleet from *Seville* to block up the port of *Lisbon*, and invited his brother-in-law Don *Carlos* prince of *Navarre*, to come to his assistance <sup>n</sup>. War was now carried on with great fury on both sides; several great towns, and many of the nobility, acknowledged Don *Juan* of *Castile* for their king; but the *Portuguese* nation in general adhered firmly to the protector <sup>o</sup>. Several actions happened with variety of success; sometimes the troops of *Castile* had the better, sometimes they were beaten by the *Portuguese*. This great confusion was increased by the king's discovering that the queen-dowager had entered into a new intrigue with Don *Pedro* Count of *Trafamara*, whom she proposed to marry, and to murder the king. Upon this he caused her to be arrested, and sent prisoner into *Castile* <sup>p</sup>. He then besieged *Lisbon*, took the fort of *Almeyda*, and, upon the arrival of Don *Carlos*, with a noble body of troops, his affairs began to wear a better appearance: but the scene was soon changed; the plague broke out in his army, and, though he persisted some time in carrying on the siege, yet at length, chiefly by the persuasion of the prince of *Navarre*, he decamped; and, having put strong garrisons into the places that had declared for him, retired with the rest of his army

<sup>1</sup> BRAND.<sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.<sup>a</sup> FAR. Y SOUSA. FER.<sup>o</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan

el Primero. BRAND.

<sup>p</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el

Primero. FAR. Y SOUSA.

A. D. 1384. into his own dominions, not a little chagrined at the turn that things had taken <sup>9</sup>.

*Invades it with a very potent army, and is beaten by Don Juan, whom the Portuguese elected for their king.*

THE king of *Castile*, being informed that Don *Pedro de Castro*, count of *Traстамара*, was in the camp of the protector of *Portugal*, sent to let him know, that if he would remove this dangerous enemy, he would reward it as a most acceptable service. The count embraced this infamous proposition, and took his measures with two other noblemen for the execution of it: but the protector arresting two of their friends upon certain suspicions, the conspirators imagined, tho' without any grounds, they were discovered, and immediately consulted their safety by flight<sup>r</sup>. This mortified the king Don *Juan* extremely; nor was it long before he received another piece of news, which gave him still greater uneasiness, which was, that the states of *Portugal* had taken upon them to elect and proclaim the protector king<sup>s</sup>. After mature deliberation, however, and a thorough persuasion of his own title, and that the force of his dominions was infinitely superior to that of *Portugal*, he determined to invade it by land and sea. With this view he ordered a great fleet to be fitted out at *Seville*, as well as a strong squadron from *Biscay*, with a vast quantity of provisions on board, for the support of his army, at the head of which he marched to the frontiers<sup>t</sup>. There, however, he held several councils of war, in order to settle the operations of the campaign; and some of the ablest persons about him dissuaded him from proceeding farther, at least in person, as he was very ill of an ague, as the new king of *Portugal* had obtained a considerable victory at *Truncofo*, as the king had lost most of his father's old officers by the plague the preceding year, and as the whole nation seemed determined to succeed or perish in support of their new king: but the young lords, who were about him, had their heads so full of the glory of *Castile*, and relied so much on the superiority of their forces, that at length the king was persuaded to prosecute his design; and, after having in vain attempted to enter into a treaty, he resolved to stake all upon a decisive action<sup>u</sup>. It is said that the army of *Castile* exceeded thirty thousand men; whereas those who carry things highest acknowledge, that the king of *Portugal* had not above twelve thousand, and the historians of that country say not above half

<sup>9</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. BRAND.

<sup>t</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. BRAND.

<sup>s</sup> MARIAN. FER. MAYRANE TURQUET.

<sup>u</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Priq

mero. <sup>r</sup> ROD. SANTH, Hist. Hispan. part iv. BRAND.

FER.

that

that number. He did not, however, decline fighting, but chose an advantageous post, and declared his resolution to wait there for the army of *Castile*. When the king, Don Juan, was in sight of the enemy, he halted, in order to advise once more with his principal officers, amongst whom there were some who suggested that, as the enemy were posted between two morasses, it would be very imprudent to attack them, more especially that day, the army being fatigued, and having had scarce any refreshment: but the young officers insisted that it would be infamous, after looking the *Portuguese* in the face, not to attack them without delay. The king, being himself under great doubts, had recourse to M. de *Rie*, the *French* ambassador, a man of sixty years of age, who had spent his whole life in arms. He modestly told the king, that, a battle being resolved upon, the point was to gain a victory, and not to pique himself upon being hasty in attacking. In spite of this the young people prevailed; the *Portuguese* were immediately attacked in their advantageous post, and, in half an hour, the *Castilians* were routed. There fell upon the spot Don Pedro de Arragon, son to the marquis of Villena, the king's two nephews, Don Juan, son to count Tello, and Don Ferdinand, son to the count Don Sancho, with many other persons of great distinction, and a multitude of private men <sup>w</sup>. This, which is generally stiled the battle of *Aljubarrota*, was fought upon the fourteenth of *August*, about three in the afternoon: the king fled that night to *Santarem*, upon his mule, which is above thirty miles. There he embarked on board a tartane, which carried him to his fleet, and soon after he returned to *Seville* <sup>x</sup>. The just sorrow arising from so heavy a loss was not a little increased by the *Portuguese* invading *Castile*, and beating the grand masters of St. James, *Alcantara*, and *Calatrava*, with a superior army, the first of these great men being killed on the spot <sup>y</sup>. To repair these disasters, and to provide against the consequences of the duke of Lancaster's arriving in *Portugal*, with a numerous fleet and army from *England*, Don Juan dispatched ambassadors to pope Clement the seventh, at *Avignon*, and to king Charles the sixth of *France*, to desire their advice and assistance <sup>z</sup>. An employment his ambassadors had never exercised before.

His ministers were received at *Paris* with all imaginable John of marks of kindness and respect, and were sent back with the Gaunt, strongest assurances that the king would second his professions duke of

A. D.  
1384.

<sup>w</sup> BRAND. EMANUEL FAR. Y SOUSA. FER.  
nica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.  
DANIEL Histoire de France. MARIAN.

<sup>z</sup> Chro-  
\* RAINALD. P.

Lancaster,  
lands in  
Galicia,  
and takes  
Compos-  
tella.

of friendship, by marching two thousand lances to his assistance<sup>a</sup>. Don *Pedro*, the son of Don *Frederick* the grand master, who was the king's uncle, returned with those ambassadors to *Castile*, and was, in consideration of the French king's letters, very kindly received by the king his cousin. As for the pope, he had nothing to give but a little good advice, which he sent him very freely<sup>b</sup>. At the opening of the spring, the king of *Portugal* sent a fleet of twelve ships and six galleys to bring over the duke of *Lancaster* and his forces; soon after which he took the field, and besieged *Chaves*, which, after a gallant defence, he reduced. In the month of *July* the duke of *Lancaster* landed at *Padron*, in *Galicia*, with fifteen hundred lances, and the like number of cross-bows. He marched directly to the city of *St. James*, at *Compostella*, which opened her gates as to her sovereign, and there he was proclaimed king of *Castile* in right of his wife *Donna Constantia*, who accompanied him, with their daughter *Donna Catalina*, and two daughters that the duke had by his former wife, *Blanch*, heiress of the house of *Lancaster*<sup>c</sup>. The king of *Portugal* sent him a present of twelve white mules; the duke, in return, gave him as many greyhounds and falcons: a treaty was, not long after, concluded between them, in consequence of which that monarch espoused *Donna Philippa*, one of the duke's daughters, the other, *Isabella*, being already married to the earl of *Pembroke*<sup>d</sup>. Within a short space after the conclusion of this treaty, the duke of *Lancaster* sent a herald at arms to Don *Juan*, requiring him to surrender the kingdom of *Castile*; who thereupon sent *Juan Serrano* a clergyman, and two doctors of the civil law, to *Orenza*, where the duke then was, to acquaint him with the grounds of his title, and they were both patiently and publicly heard. But *Juan Serrano*, having sought a private audience of the duke, told him, that his master was willing to put an end to the difference, by marrying his son and heir, the Infant Don *Henry*, to *Donna Catalina* his daughter; which the duke did not at all dislike, and which his wife, *Donna Constantia*, highly and heartily approved; but, for the present, the treaty with *Portugal* stood in the way, and the duke contented himself with giving them a civil answer<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.* P. DANIEL *Histoire de France.* <sup>b</sup> RAIN.

<sup>c</sup> ROD. SANTII *Hist. Hispan.* part iv. POLYD. VIRGIL. THOM. WALSHING. in Richard II.

<sup>d</sup> BRAND. EMANUEL DE FAR. Y SOUSA. <sup>e</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.* THOM. WALSHING. in Rich. II. ROD. SANTII *Hist. Hispan.* p. iv.



THE king, Don *Carlos of Navarre*, dying on the first day of the succeeding year, and his son, the prince Don *Carlos*, His claims being raised to the throne, his brother-in-law the king of *Castile*, as a mark of his affection, remitted the twenty thousand pistoles that were due to him from that crown, and restored the castles that had been put into his hands to secure the re-payment of that sum <sup>f</sup>. In the summer the *Portuguese* and the *English* made an irruption into the territories of the king of *Castile*, who, at that time, either had not an army sufficient to give them battle, or, from motives of policy, sought to decline it. He therefore caused the country before them to be laid waste, harrassed their troops upon every march, and gave them so much disturbance in one or two sieges, that they found it very expedient to retire into *Portugal*. Thither the king of *Castile* sent some of his ministers again to the duke of *Lancaster*, who, finding that the climate did not by any means agree with his troops, resolved to return into *Gascony*, and sent the king of *Castile* word he should be glad to receive his ministers at *Bayonne* & (X). Thither, accordingly, repaired the

<sup>f</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. FER. <sup>g</sup> Historia Vitæ & Regni Ricardi II. Angliæ Regis, a Monacho quodam de Everham consignata. EMANUEL DE FAR. Y SOUSA. MARJAN.

(X) The campaign completed the ruin of the *English* army, which the winter had begun. The climate of *Galicia* did by no means agree with *English* constitutions: the season proved rainy and unwholesome; provisions were scarce, which tempted the soldiers to plunder, and, in revenge of this, the *Spaniards* knocked them on the head. It was with difficulty, therefore, that he assembled a tolerable force to join the *Portuguese*, and when he did they could do but little. The *Spanish* historians relate all this but very modestly, and without treating our countrymen with the least disrespect; whereas our own historians, who wrote in or near those times, expose this expedition of the duke's as very rashly undertak-

en, and very unskilfully conducted. One writer particularly assures us, that the duke's troops, through famine, deserted in such numbers, that the king of *Portugal* insisted upon giving the enemy battle immediately; because in their present feeble condition, the *English* deserters would be a burthen to them; whereas he dreaded the effects of their valour, if they had time to recover their strength: but the duke is said to have dissuaded him from this, being sensible that it was not thro' disaffection that they went over to the enemy, but through downright want. Upon this our author assures us, that the duke humbled himself in a very extraordinary manner before God; promised an amendment of life, and made

A. D.  
1387.

the king's confessor and two doctors, who were of his privy council, met with a very gracious reception, and, in a very short time, concluded a decisive treaty ; by which it was settled, that the duke's only daughter by Donna *Constantia* should espouse, as soon as he was of an age to marry, the Infant Don *Henry* : and, in case he died before the consummation of the marriage, she should become the wife of his younger brother Don *Ferdinand* : that five good towns, with their territories, which were named, should be given as a dowry to Donna *Constantia* : that the duke should receive six hundred thousand pieces of gold, for the expences of the war : that his duchess should receive forty thousand franks a year ; and that, in consideration of the due performance of these articles, the duke and duchess should renounce for ever their rights to the crown of *Castile*. All this was ratified and approved in an assembly of the states of the kingdom, as well as by the king Don *Juan* : but when it came to be ratified by the duke and duchess, they did it with this proviso, that the heir apparent of the crown of *Castile* should thenceforward bear the title of Prince of *Asturias*<sup>h</sup>. The princess, Donna *Catalina* was conducted from *Fontarabia* to *Palencia*, and there, in the presence of the king, espoused to the Infant Don *Henry* ; that prince being about nine years old, and

<sup>h</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Historia Vitæ & Regni Ricardi II. WALSHING. in Ric. II.

other vows, to which he attributes entirely the king of *Castile's* renewing the treaty, and offering an enemy in distress all that he could have demanded if he had been victorious ; for the duke of *Lancaster's* only view was to see his daughter queen of *Castile*. *Mariana* and this author likewise seem to be a little premature in affirming that the principal points of the agreement were settled while the duke remained in *Portugal* ; whereas in reality he declined treating while within that kingdom, but gave the king Don *Juan* good reasons to believe that things would be amicably adjusted by permitting lord *John Holland*,

upon his arrival at *Lisbon* from *London*, to enroll as many of his men as were willing to go with him into *Gascony* ; which very plainly intimated either a resolution in him to put an end to the war, or an absolute inability to continue it. There is no doubt that the king of *Portugal* was not very well pleased with this treaty, which he foresaw must be concluded ; but his people were very weary of the company of foreigners ; so that, upon the whole, he was well enough satisfied to be rid of those who might do him a great deal of hurt, and who could do him but very little good if they would.

herself

herself about fourteen <sup>i</sup>. *Mariana* says the prince was ten and the princess nineteen years of age; but this is clearly a mistake, since it is very certain that the duke of *Lancaster* had not been married to *Donna Constantia* above sixteen years <sup>k</sup>. Some short time after the duchess of *Lancaster* sent to let the king know, that she was extremely desirous of seeing him and her children the prince and princess of *Asturias*; upon which he sent several persons of the first distinction to conduct her to *Medina del Campo*, where he was; and, during her stay there, she was treated with such respect and cordiality, that she presented the king with a crown of gold, that had been made for her husband, and a vessel of the same precious metal, exquisitely wrought <sup>l</sup>. After a considerable stay at *Medina*, she complied with the king's request of going to pass the winter at *Toledo*, where she received the compliments of almost all the nobility of the first rank in *Spain*, and where her conduct was so prudent, as gained her the hearts of the king and queen.

IN the spring the king accompanied the duchess of *Lancaster* to *Burgos*, with an intent to have proceeded to *Fontarabia*, that he might also confer with the duke her husband. But, within a very short time after his arrival, he fell extremely ill; but, growing better, he set out with her again for *Victoria*, where he was attacked with the same disease in such a manner, that he was obliged to excuse himself from proceeding farther northwards; and sent his compliments by his ambassadors to the duke of *Lancaster*, with whom all things were amicably adjusted: the large sum that had been stipulated was paid, and hostages were given for the duchess's annuity. The king of *Portugal* having, this year, gained some advantages, the king of *Castile* took much pains, and sacrificed some places that were still in his hands, to get the truce renewed. He appears to have been a most conscientious prince; for he grudged every thing that came out of his subjects pockets: and chose rather to suffer any disgrace, than to exhaust them, in order to aggrandize his own family. He carried this so far, that, when the states had imposed an extraordinary tribute, to raise the money for the duke of *Lancaster*, understanding that in some places the people murmured at it, he sent them word, that it was true he could not exempt them from paying, because he was to pay it himself; but that he would allow it in the ordinary revenues of the next year <sup>m</sup>. This

1388.

The king  
of Castile's  
tender and  
laudable  
affection  
for his  
subjects.

<sup>i</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

<sup>k</sup> Historia

general de España, lib. xx.

<sup>l</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan, el Primero. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>m</sup> Historia

Vitæ & Regni Ricardi II. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. FAR. Y SOUSA.

had two good effects ; it produced the money, and it put an end to all murmurs. Whether the expences of the war with *Portugal*, and the misfortunes attending it, had unavoidably exhausted his treasury, or whether there was really any fault in those who managed his affairs, so it was, that the king grew extremely melancholy at the remembrance of the flourishing state of things in the last years of his father's reign in comparison of his own ; which, at length, affected him so heavily, that he called an assembly of the states, to propose resigning the crown to his son, tho' a minor, and putting the government into the hands of a council, who, by their wisdom and application, might bring things into a better state. But this assembly very wisely remonstrated to the king, that such a resolution might augment, but never could diminish, the mischiefs to which his subjects were exposed ; that as to the regulation of his revenue, they would take that upon themselves ; and that, in a little time, under the auspices of so good a prince, they did not in the least doubt, that all things might be brought into order <sup>n</sup>.

A. D.  
1389.

*Sudden  
and un-  
happy  
death of  
that great  
and good  
prince by a  
fall from  
his horse.*

THE king's spirits were in some measure raised, by the application of the king of *Granada* to renew the truce ; who, upon that occasion, sent a magnificent embassy, and very costly presents : but what pleased him still more was, that the king of *Portugal* sent likewise to prolong the truce, which was a thing that the king of *Castile* heartily desired, but was unwilling to ask <sup>o</sup>. In this flow of good fortune, he erected a new order of knighthood, which he stiled *of the Holy Ghost*, the badge of which was a collar of gold, to which was appendant the figure of a dove, surrounded with a glory <sup>p</sup>. At the time the *Moorish* ambassadors were at his court, he understood that there were many Christians of distinction, who, from time to time, had retired out of *Spain*, either through discontent or fear, and were settled in the city of *Morocco*, notwithstanding which they were exceedingly desirous of returning home ; but apprehended the double difficulty of procuring pardon on one side, and permission on the other. The king of *Castile*, sincerely touched with the misfortunes of these people, whom the *Spanish* writers style (Y) *Farfanese*, applied

<sup>n</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>o</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espa: a. BRAND. <sup>p</sup> MARIAN. FER.

(Y) The word *Farfan* signifies a Christian soldier, or rather a Christian cavalier in the pay of the *Moors*. There were many circumstances that concurred to furnish the *Moorish* monarchs in

applied himself with such earnestness to the king of *Morocco*, that he gave them leave to depart. Some of the first of them arrived a little before winter, and desired to have the honour of being admitted to the king's presence, that they might return him their thanks. Don *Juan*, who had heard that they were wonderfully expert in horsemanship, desired they would meet him at *Alcala*, on his road to *Andalusia*. Arriving in this city, and understanding that they were at hand, he mounted on horseback, on *Sunday, October* the 9th, attended by the archbishop of *Toledo*, and some other persons of the first distinction, with whom he proceeded thro' the gate leading to *Burgos*; met these new comers, and was infinitely delighted with their exercise: but spurring an high-mettled *Barbary* horse he rode, the beast suddenly plunged, threw him over his head, and, falling upon him, crushed him to death upon the spot (Z). The archbishop of *Toledo* caused a tent

A. D.  
1390.

in *Spain* and in *Africa* with these soldiers. Sometimes it was the pure effects of the spirit of rambling, and that spirit of chivalry which was then so much in fashion. Sometimes it was owing to private disasters or disappointments, which rendered their own country disagreeable to them; but the chief cause was being some way or other obnoxious to justice for acts of private resentment, or of public discontent; but resting ever upon this foundation, that a gentleman's sword ought to carve him out a subsistence, and that it was beneath him to exert any other talent for his advancement than his courage. At this juncture, it seems, the *Moors* were more peaceably disposed than usual; for otherwise they would not have parted with these mercenaries, for whom they had a great esteem. It is also not at all improbable, that the king Don *Juan* had political reasons for recalling them, which might have appeared in time, if Providence had granted him a longer life: at all events, it was an

act of generous charity, that could not fail of raising his reputation.

(Z) This melancholy accident, which cost the king Don *Juan* his life, happened chiefly by his seeing this exercise performed on ploughed lands; so that, upon spurring his horse, his fore feet fell into a deep furrow, by which means the king was thrown over his head. Surgeons were sent for, and processions ordered, that the people might have opportunities of praying for the king's recovery. But this was the effects of the archbishop of *Toledo*'s prudence, for the king gave not the least sign of life after his fall. The reason why this prelate thought these precautions necessary, was the uneasiness expressed by all ranks of people on the apprehensions of losing a prince in the prime of his years, for the king was but three and thirty, and the government's falling into the hands of a child, and he too of so weak a constitution, that they had already bestowed on him the surname of the *Sickly*.

la

to be pitched near the place, carried the king thither, and gave out that he was not dead, in order to gain the more time for the peaceable accession of his son; which being accomplished, his body was transported to *Toledo*, and buried there according to his own desire <sup>9</sup>; and afterwards with still greater solemnity, by command of the king his son.

*King Henry III.* DON *Henry*, the third of that name, king of *Castile*, was but five days more than ten years old at the demise of his father, and succeeded him without any hesitation or disturbance; tho' this, like all calms at court, more especially in minorities, was of very short duration <sup>1</sup>. The late king had a numerous family of women to maintain, and this charge descended upon his son. These were Donna *Leonora*, queen-dowager of *Portugal*; her daughter Donna *Beatrix*, queen-dowager of *Castile*; another Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Navarre*, the late king's sister, who, with her two daughters, had retired into *Castile*, under pretence that the air of *Navarre* would not agree with them, and would not return, though strongly solicited by the king her husband; and the queen consort, tho' as yet the marriage was not complete; to which we may add Donna *Constantia*, duchess of *Lancaster*, who had likewise a large annuity, though it was but indifferently paid <sup>2</sup>. In order to keep things quiet, it was found necessary to call the princes of the blood to court, and to gratify them with great places and pensions. These were Don *Frederick*, duke of *Benavente*, the natural son of king *Henry* the second, and uncle to the late king; Don *Pedro* count of *Traстамara*, who was the son of the Infant Don *Frederick*, grand master of the order of St. *James*, who had been barbarously murdered by the king Don *Pedro*; Don *Alonso de Arragon*, marquis of *Villena*,

<sup>9</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FERRERAS.

<sup>1</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. par Don PEDRO LOPEZ de Ayala. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.

In the midst of these disasters the case of the queen was most to be deplored, for in losing the king her husband she lost all: she was already, in a manner, cut off from her own country, deprived of the crown to which she was intitled by her birth, and left amongst strangers, without children, and without any

means except those flowing from the prudence of her own conduct, to support the precarious title of a queen, in a country where the seeds of faction were continually shooting up upon the smallest relaxation in government, and more especially in minorities.

and

and Don *Alonso* count of *Gijon*, the king's uncle, then a prisoner, soon after released : to say nothing of the children of the king Don *Pedro*, or of the Infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*, who were likewise prisoners, and maintained at the expence of the state <sup>1</sup>. The duke *de Benavente* was no sooner at court than he meditated a marriage which alarmed the young king and his ministers very much. The lady upon whom he fixed his eyes was also a princess of the blood, *Donna Leonora*, daughter of the Infant Don *Sancho*, and, by far, the richest heiress in *Castile*. The only method that could be thought of to prevent this was to contract the countess, with her own consent, to the king's brother, the Infant Don *Ferdinand* ; with a proviso that, if the king should die before he was of age to consummate his own marriage, the contract should be void, and the Infant at liberty to espouse the queen <sup>2</sup>. Some disputes there were about settling a regency : it was surmised that the king had left a will, and at length that will was found : but the contents of it being disapproved, it was ordered to be burnt, which was prevented by the archbishop of *Toledo*, on account of some legacies that were given to his church. At length a council of regency was formed by common consent, consisting of the duke *de Benavente*, the count *de Trastamara*, the marquis *de Villena*, the archbishops of *Toledo* and *Compostella*, the grand masters of *St. James* and *Calatrava*, and sixteen deputies from the principal towns : though this regency was approved and established by authority of the states ; yet, before the end of the year, the archbishop of *Toledo* withdrew from court, declared against them, and drew the duke *de Benavente* into his measures <sup>3</sup>. So soon are factions formed !

THE regents laboured all they could to bring this prelate *The duke* into their measures, but in vain ; upon which they removed *de Benavente's in-* the court to *Segovia*, and gave the title of constable to Don *Pedro* count of *Trastamara* <sup>4</sup>. At length, through the medi- *trigues* ation of the queen of *Navarre*, things were brought to an ac- *perplex the* commodation ; and the states were assembled at *Burgos*, *queen and* where the principles of the late king's will were adopted, a *the re-* new regency framed, and a great deal of public money very *gency.* prudently bestowed in pensions to preserve the public peace. *A. D.* Though the duke *de Benavente* had all the reason in the *1391,* world to be satisfied, and a variety of alterations had been made for that reason solely, yet he still persisted in his in-

<sup>1</sup> ALFONSI a Carthagenæ reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. <sup>3</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRAS. <sup>4</sup> FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

A. D.  
1392.

*Wearied  
with per-  
petual con-  
trivances  
to disturb  
the regency  
the king  
assumes the  
admini-  
stration.*

trigues; in consequence of which he formed a project of marrying a natural daughter of the king of *Portugal*, with whom he was to have a large sum in ready money, and the protection of the king besides <sup>1</sup>. To balance this the council of regency offered him the like sum of money to decline that marriage, and upon this the duke was brought to suspend it.

THIS disjointed state of affairs in *Castile*, gave its neighbours many opportunities of behaving otherwise than they were wont. The *Moors* of *Granada* made a sudden irruption, in breach of the truce which *Joseph* the son and successor of *Mohammed* had made with the young king, and carried away a great booty; but the *Castilians* attacked them in their retreat so judiciously, and with so much vigour, that they recovered all they had taken, and cured them of the desire of making such incursions for the future; this, together with some quick measures taken against the duke de *Benavente*, induced the king of *Portugal* to let fall some very haughty and unreasonable articles, upon which he had insisted in respect to a truce, but which he at length thought proper to conclude for fifteen years, upon condition that some of the principal lords would sign it within a limited time; and of these the duke de *Benavente*, the count of *Traстамара*, and the count of *Gijon*, refused <sup>2</sup>. The regency, suspecting the archbishop of *Toledo* of a design to excite fresh troubles, caused him to be arrested; but, upon his giving them proper assurances, he was quickly released. *Charles* the sixth of *France* sent, about this time, ambassadors to compliment the young king upon his accession, and to let him know that he heard that some of his nobility were inclined to create disturbances, which if true, he would give him what aid he desired; or, if it was requisite, march in person, with the whole force of his dominions; the king thanked him in the warmest terms for this noble instance of his friendship, but did not demand his assistance <sup>3</sup>. As he was now within two months of thirteen complete, and of a capacity far beyond his age, Don *Henry* assumed the government, held an assembly of the states at *Madrid*, and, having confirmed the privileges of *Biscay*, and done other necessary and popular acts, he set out for *Toledo*, where he caused the obsequies of his father to be performed in his presence with

<sup>1</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>2</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana. BRANDAON. FERREKAS. <sup>3</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. P. DANIEL Histoire de France.



great solemnity <sup>b</sup>. He next celebrated his marriage with the princess *Catherine of Lancaster*, and his brother *Don Ferdinand*, at the same time, espoused the countess of *Albuquerque*. These salutary steps taken, he curtailed those exorbitant pensions which the regency had been obliged to give to the princes and princesses of the royal family; for he was thoroughly tinctured with his father's maxim, that kings were to be the fathers of their people, and were not to impoverish a nation to enrich their families <sup>c</sup>.

A. D.  
1393.

BUT the princes and princesses of the blood were very unwilling to learn this lesson, which they understood to be a <sup>All the</sup> most crying act of injustice with respect to them, retired to <sup>princes and</sup> their respective estates, and began to cabal as usual. The <sup>princesses</sup> king, finding the archbishop of *Toledo* a very sensible man, <sup>of the blood</sup> and ready to give him good advice, when his own interests <sup>concur in</sup> were well secured, gratified him in that particular, and took <sup>opposing the</sup> him into his confidence <sup>king's mea-</sup> <sup>sures.</sup> <sup>d</sup>. He then sent the marshal of *Castile* to the queen of *Navarre*, the duke of *Benavente*, and the rest of the malecontents, to let them know that what he had done was by the advice of his states; and that, when the times were better, they might expect better provisions. This had no great effect, for as yet they did not know the king, whom a strange affair had drawn, in the midst of these disputes, from *Castile* to the city of *Toledo* (A). By the midst of summer he was

<sup>b</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ALFONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. <sup>c</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. <sup>d</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

(A) The occasion of the king's journey to *Toledo* would have been too great a digression, if we had given it a place in the text; and yet it seems a point of too great importance to be totally neglected, for which reason we have placed it here. Amongst the lords of *Portugal*, who followed the party of the king of *Castile*, was *Don Martin Yanez de la Barbuda*, who was treasurer of the military order of *Avis* in that kingdom, a person of great courage, and esteemed one of the ablest officers of his time. The king, in reward of his fide-

lity, procured his election to the office of grand master of *Alcantara*, which gave him at once, title, rank, and a large revenue. There dwelt not far from *Alcantara*, in a desert part of the country, an hermit, whose name was *Juan Sago*, who had acquired a reputation of sanctity; this man addressed himself to the grand master, affirming, he had a revelation, that if he would attack the *Moor*s, merely as enemies to the Gospel, and without any secular views, he should drive them out of *Spain*, and this without the loss of a man.

was on his return, and the marquis *de Villena* met him at *Illescas* with a hundred lances. The king received him kindly, but

man. The grand master was weak enough to credit this, and sent two of his esquires to challenge the king of *Granada*, offering to fight him alone, or with any number of troops he would appoint, allowing him two to one, in defence of the Gospel against the *Koran*. The king of *Granada* rejected the proposition, and put the persons who brought it into prison. The king, *Don Henry*, hearing that he was raising forces, sent for the grand master, to put him in mind of his duty, and of the truce that subsisted between the two crowns. This had no effect, his hermit persuaded him to assemble an army; and, upon a promise of their being invulnerable, this was easily done; so that in a short time he had a body of three thousand, some writers say, five thousand foot, and about three hundred lances, all men of family, and tried courage. Upon his arrival with these forces at *Cordova*, the inhabitants were inclined to have disputed the passage of their bridge, which at length, however, they declined. On his arrival at *Alcala*, *Don Alonso Fernandez de Cordova*, lord of *Aguilar*, with his brother *Don Diego*, met him, and used all possible arguments to dissuade him from this rash enterprize, but to no purpose. When he entered the territory of *Granada* he attacked a small fort, where he lost three men, and was himself wounded in the hand; upon this he reproached the hermit, who retorted his reproaches, by

telling him, that the promise he made him did not regard pillaging small places, but rendering the truth of religion visible by the defeat of the Infidels, in a decisive battle. These altercations were hardly over, when the king of *Granada* appeared at the head of five thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty thousand foot. The Christians were presently surrounded, and the fight, or rather the slaughter, began. Some say that the infantry were intimidated, and endeavoured to make their escape; others, that they behaved bravely. About fifteen hundred returned, twelve hundred were made prisoners, and the rest killed. As for the three hundred lances, they had no thoughts of retreating, the grand master disposed them in the best order imaginable; gave the highest proofs of his skill and experience in the art of war; but, in the end, after wonderful instances of valour, he fell, covered with wounds, and with him all that glorious body of cavalry, who were thus offered as victims to his credulity and their own. At the request of the Christians, the Moors permitted them to search for and carry away his body, which was buried in the church of our lady, at *Alcantara*, under a tomb, with this inscription, by his own order. *Hic fitus est Martinus Yanez, in omni periculo experti timoris animo.* "Here lies Martin Yanez, on whose mind the sight of the greatest danger could never impress a  
sense

but insisted upon his subscribing the truce with *Portugal*, to which he assented. The king proceeded to *Valladolid* with an army about him; and understanding that the malecontents had entered into a league, and were all armed, he proceeded with caution.

It is very remarkable that this young king, foreseeing that whatever he did would be ascribed to the archbishop of *Toledo*, in his own if he was with him, left him behind, and this measure was of resolution, the utmost consequence. The archbishop of *Campostella*, and triumphs gloriously over them all. hearing that his competitor was absent, came readily to the king, and was reconciled. The king then granted a safe conduct to the duke *de Benavente*, who came, made a long defence, and submitted to the terms that the king prescribed; but he would not suffer him to subscribe them there, requiring him to return to his own fortress, and consider them for a week, that he might not pretend to be forced. The king then reviewed his forces, and dismissed the greatest part of them, the duke did the like. The count *de Trastamara* followed the duke's example, first demanded a safe conduct, and then made his terms with the king. He insisted upon the restitution of a place that had been taken from him by the count of *Gijon*, and the king promised him justice. The name of this place was *Paredes de Nava*, to which the king went and sequestered it, allowing sixty days to the count *de Gijon* to make out his title. While the king was thus employed, the count *de Trastamara* went to visit the queen of *Navarre*, at her request, and by the advice of the duke of *Benavente*, that they might take their measures together. The king being informed of this, after his arrival at *Burgos*, caused the duke to be arrested, and seized all his places. After this, he reduced *Roa*, where the queen of *Navarre* had taken shelter, and made her a prisoner likewise. He marched next in person into the *Asturias*; and understanding that the count

\* *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.* ' *ROD. SANTILLANA*  
Hist. Hispan. part iv.

sense of fear." When this history was told the emperor, *Charles* the fifth, he answered, smiling, and yet I dare say this grand master would not have snuffed out a lighted flambeau with his fingers. It was this unfortunate affair that brought the king of *Castile* to *Toledo*, where he began to assemble his troops, from an apprehension

that the *Moor*s would attack his dominions; but upon his acquainting the king of *Granada* that it was an act of temerity in a single man, which he could not either foresee or prevent, and ought not to be considered as a breach of the truce, that monarch answered, that he was of the same sentiment; and so this affair was blown over.

of

A. D.  
1394.

of *Gijon* had taken possession of *Oviedo*, with a body of troops, he attacked and put the best part of them to the sword. He then invested *Gijon*, which the count had fortified with great industry, and in which he had a numerous garrison. While he remained there, he summoned the count *de Trastamara* to join him with his forces, who, though he was not without apprehensions, obeyed. The king received him kindly, pardoned all that was past, and gave him part of the lands of the duke of *Benavente*. The winter drawing on, the count *de Gijon*, offered to submit his dispute with king *Henry* to the king of *France*, which was accepted; but care was taken that no supplies should be put into the place <sup>g</sup>.

Resolves to  
enter into  
a war  
with Por-  
tugal with  
all his  
force.

1395.

THE king carried his aunt, the queen of *Navarre*, with the two princesses her daughters, to the frontiers of that kingdom; and, having taken her husband's oath that he should live kindly with her, sent her home <sup>h</sup>. The marriage was now celebrated between the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, and *Leonora*, countess of *Albuquerque* <sup>i</sup>. The French monarch having decided that *Alonso*, count of *Gijon*, had forfeited all his lands for rebellion, the king returned to the siege of the castle, which was defended by the countess, who offered to surrender, if the king would restore her son who was in his hands as a hostage. The king consented to this, and as soon as the castle was in his hands, demolished it <sup>k</sup>. He returned through *Castile*, to pass the winter at *Seville*, where he renewed the truce with the king of *Granada*, and suppressed the factions that disturbed the peace of the city and kingdom of *Murcia*; the *Portuguese*, having corrupted an officer intrusted with the care of one of the gates of *Badajoz*, surprized that place, and attempted *Albuquerque*, in which they failed. The king, Don *Henry*, resolved to revenge this affront, and made great preparations for that purpose by land and sea. The king of *Portugal* sent ambassadors to pacify him, but he ordered them to depart his dominions, and prosecuted his resentment with great violence, which gave some of the *Portuguese* nobility, who were much disgusted with their king, an opportunity of retiring into *Castile* <sup>l</sup>. *Joseph*, king of *Granada*, dying, *Mohammed*, his son and successor, went, as some

1396.

<sup>g</sup> ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS. <sup>h</sup> FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. <sup>i</sup> ROß. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>k</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. <sup>l</sup> ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.

writers

writers say, in person, to the court of the king of *Castile*, and renewed the truce; the *Portuguese* having recovered from their consternation, made an irruption into *Castile*, with some effect; and, on the other hand, the *Castilians* beat the *Portuguese* at sea <sup>m</sup>. A. D.  
1397.

THE king, Don Henry, being desirous of determining this dispute, levied a tax throughout his whole dominions, and began to make vast military preparations <sup>n</sup>. Being desirous of putting an end to the schism which still continued, he resolved to withdraw his obedience from *Benedict* the thirteenth, who resided at *Avignon*; but before pope *Boniface*, who governed at *Rome*, could be informed of this, he endeavoured to take advantage of the war with *Portugal*, pronounced the king a schismatic, fallen from his crown and dignity, and incapable of governing, and sent a bull to this purpose to the archbishop of *Braga* <sup>o</sup>. The next year a negotiation was set on foot between the kings of *Castile* and *Portugal*, which ended in a truce for ten years; soon after died Don *Pedro Ténorio*, archbishop of *Toledo*, at the age of seventy-five, to whom the king was much indebted for his advice <sup>p</sup>. The corsairs of *Barbary* being extremely troublesome, the king ordered the fleet that had been prepared against *Portugal* to clear the seas of those robbers, which they did; and taking it to be a proper appendix to their commission, undertook to clear the land a little also; with this view they landed their forces, and attacked *Tetuan*, of which they quickly became masters, pillaged it, carried away all the inhabitants, and then burnt it to the ground <sup>q</sup>. There was this year a most violent and destructive plague in *Spain*, but more especially in *Andalusia*, insomuch that the king was constrained to suspend the law, which restrained widows from marrying within a year after the death of their husbands. On the sixth of *July*, this year, the first clock that was ever seen in *Spain* was erected at *Seville* <sup>r</sup>. Concludes  
a ten year's  
truce with  
that  
crown,  
and hum-  
bles the  
Corsairs of  
Barbary.

THE king having called an assembly of the states at *Torde-sillas*, made several laws there for the benefit of his subjects. As the great point he had in view, in withdrawing his obedience from pope *Benedict* the thirteenth, was to put an end to a schism, which, in the present situation of things, proved very detrimental to Christendom in general, and to his own dominions in particular; and perceiving that this step in-

<sup>m</sup> FARIA Y SOUSA. *Chronica de los Moros de España*. ROD. SANTI HIST. HISPAN. part iv. <sup>n</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.* <sup>o</sup> RAINALD. <sup>p</sup> BRAND. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. HISPAN. <sup>q</sup> ROD. SANTI HIST. HISPAN. part iv. <sup>r</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.* FER.

A. D.  
1401.

creased the latter, without diminishing the former inconvenience, he acknowledged the same pope again, who thereupon took the advantage of naming his nephew, Don *Pedra de Luna*, to the archbishoprick of *Toledo*, upon the lapse of the dean and chapter<sup>s</sup>. The same year the king having heard of the great reputation of *Timur Bec*, whom the *Spanish* writers of those times call *Tamerlan*, he sent two ambassadors to compliment him, and to make him an offer of his friendship<sup>t</sup>. As under the reigns of the three last princes, the people in general had been treated with great lenity and kindness, their circumstances were much altered, more especially in the great cities; and this proved the source of factions, that were very detrimental to the public peace. In *Seville* and *Cordova* especially they were risen to such a height, that the king was forced to interpose, but he did it with such a spirit of equity, as left no room for complaints, and with an air of dignity, which shewed he was not to be moved by clamour<sup>u</sup>. The ambassadors of *Castile* saluted the illustrious emperor of the *Tartars*, immediately after he had vanquished the whole power of the *Ottomans*, and taken *Bajazet* prisoner. He received them very kindly, expressed a proper sense of the compliment paid him, and sent an officer of his household, with rich presents into *Spain*, to return it. The name of this ambassador was *Mohammed Acagi*, and he brought with him two young ladies, the daughters of an *Hungarian* count, who had been taken by *Bajazet*, at the fatal battle of *Nicapolis*, and were found amongst the spoils upon his defeat. These young ladies, who were exquisitely handsome, and whose names were *Donna Maria* and *Donna Angelina*, being thus set at liberty, were extremely acceptable to the king and queen, and were very soon happily married in *Spain*<sup>v</sup>. On the 14th of *November*, the queen was delivered of a daughter, named *Donna Maria*, to the great joy of the king, and of his subjects; and, in the beginning of the next year, the states at *Toledo* acknowledged and swore to maintain her title, in case the king left no heir male<sup>x</sup>. The king sent a second embassy to *Tamerlan*, with letters of thanks, and presents of very considerable value. The Infant Don *Ferdinand*, out of reverence to the blessed virgin, instituted a new order of knighthood, which he called *de la Jarra*, that is of the *Jar*. or

1402.

1403.

\* ALPHONSI a Carthageria reg Hispan. Anacephalæosis. RAIN.

<sup>t</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. FER. <sup>u</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.

<sup>v</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIAN. FER. <sup>x</sup> ALPHONSI a Carthageria reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis, FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

*Vase*, because the device was a flower pot filled with white lilies <sup>r</sup>.

As the kingdom enjoyed a profound peace, the monarch *The king's* of *Castile* thought it a proper time to put his plan in execu- *great fru-*  
tion. He saw, with regret, the finest country in *Spain* in *galiti;*  
the hands of the *Moors*; and they growing infinitely mote *founded on*  
strong and powerful every day, by that spirit of industry and *the most*  
frugality that reigned amongst them, he saw that a very long *generous*  
and expensive war would be necessary to reduce them. He *motives,*  
knew, that how chearfully soever his people might begin  
such a war, they would very soon grow weary of the taxes  
that were necessary to support it; he determined therefore to  
reduce the expences of his government as much as possible,  
and, out of his own saving, to heap up a treasure sufficient  
for this purpose. The king of *Granada*, afraid of his great  
power, and perhaps not altogether ignorant of his scheme,  
sent two of the principal persons about his court to testify his  
respect for him, with very rich presents, and, which he  
esteemed the highest mark of reverence and regard, one of the  
finest women in his seraglio; the king of *Castile* received this  
compliment and his presents very politely, and made him a  
proper return; but there afterwards grew a suspicion, that the  
principal end of this embassy was of a very dark nature, as  
hereafter will appear <sup>2</sup>.

1404.

THE king being at *Toro* in the spring, the queen was *After a*  
there delivered on the sixth of *March*, of the Infant Don *very long*  
*Juan*<sup>a</sup>. He held, soon after, an assembly of the states at *and tedious*  
*Madrid*, where some laws were made to moderate the exor- *illness, died*  
bitant usury taken by the *Jews*, and to oblige them to wear a *at length*  
mark of distinction upon their garments, and at the same time *of a slow*  
the concubines of priests were forbid to appear in publick, *poison.*  
without a piece of scarlet cloth or ribbon, tacked to their  
head dress <sup>b</sup>. The queen taking advantage of the extreme  
good humour the king was in, upon the birth of his son,  
prevailed upon him to set at liberty Don *Pedro* and Donna  
*Constantia*, the children of her uncle Don *Juan*, who died a  
little before, in the castle of *Soria*, upon a promise that Don  
*Pedro* should enter into holy orders <sup>c</sup>. This year the king built  
the royal palace of *Madrid*, which was burnt some time after. *1405.*  
He likewise built the alcazal of *Murcia*, and was the founder  
of the pleasant country villa, called *Pardo*; for he was na-

<sup>v</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>z</sup> Chronica del Rey  
Don Henrique III. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. <sup>a</sup> AL-  
HONSI a Carthagená de reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. FRAN-  
CISCI TATAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. <sup>b</sup> Chronica del Rey Don  
Henrique III. <sup>c</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

turally very magnificent, and frugal only from a principle of public spirit <sup>d</sup>. His ambassadors returned the next spring from the court of *Tamerlan*, and the king was extremely well pleased with the account they gave him of the reception they had met with. On the complaints of the common people, that provisions were grown scarce and dear, the king found it necessary to settle the prices of grain of all sorts, to prevent extortion <sup>e</sup>. The state of the king's health being better known at *Granada* than in *Castile*, the *Moors* began to break that truce which they had begged with so much seeming humility; Don *Henry* complained, by his ambassadors, without obtaining redress, and then threatened to seek it by force of arms; by way of reply to which the king of *Granada* marched into the realm of *Jaen*, and on the fourth of *October* invested *Guezada*, with an army of four thousand horse, and twenty-five thousand foot: he was not, however, able to take the place; and in two actions that happened this year the Christians had the better <sup>f</sup>. The king, Don *Henry*, hoped the time was come to which Providence had fixed the subversion of the *Moorish* kingdom; and therefore he directed an assembly of the states to be held at *Toledo*, with a view to concert measures with them for pouring the whole force of *Spain* upon the kingdom of *Granada*; but when the states were assembled, he was too weak to assist there in person, and therefore sent his brother, the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, who opened to them at large the king's scheme. While the substance of it was under deliberation, Don *Henry* breathed his last, about nine in the morning, on *Christmas-day*, after a lingering tedious illness, which was discovered to be the effects of a slow poison, given him by a *Jew* physician. His obsequies were performed with all due solemnity, and his subjects in general, but more especially the common people, who rather loved and obeyed him as a parent than a prince, deplored him with tears <sup>g</sup> (B).

1406.

His

<sup>d</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Henrique III. MARIAN. FER. <sup>e</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. FER. <sup>f</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. <sup>g</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæsis. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.

(B) This monarch was highly commended for the sweetness of his temper, and for his great affability to all ranks of people, in which, however, he lost nothing of his dignity, because it did not arise from any feebleness of mind, much less from timidity. There never was a king of *Castile*, of whom the nobility stood



HIS son, Don *Juan*, who was but fourteen months old, *Don* was recommended particularly to the care of his uncle, Don *Juan II. Ferdinand*, who, as soon as the royal funeral was over, went <sup>succeeds,</sup> into the assembly of the states, and, in a short speech, de- <sup>under the</sup> fired them to take proper measures for proclaiming their king: <sup>tutelage of</sup> many of the prelates, and some of the nobility, fearing a long <sup>his mother</sup> minority, and knowing the great abilities of *Don Ferdinand*, <sup>and uncle.</sup> put one of their number upon asking him what king he would have them proclaim? The royal Infant was thunder-struck at the insinuation; but quickly recollecting himself, he turned to the marshal, and said, It is impossible that my nephew should have any competitor; display the standard of the crown immediately for *Don Juan* the second, the only lawful king of *Castile* and *Leon*<sup>h</sup>. He afterwards caused the late king's will to be read, and then sent it to *Segovia*, to the queen. By this will the king nominated two gentlemen to have the care of his son's person and education; but the queen being determined not to part with him, caused the gates of *Segovia* to be shut against the Infant *Don Ferdinand*, from an apprehension that he was come to take away her son. But, upon his prevailing on those two persons to accept of a sum of money, and to make over their claim to the queen, she altered her sentiments, and consented that the young king

<sup>h</sup> Epitome de la Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. de Castilla, por JOSEPH MARTINEZ de la Puente. FER.

stood more in awe than this; because he was entirely beloved by the populace. On the other hand, this affection was not the fruit barely of his indulgence, but arose also from their respect and esteem, founded, in part, upon his strict justice, of which he gave a strong instance in the severity with which he punished the repeated disturbances occasioned by the two factions in the city of *Seville*; on account of which seditions, there were no less than a thousand persons put to death. Yet he was never suspected of cruelty; and tho' he amassed a much greater treasure than any of his predecessors, it was without any imputation of covetousness. His common

saying was, that he did not fear the hatred or the arms of his enemies, but the disaffection and curses of his subjects. The *Spaniards*, who often fancy their kings are poisoned upon very slight, and sometimes without any grounds at all, had no apprehension that this was the cause of *Don Henry's* death, because he had been infirm for many years; but some time after, certain *Jews*, who were executed at *Segovia*, for insults offered to the Christian religion, confessed, that long before he had received a slow poison from a physician of their religion, by which he gradually wasted to the time of his decease.

should be publickly inaugurated <sup>1</sup>. The states declared the queen and the royal Infant regents; and, to prevent all disputes, the dominions of *Castile* were divided between them <sup>2</sup>. Don *Ferdinand* carried on the war against the *Moors* with vigour, and in some great actions with success; though the king of *Granada*, which is almost incredible, brought, more than once, armies of fourscore thousand, and once of an hundred thousand, foot, into the field; the fleet of *Castile* likewise defeated the combined squadrons of *Tunis* and *Tremecen*, and prevented their landing any succours to the *Moors* in *Spain*; so that the campaign concluded both happily and honourably for the Christians <sup>1</sup>. The states granted very considerable supplies for the support of the war; but the king of *Granada* was early in the field, and undertook the siege of *Alcaudeta* with a very numerous army; but the garrison made so obstinate a defence, and the *Moors* were so much harrassed, that they were at length constrained to raise the siege with discredit; notwithstanding which, the states of *Castile* resolved, merely to save expence, to act only upon the defensive; and upon the king of *Granada*'s demanding a suspension of arms for eight months, the proposition was accepted. He did not survive long; and his brother *Joseph*, whom he had kept in prison during his whole reign, succeeded him <sup>2</sup>. Some of the queen's favourites, notwithstanding all he had done for her service, created a misunderstanding between that princess and the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, in which, however, the latter acted so prudently, that they were quickly reconciled <sup>3</sup>.

1407.  
1408.  
The Infant  
Don Fer-  
dinand's  
wise and  
upright  
admini-  
stration.

THE grand master of *Alcantara* dying, the Infant Don *Ferdinand* procured that important office for his son, the Infant Don *Sancho*, at whose installation the queen and the whole court assisted <sup>4</sup>. The duke of *Austria* made a proposal of marriage to the queen-dowager Donna *Beatrix*, widow of the king Don *Juan*, but she modestly declined it, by saying that women of her rank married but once <sup>5</sup>. The *Moors*, after having committed hostilities more than once, desired, and were permitted, to renew the truce <sup>6</sup>. The queen, plainly perceiving that her confidence had been abused in respect to the umbrage she had taken against the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, very wisely resolved to connect their families more

<sup>1</sup> Histoire del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>2</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>3</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Galindez de Carvajal. <sup>4</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. <sup>5</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>6</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>7</sup> FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. FER. <sup>8</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

closely, and with this view contracted her daughter *Donna Maria*, to his son *Don Alonso* <sup>1</sup>. The grand master of the order of *St. James* dying, that office, though with some difficulty, was procured for the Infant *Don Henry*, another son of the Infant *Don Ferdinand*, though he was then very young<sup>2</sup>. The war with the *Moors* broke out again, and great preparations were made for carrying it on, on both sides. The Infant *Don Ferdinand* prevailed upon the states to change their sentiments in regard to a defensive war, and to furnish the supplies early, so that he took the field with a numerous army, and invested *Antequera*, a large and well built town, within twelve leagues of *Granada*, defended by a strong citadel, and, from its situation, of very great importance. The king of *Granada* practised every method in his power for its relief, but without effect. He at last attempted a negotiation, with a view of corrupting some of the *Moorish* slaves in the Christian camp, to assist in a perfidious contrivance for the destruction of their masters; but a converted *Moor* discovering the plot in time, the conspirators were very severely punished, and not long after the place was taken by assault, and the citadel by capitulation<sup>3</sup>. This so humbled the *Moors*,<sup>4</sup> that they demanded a truce of seventeen months. The Infant *Don Ferdinand* put in his claim to the kingdom of *Arragon*; and upon the demise of the king *Don Martin*, pushed his pretensions warmly by his ambassadors, the queen giving him all the assistance in her power; notwithstanding which, the troubles in that country lasted a long time<sup>5</sup>.

A. D.  
1409.

1410.

AN assembly of the states was held at *Valladolid*, during which the Infant *Don Ferdinand* fell dangerously ill. *Don Frederick*, duke of *Benavente*, who had been many years prisoner in the castle of *Monreal*, murdered the governor of that place, and made his escape into *Navarre*, where, at the instance of the court of *Castile*, he was secured, though he was the queen of *Navarre*'s brother<sup>6</sup>. The states granted forty-eight millions of *Marvadies*, to be employed in the war against *Granada*, at the expiration of the truce. In compliance with the desires of the subjects of both nations, a peace was concluded between the crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*. The Infant still continued to solicit his claim to the crown of *Arragon*, which, as *Ferreras* rightly observes, must have pro-

Assisted by  
the queen  
and council  
of Castile,  
in his  
claim to  
the crown  
of Arra-  
gon.

<sup>1</sup> ALPH. a Cartagena de reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. <sup>2</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>3</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de los Moros de España. GALINDEZ DE CARVAJAL. <sup>4</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>5</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

A. D.

1411.

ceeded upon this foundation, that the junction of the two crowns was not to be admitted; for otherwise his nephew, the king of *Castile*, had a prior right; but it is plain that this was never insisted upon, and that the queen continued to do every thing that he could ask or desire<sup>x</sup>. The king of *Granada*, in the beginning of the ensuing year, desired to renew the truce, to which the queen consented. Don *Ferdinand*, finding that money was a very useful thing to a man in his situation, earnestly desired to have the money that had been laid by for the war; the council were divided upon this, some were for giving it him, but others observed, that the queen and the Infant had sworn not to employ that money but in war; but this objection was easily removed; pope *Benedict* the thirteenth absolved them from their oaths, the Infant had the money, and by the help of it carried his point<sup>y</sup>. Donna *Leonora Lopez de Cordova*, who had been the queen's favourite and disgraced, applied herself to the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, to make her peace; but the queen wrote to him to banish her into *Andalusia*, and immediately disgraced her brother, and all her relations. Towards the close of the year, the nine judges chosen by the states of *Arragon*, after long and mature deliberations, declared the Infant Don *Ferdinand* king, who immediately repaired to *Saragossa*, where he was proclaimed and crowned; notwithstanding which, he found himself engaged in a civil war, raised by the count *de Urgel*, who was in possession of many strong places, and had a numerous party at his devotion<sup>z</sup>.

1412.

The deaths  
of the king  
Don Fer-  
dinand,  
and of the  
queen Don-  
na Cata-  
lina, re-  
gents.

THE king, Don *Ferdinand*, finding that his enemy had applied himself for succours to *Thomas*, duke of *Clarence*, son to *Henry* the fourth of *England*, he judged it high time to make trial of the affection of the nobles of *Castile*; and, upon his signifying his request by letters, they drew together so great a force, and made so expeditious a march to his relief, as not only astonished his new subjects, but placed him in quiet possession of his dominions, after a short and sharp dispute, which ended in his competitor's surrendering himself at his discretion; and the king, to shew how much he relied upon his friends, sent him prisoner into *Spain*<sup>a</sup>. By his interposition, the king of *Navarre* was prevailed upon to deliver

1413.

<sup>x</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. BRAND. Historia de Espana. <sup>y</sup> RAINALD. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>z</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. FER. <sup>a</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FER.

up the duke of *Benavente*, who was carried back into *Castile*, and continued there a prisoner to his death<sup>b</sup>. In order to fix himself more effectually in his new dominions, and to strengthen that union which already reigned between the two crowns, the king pressed the marriage of his eldest son Don *Alonso*, with the Infanta Donna *Maria*, to which the queen-dowager of *Castile* very readily consented, and the ceremony was soon after performed with great solemnity<sup>c</sup>. This great point thus settled, the king was inclined to make a short tour to visit his sister, but a distemper, from which he had but lately recovered, surprized him again upon the road; and, after a short illness, carried him to his grave, on the second of *April*<sup>d</sup>. He left behind him Don *Alonso*, who succeeded him in the throne of *Aragon*, the Infant Don *Juan*, the Infant Don *Henry*, grand master of the order of St. *James*, and the Infant Don *Pedro*; as for Don *Sancho*, grand master of the order of *Alcantara*, he died a month before his father. By the demise of this brave and prudent prince, the regency of *Castile* devolved solely upon the queen, who, with the advice of the nobility, made choice of a council to assist her. The first act which distinguished their administration, was representing to the queen, that *Agnes de Torres*, one of the ladies of her court, was a busy intriguing woman, and ought therefore to be forbid the court, together with Don *Juan Alvarez Ossorio*, who had great connections with her, to which the queen consented<sup>e</sup>. The king of *Granada* being desirous of renewing the truce, the queen regent consented to it, upon condition that he released one hundred Christian slaves; in this year also some historians place the expedition of *Jean de Bethencourt*, for the reduction of the *Canaries*<sup>f</sup>. In the council of *Constance*, which was held to put an end to the schism that had so long subsisted, the ambassadors of the crown of *Aragon* disputed precedence with those of *Castile*, but without effect, the point being clearly decided in favour of the latter<sup>g</sup>. On the first of *June*, the queen regent was found dead in her bed<sup>h</sup>. The *Spanish* writers allow her to have been a modest, charitable, and religious princess; but they likewise say, that she listened too much to the women that were about her, and that she was addicted to wine, which they insinuate to have

A. D.

1414.

1415.

1416.

1419.

<sup>b</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>c</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FRANC. TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

<sup>d</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part. iv.

<sup>e</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>f</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FER.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Conc. Gen. <sup>h</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Juan II.

been the cause of her death<sup>l</sup>. The archbishop of *Toledo*, whose name was *Don Sancho de Rojas*, *Don Henry*, Infant of *Aragon*, the amirante, the constable, *Juan de Velasco*, *Pedro Manrique*, and other great lords, thought it best to proclaim the king of full age, though he was scarce thirteen, which they did; and on the 20th of *October*, that young prince, in the presence of *Doña Leonora*, queen-dowager of *Aragon*, and the three Infants her sons, espoused *Donna Maria*, their sister<sup>k</sup>.

*The Infant Don Hen-* A GENERAL assembly of the states being held at *Madrid* on the seventh of *March*, the king declared to them that he *ry of Ar-* had assumed the government, and was complimented there-  
*ragon,* upon<sup>l</sup>. He renewed the truce with *Granada*, and received  
*seizes on* into his favour *Don Alvaro de Luna*, of whom we shall have  
*the king's* occasion to speak more at large<sup>m</sup>. The two Infants of  
*person.* *Aragon*, *Don Juan* and *Don Henry*, who were men of

1419.

abilities, but not of the same rectitude of intention with their father, had each of them a great desire to engross the person and favour of the young king of *Castile*, and to govern his dominions in his name. *Don Juan* having negotiated a marriage with *Donna Blanca*, daughter to the king of *Navarre*, and presumptive heiress of that kingdom, went thither to conclude it, which gave his brother an opportunity he did not let slip, of seizing the king's person, which he did at *Tordesillas*, being supported in that insolent action by the constable, the bishop of *Segovia*, and some other persons<sup>n</sup>. On the fourth of *August*, the king being in his hands, married his sister; and, in the assembly of the states of *Avila*, the king justified and approved all that *Don Henry* had done, as being in his power; and disavowed the endeavours of the Infant *Don Juan* to raise forces for his deliverance. The Infant *Don Henry*, to maintain his power, was very desirous of espousing the princess *Catherine*, the king's sister, who declared her dislike, and, when he surprized the king, had fled to a cloister, from whence she would not be drawn, till he had promised, upon oath, not to force her inclinations; and yet, on the eighth of *November*, she married him<sup>o</sup>. This gave the king an opportunity of making his escape, trusting the

<sup>l</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II. FER. <sup>k</sup> FRANC. TARRA-  
PHÆ de reg Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. RÖD. SAN-  
TII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>l</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>m</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Chronica de Don Alvaro  
de Luna Condestable de Castilla y de León y Maestro de la Orden  
y Cavalleria de Sant Iago. <sup>n</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Na-

varre. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>o</sup> RÖD. SANTI Hist.  
Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

secret entirely to Don *Alvaro de Luna*, who made use of *Frederick*, count of *Traстамара*, and Don *Rodrigo Pimentel*, count of *Benavente*, to assist him therein. It was accomplished, but not without difficulty and hazard; so that, after crossing the river *Tagus* in an open boat, the king got to the castle of *Montalban*, in which he was besieged by the constable, and afterwards by the Infant Don *Henry*; but, the Infant Don *Juan* assembling great forces, they thought fit to retire, and leave the king at full liberty to go where he pleased.<sup>1420.</sup>

THE king, who was alike unwilling to put himself into the power of the Infant Don *Juan*, treated him with great civility, when he admitted him to his presence, but did not suffer him to remain long at court; and at length sent him a positive order to disband his troops, as his brother had done. It was not long, however, before the Infant Don *Henry* created new disturbances; for the king, while he was under constraint, having bestowed upon him, by way of portion with his sister, the country of *Villena*, with the title of a duchy, he thought this warrant sufficient to take possession of it, and began to do it without waiting any forms. The king, Don *Juan*, was not only displeased, but thought himself at liberty to retract that grant, and therefore forbid such as held lands in or of that duchy, to acknowledge the Infant for their lord<sup>2</sup>. Don *Henry* persisted in his first scheme; but the king persisted likewise: they would both be obeyed; and, as that was impossible, the greater part of the people chose the greater lord, and adhered to the king. In the mean time, the consort of the Infant Don *Juan* was brought to-bed of a prince, who was named Don *Carlos*, whom his grandfather presently declared his successor<sup>3</sup>. The truce with the *Moors* was renewed; and though he struggled hard, and gave the king a great deal of disturbance, yet, in the end, the Infant Don *Henry* was obliged to disband his troops, and to wear, at least, the appearance of submission, notwithstanding the king, Don *Juan*, refused to admit him to his presence.

THE troubles of *Castile* were but begun. The Infant Don *Henry* having parted with his troops, received the king's orders to come to court, which he was very unwilling to obey, insisting upon promises, and even upon hostages for his safety; the king would have given him some moderate satisfaction, but that would not content him. At length, suspecting the use his enemies might make of his contempt, he took a sudden resolution to imprison him, and the princess fled into Arragon.

<sup>1</sup> GABINDEZ DE CERVALLAS. *Historia del Rey Don Juan II.*  
<sup>2</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. *Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.*  
<sup>3</sup> *Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.* *Historia del Rey Don Juan II.*

resolution of going to *Madrid*; but Don *Ruez Lopez de Avalos*, the constable, and *Pedro Manrique*, refused to accompany him, which, however, could not determine *Garcia Manrique*, who followed him out of personal affection. The Infant came to *Madrid* on the 13th of *June*, kissed the king's hand, and would have spoke to him that day, but the king advised him to go home and take his repose, and promised to send for him the next day. He did so, and the Infant found himself in the midst of the king's council, where he was charged with being privy to some letters written by the chancellor to the king of *Granada*, exciting him to make war, that the presence and assistance of the Infant Don *Henry* might be more necessary to the king: the Infant denied the fact, though the letters were shewn and read to him; and *Garcia Manrique*, who was a warm man, said, that he was ready to prove with his sword that they were forgeries, as indeed they were, which, however, did not hinder their being both imprisoned: the Infanta, though she had married Don *Henry* unwillingly, would not desert his interests in his distress, but, putting herself under the care of the constable, retired to the kingdom of *Valencia*. The queen was this year delivered of the Infanta *Catalina*; and the archbishop of *Toledo*, who was an active and ambitious prelate, departed this life<sup>1</sup>. The truce between the crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal* was renewed for nineteen years, the circumstances of both nations making it equally acceptable to their ministers<sup>2</sup>. The king of *Castile* deprived the constable of his dignity, which he gave to the count Don *Alvaro de Luna*; and distributed his estates, which were very considerable, amongst the lords who were most in his favour<sup>3</sup>. In the month of *September*, the queen was delivered of another daughter, named *Donna Eleonora*<sup>4</sup>.

*Troubles in Castile continue and increase to the destruction of the kingdom.* ALL the time the disturbances subsisted in *Castile*, Don *Alonso* of *Arragon* was in *Italy*, endeavouring to procure the kingdom of *Naples*; but being obstructed in that design, he this year returned home, upon which the king of *Castile* sent ambassadors to prevail upon him to deliver up the *Castilian* lords, and the princess his sister, who had taken shelter in his dominions. The king of *Arragon* insisted that his were a free people; and that, as they had obtained the protection of certain towns, it was not in his power to give them up. On

<sup>1</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. GALINDEZ CARVAJAL.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>3</sup> BRAND. FRANCISCI

TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

<sup>4</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de

Luna Condestable de Castilla.

<sup>5</sup> ALPHONSI a Carthagena

reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.



the other hand, he solicited the king of *Castile* to set his brother, *Don Henry*, at liberty, which was refused; and the misunderstanding between the two crowns rose so high, that military preparations were made on both sides <sup>1</sup>. The Infanta *Donna Catalina*, of *Castile*, dying, to whom the states had sworn as the presumptive heir of the crown, the king, *Don Juan*, thought it necessary to take the same precaution, with regard to her surviving sister, *Donna Leonora* <sup>2</sup>.

IN the beginning of the succeeding year, this measure, *The Infant* which had been thought so necessary for the security of *Don Juan* the royal family, and the welfare of the nation, was set aside of *Arragon* by the queen's being delivered of a son, on the sixth of *gon raised January*, who was named *Don Henry*, after his grandfather, in right of who, within a week after, was acknowledged for the heir apparent of the dominions of *Castile* <sup>2</sup>. The disputes with the crown of *Arragon* continued in the same situation, or rather rose higher, as *Don Alonso* declared his resolution to have recourse to arms, for the deliverance of his brother *Don Henry*. The states of *Castile*, at the instance of their monarch, approved the commitment of that prince, and gave the king the supplies necessary for defending himself, in case he should be attacked; for which purpose he raised forces in all parts of his dominions. At the bottom, however, both monarchs were inclined to accomplish, if possible, their respective ends, without having recourse to arms <sup>b</sup>; the king of *Castile* being well informed, that many of his nobility hated his favourite *Don Alvaro*, and wanted only an opportunity to shew it; and the king of *Arragon* having many affairs upon his hands, which rendered a war with *Castile* very improper at that season. To deliver himself from the perplexities he was under, and in order to be thoroughly informed of the sentiments of his antagonist, he summoned his brother *Don Juan* to return home, which, though a prudent step in him, perplexed that prince extremely, who was equally unwilling to differ with either of these kings. Upon his application to *Don Juan* of *Castile*, he drew him out of this difficulty, by advising him to comply with his brother's summons, and gave him full powers to treat of a peace <sup>c</sup>. He went accordingly, and was extremely well received in the camp of *Arragon*, where he had scarce began to treat with his brother, before Provi-

<sup>1</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>2</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hisp. part iv.

<sup>a</sup> Historia del Rey Don

Juan II. MARIAN. FER.

<sup>b</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>c</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan.

part iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

dence put it in his power to treat with him on the level, by the death of Don *Carlos*, the noble king of *Navarre*; upon which Donna *Blanca*, the daughter of that monarch, and the wife of the Infant Don *Juan*, sent him the royal standard to the camp of *Arragon*<sup>d</sup>. Soon after, he concluded a treaty with his brother Don *Alonso*, by which it was agreed, that the Infant Don *Henry* should be set at liberty, and should take a new oath of fidelity to the king of *Castile*, and be restored to all that he possessed; and that the king of *Arragon* should bear no ill will to those who advised his cousin to imprison the Infant<sup>e</sup>.

1425.  
King of  
Castile  
compelled  
to banish  
Don Alva-  
ro de  
Luna.

THE calm derived from this treaty was of no long continuance: factions never want pretences; and those in *Castile* soon run as high as before, chiefly from the jealousy which the nobility had of the constable. The king, perhaps, by his advice, found a way to awe the king of *Arragon*, by ordering the count of *Urgel*, whom his father had sent prisoner into *Castile*, to be removed nearer the frontiers, and treated with great indulgence<sup>f</sup>. But Don *Alonso* was not a prince to be long restrained; he sent his mother Donna *Leonora*, and his sister of the same name, to treat with the king of *Castile*; and, under the shadow of this negotiation, dispatched an officer, upon whom he could depend, to corrupt the governor of the castle, in which the count of *Urgel* was confined, who carried him swiftly and secretly into the dominions of the king of *Arragon*, who confined him for the rest of his life to the castle of *Xativa*<sup>g</sup>.

1426.

The king, Don *Juan*, of *Navarre*, was not so much pleased with his new title as with the power he had in *Castile*, where all the nobility, who hated the constable, considered him as their protector and support. *Pedro Manrique*, encouraged by them, charged Don *Alvaro de Luna*, whether truly or falsely is a little uncertain, with very enormous offences. He suggested that he was enamoured of the queen; and that, by the help of Donna *Maria Tellez*, he proposed to remove the king, and to administer public affairs at his pleasure, during a long minority. He charged him, on the other hand, with persuading the king, Don *Juan*, to part with that princess, and to espouse an Infanta of *Portugal*. After much confusion, the king found himself obliged to cause his favourite to retire, though he shewed his resentment strongly against such as had compelled him to that measure,

1427.

<sup>d</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>e</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>f</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>g</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

and

and began to countenance the Infant Don *Henry*, who had little or no hand in it <sup>b</sup>.

SUCCESS is often dangerous to a faction. The great lords, *who is* who had concurred in obliging the king to banish the constable, quickly fell out amongst themselves, and fearing no court restraint, committed so many and so great excesses, as raised a universal clamour; infomuch that the far greater part, with the king of *Navarre* at their head, desired the king to recal him. *by those* Don *Juan* dissimulated the pleasure he felt from this request, and, by a short delay, made the evil more conspicuous, and them more earnest in their solicitations <sup>i</sup>. About this time died Don *Ruez Lopez Avaloz*, formerly constable of *Castile*, in very mean circumstances; but when he was in his grave, his illustrious friends prevailed upon the king to restore his fame, by reversing the proceedings against him: an odd instance of respect for a man's memory, whom they had suffered to want bread <sup>k</sup>. When the constable was again brought to court, he was introduced into the king's presence by the king of *Navarre*, and the Infant Don *Henry*, who first quarrelled with each other about his friendship, whom not long after, by his dextrous policy, he caused, upon honourable pretences, to be removed from court <sup>l</sup>. *Mohammed*, surnamed the *Little*, having dethroned *Mohammed the Left-handed*, king of *Granada*, who, for his own safety, was retired into *Africa*, was encouraged by the king of *Castile* to attempt the recovery of his own dominions; and some hostilities passed between the *Castilians* and the *Moors* <sup>m</sup>.

THE heart-burnings against the constable naturally revived, *War* upon his being known to have more power at court than ever; *breaks out* the various arts he practised to maintain that power, increased the number and the rage of his adversaries, amongst whom the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry*, perceiving that they had been both his dupes, might be reckoned the chief. The king of *Arragon* adhered to them firmly, raised an army in their support; so that a new war was on the point of breaking out, and both armies took the field; but such was the zeal and the address of the queen-dowager of *Arragon*, and the cardinal *Foix*, the pope's legate, that the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* were prevailed on to retire, though the armies

1428.

<sup>b</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. <sup>i</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>k</sup> FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>l</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>m</sup> Chronica de los Moros de España. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

were

were within sight<sup>a</sup>. After the retreat of their forces, Don Juan finding his own army much strengthened, resolved to revenge the insult he had received, having first sent a herald to the king of Arragon to denounce war. This produced a great deal of trouble and bloodshed on both sides; for, while the king, or rather the constable of Castile, plundered the dominions of Arragon on one side, the Infants Don Henry and Don Pedro did the like in Castile, and even carried their irruptions as far as Toledo: by degrees, however, the king Don Juan, and his loyal subjects, repressed the malecontents every where, gradually dispossessed the Infants of almost all their strong places; and, at length, blocked them up in Albuquerque, which the Infant Don Henry had received from his mother, whose hereditary estate it was<sup>o</sup>. The same year, Mohammed, surnamed the Left-handed, recovered the throne of Granada, and Mohammed the Little, who had usurped it, suffered death<sup>p</sup>.

1429.

*A peace concluded, and the king Don Juan turns his arms against the Moors.*

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the king came with an army before Albuquerque; and knowing what great advantages he might reap by dividing his adversaries, he had thoughts of treating the two Infants favourably: with this view, he advanced in person under the walls, where he ordered a general amnesty to be proclaimed to all who would accept it. Don Henry and Don Pedro, instead of accepting the king's mercy, answered with shot, stones, and arrows. The king retired upon this, and immediately proclaimed the king of Navarre, and the Infant Don Henry rebels, and gave away all their estates in Castile, to his followers; and it was remarkable, that the nobility of all ranks put in for their share, only the constable de Luna, out of policy, refused any part of their spoils; and a gentleman, whose name was Dias, to whom the king gave a handsome gratification, refused it upon a more generous motive; he said he could take no joy in the acquisition of that, for the loss of which another man must lament<sup>q</sup>. The kings of Arragon and Navarre offered to submit all points in dispute to the judgment of the king of Portugal. The count de Foix offered his mediation; but it was rejected, with so little ceremony, that he joined his forces with those of the two crowns. At length the king of Castile,

<sup>a</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>o</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. <sup>p</sup> Chronica de los Moros de España.

<sup>q</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla.

perceiving

perceiving that the *Moors* began to be turbulent, made a truce with the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, upon condition that the exiles and malecontents of both countries should remain where they were; that the Infants Don *Henry* and *Pedro* should deliver the town and castle of *Albuquerque* into the king's hands; and that, for all points in dispute, they should be left to the decision of a certain number of judges, to be chosen by both parties. This gave offence to the king of *Portugal*, who thought himself slighted. Don *Juan* was now resolved to turn his arms upon the *Moors*; but first he sent an embassy to the king of *Tunis*, to signify that the king of *Granada*, notwithstanding the assistance he had given him to remount the throne, had with-held his tribute, given assistance to his enemies, and made an alliance with the king of *Arragon*. Upon this, the king of *Tunis* sent word to the monarch of *Granada*, that he had countermanded the succours he intended him, and that he had nothing to expect from him till he had given satisfaction to the king of *Castile*. The war that followed was very prejudicial to the *Moors*, the *Castilians* making incursions within sight of the walls of *Granada*.

THE king, Don *Juan*, kept so strict an eye upon such of the nobility as he suspected of having any intercourse with the Infants of *Arragon*, and harrassed them in such a manner, that they were afraid to stir. At the same time, under colour of the war against the *Moors*, he raised so formidable an army, as induced all his neighbours to behave towards him with great complaisance and respect. At length, after having secured one or two great men who had been intriguing, or were suspected, he proceeded into *Andalusia*, and put himself at the head of his troops, carrying with him the queen and the prince of *Asturias*; but, when the season for action approached, he sent the prince to *Madrid*, the queen to *Carmena*, and ordered his council to remain at *Cordova*. On the 13th of *June*, he marched from that city for the plains of *Granada*, where, on the 25th of the same month, he came to an engagement with the whole force of the *Moors*, at a place called *Caveca de los Ginetes*; some writers say, that each of the armies consisted of upwards of one hundred thousand men; but that they were pretty near equal is, on all hands,

\* ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla.

\* Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

\* Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

agreed, as well as that, after a long dispute, the *Moors* were defeated, with the loss of upwards of ten thousand men in the field of battle, and near twice as many in the pursuit; their camp and baggage fell also into the power of the Christians; and Don *Alvaro de Luna*, perceiving a great body of troops who had taken a strong camp on the top of a mountain, he caused it to be invested, and obliged them to surrender prisoners of war<sup>u</sup>. After this decisive victory, in which both the kings commanded in person, it was proposed, in the council of war held in the presence of Don *Juan*, to seize this favourable opportunity, and to lay siege to the city of *Granada*; but, to this, many objections were made, and the king, following the advice of the majority of his officers, resolved to lay waste all the adjacent country, and then to retire into his own dominions. The true motive to this resolution, as the most unprejudiced historians agree, was the secret aversion of the nobility to the constable, who therefore would not suffer him to have the honour of delivering *Spain* from the *Moors*; but, this step was no sooner taken, and the army upon its march towards *Cordova*, than they gave out positively, that he was the author of the retreat; and that, under colour of a present of figs, the king of *Granada* had sent him fifty thousand doubloons in gold<sup>w</sup>. Before the end of the year, the king concluded a peace with *Portugal*, and completed his revenge on the king of *Granada*, by enabling *Joseph Ben Muley*, grandson of that king of *Granada* whom Don *Pedro* the Cruel put to death with his own hands, to dethrone *Mohammed the Left-banded*, who was forced to fly to *Malaga*, while the new king declared himself a vassal of *Castile*; upon which all hostilities ceased<sup>x</sup>.

A. D.  
1431.

The troubles of  
Castile  
break out  
afresh, in  
which the  
king is  
victorious.

THE troubles of *Castile*, which had been suspended during the war, broke out again as soon as it was over; for Don *Juan de Soto Major*, grand master of *Alcantara*, whom the king had long in suspicion, and who would never trust himself in his power, perceiving that his master was bent upon reducing him, as well as the count *de Castro*, and others, who had pursued the same measures, followed the dictates of his ambition, and resolved to join himself to the Infants *Henry* and *Pedro*; in consequence of which he delivered the town and fortress of *Alcantara* to the latter, and retired with the former

<sup>u</sup> *Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla.* <sup>w</sup> *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla.* <sup>x</sup> *Chronica de los Moros de Espana. BRAND. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.*

to *Albuquerque*, which was become the chief seat and rendezvous of all the malecontents<sup>r</sup>. This affair took a very strange turn; for, at the time of the delivering the fortress, he made prisoner therein one *Dr. Franco*, whom the king had sent to treat with him, and seized all his effects, and sent his nephew *Don Gutierrez de Soto Major*, with a strong detachment of horse, to pillage the king's subjects, for the benefit of the Infants. This *Don Gutierrez*, who was commander of the order, and next in authority to his uncle, had, upon his return, a conference with *Dr. Franco*, who hinted to him, that it was in his power to repair the disgrace of his family, and to establish himself for ever; and pointed out to him how it might be done. This staggered the young man; who knowing the mutability of his uncle's temper, and finding that he did not return, suspected that the Infant *Don Henry*, to make sure of him, had confined him in the castle of *Albuquerque*. Having once taken this in his head, he surmised his own turn would be next; to prevent which, he took *Dr. Franco's* advice, arrested the Infant *Don Pedro*, and declared for the king<sup>s</sup>. This totally ruined the malecontents; for the king immediately ordered the uncle to be deposed as a traitor; and, upon his recommendation, the knights very willingly elected the nephew<sup>s</sup>. In the next place, the king threatened *Albuquerque* with a siege, and to bring *Don Pedro* to his trial. Upon this, his brother *Don Henry*, seeing no other remedy left, addressed himself to the king of *Portugal*, and desired him to propose to the king of *Castile*, that, upon evacuating all the places he held in his dominions, his brother should be released, which was readily accepted, and punctually performed on both sides<sup>b</sup>. *Joseph Ben Muley*, by the advice and with the assistance of the king of *Castile*, made great preparations for attacking *Mohammed* in the town of *Malaga*; but, when he was on the point of taking the field, he was seized with a distemper, which carried him off in a few days; in consequence of which, *Mohammed the Left-handed* was, for the third time, placed on the throne of *Granada*; and, joining his forces with those of his competitor, became, for the present, so formidable, that the king of *Castile* thought fit to dissemble his resentment, and conclude a short truce with him<sup>c</sup>.

A. D.  
1432.

<sup>r</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ALPHONSI & Carthagena de reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. <sup>s</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. GALINDEZ DE CARVAJAL. <sup>a</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>b</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>c</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

*Becomes superior to all his enemies, and punishes some with great severity.* THE king having called an assembly of the states at *Madrid*, laid before them the necessity of renewing the war against the *Moors*; and having obtained the requisite supplies, ordered proper dispositions to be made for that purpose<sup>d</sup>. At this time, a very extraordinary treason was discovered. Don *Frederick* count *de Luna*, the natural son of Don *Martin* king of *Sicily*, had been one of the pretenders to the crown of *Aragon*; and, in the first disputes which the king of *Castile* had with his cousin Don *Alonso*, had taken up arms against that monarch, and adhered ever after to his benefactor the king of *Castile*, who bestowed upon him the duchy of *Arjona*, and several other places; which, being a man of boundless extravagance, he had sold, and consumed the money<sup>e</sup>. A man without principles, and in distress, is capable of any thing. He framed, in these circumstances, a design of surprizing *Seville*, of plundering the citizens and merchants, and then equipping a squadron to seek his fortunes elsewhere. Into this base design he had drawn some gentlemen, who very probably were in like circumstances with himself; and, upon its breaking out, they were all secured.

1433. His accomplices were broke upon the wheel; but as for himself, his treason against the king of *Aragon* excused him from sharing their fate as he deserved, and he was only imprisoned for life<sup>f</sup>. The queen *Donna Maria* of *Castile*, touched with pity for Don *Diego*, son to Don *Pedro* the *Cruel*, who was grown grey in confinement, interceded with the king, her husband, on his behalf, who gave him the town of *Coca*, in *Castile*, for his prison, where he spent the remaining part of his days<sup>g</sup>. The war with the *Moors* was carried on with various success, only the *Castilians* had the good fortune to render themselves masters of the town of *Huesca*; but, to balance that, Don *Guitterez*, grand master of *Alcantara*, was defeated with a considerable loss<sup>h</sup>. The military expeditions of the succeeding year were of the same kind, without any thing decisive in favour of either side; but the king of *Castile* was, in one respect, very happy, since he was now entirely free from the disturbance which had been given him by the kings of *Aragon* and *Navarre*, and the other princes of that house, who were engaged in a troublesome and fruitless war in *Italy*. There, being defeated in a

<sup>d</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>e</sup> ZÜRIT. Annal Arragon: Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>f</sup> ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispán. part iv. <sup>g</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>h</sup> Chronica de los Moros de España. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.



sea fight, they were, together with all the *Castilian* exiles who had followed their fortunes, taken prisoners, which could not fail of affording Don Juan, notwithstanding their near relation to him, much satisfaction, at the same time that it left their dominions almost at his mercy <sup>1</sup>. However, he continued the truce, in consequence of the promise he had made, some time before, to his sister Donna Maria queen of *Arragon*, in an interview that he had with her at *Soria*. In a short time after Don Juan king of *Navarre* obtained his liberty, and returned into his own dominions; and Donna *Leanora*, queen-dowager of *Arragon*, mother to these princes, died suddenly, perhaps of grief, at *Medina del Campo* <sup>2</sup>.

THE next year was more fortunate for the *Castilians*, in respect to their war with the *Moors*, since several towns on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Granada* submitted themselves voluntarily to the king Don Juan; but the most remarkable event of this year was the peace concluded between the crowns of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Navarre*, by which the tranquillity of the Christians in *Spain* was effectually secured <sup>1</sup>. The county of *Ampurias* falling to the crown of *Arragon*, the king very generously gave it to his brother the Infant Don Henry, and sent him home: it was this that induced the king of *Castile* to push the conferences that had been opened for a general peace to a speedy conclusion; and it was accordingly signed on the twenty-second of September. By this treaty the prince of *Asturias* was to espouse Donna Blanca, daughter of the king of *Navarre*, who was to enjoy the revenues of his estates in *Castile* for four years, and after that an annual pension of ten thousand crowns, in lieu of all his pretensions. The Infant Don Henry of *Arragon* was to have a like annuity of five thousand crowns, and the sum of fifty thousand crowns in ready money, in full satisfaction of the Infanta *Catalina*'s portion. The *Castilians* who had embraced the interest of the king of *Navarre* and the Infants were to be pardoned, and all the places taken on either side restored. The king of *Navarre* and the Infants his brethren were not, on any pretence, to set foot in *Castile*, without the express leave of the king Don Juan; and all memory of past misunderstandings was to be buried in oblivion. To shew his sincerity, the king Don Juan immediately sent full powers to the king of *Navarre* for contracting the prince of *Asturias* and the Infanta

<sup>1</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. HERRERA.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

<sup>1</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Historia du Royaume de Navarre. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

Donna Blanca, with a promise that the marriage should be celebrated as soon as the season would permit <sup>m</sup>.

*Causes*

*Don Pedro Manrique to be arrested, and there-by occasion fresh troubles.*

THE king, to the many marks of favour which he had already granted to the constable Don Alvaro de Luna, added the gift of the town of *Montalvan*, though it belonged to the queen, and obliged her to accept of *Arevale* in exchange <sup>n</sup>.

The winter proved extremely hard, notwithstanding which the king advanced towards the frontiers himself, and sent the prince of *Asturias*, accompanied by the constable, the bishop of *Osma*, and a great train to *Alfaro*, where he espoused the Infanta of *Navarre*, Donna Blanca, esteemed the most beautiful woman of her age in *Spain* <sup>o</sup>. In a short time after this marriage, the king caused Don Pedro Manrique to be arrested and put into the hands of the constable, which occasioned great discontents. As soon as it was known to the amirante, he began to fortify his places; upon which the king sent for him, and even granted him a safe-conduct. In this conference it was agreed, that, as the king was determined to shew his resentment, *Pedro Manrique* should be confined for two years in the castle of *Roja*, with leave to hunt sometimes, for the benefit of his health, and that things should go no further.

1437.

The reader may discern from hence, that the kings of *Castile* neither had nor claimed a power of imprisoning without crime, or of treating as a criminal, any man who was not charged with an offence <sup>p</sup>. The war with the *Moor*s still subsisted: the Christians were so fortunate as to surprize the town of *Huelma*, and were very near losing it again by their imprudence. In another expedition of more importance, their troops were not only beaten, but most of them cut off. The king, having gone the winter before to the castle of *Roja*, *Pedro Manrique*, who was confined there, with his wife and two daughters, was removed from thence to another place, and from thence, on the 20th of *August*, they all made their escape; but would have been presently retaken, if the amirante and his friends had not taken up arms in their defence <sup>q</sup>. After taking this step, they endeavoured to interest the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry* in their support, to whom *Pedro Manrique* had been formerly a great friend, but, in respect to the treaty lately concluded, they re-

1438.

<sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

<sup>n</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Luna.

<sup>o</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>p</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. FER.

<sup>q</sup> Chronica de los Moros de España. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

fused

refused to interfere, otherwise than by their good offices. The king, taking advantage of the war against the *Moors*, ordered the nobility to repair with their forces to the frontiers, early in the ensuing spring; and, as most of them testified great willingness to comply with the king's order, the constable advanced money to such as wanted it for their levies<sup>r</sup>.

WHEN they came, however, to open the campaign, it <sup>*These*</sup> clearly appeared, that the king and his minister were totally <sup>*grow to a*</sup> mistaken in their measures; for a great part of the nobility, <sup>*greater*</sup> after having raised their troops, joined the malecontents, <sup>*height*</sup> The king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry*, who had <sup>*than ever,*</sup> obtained a safe-conduct, on account of the marriage of the <sup>*and the*</sup> prince of *Asturias*, made use of it to enter *Castile* each with a <sup>*whole*</sup> great body of troops. The king sent to compliment them, <sup>*kingdom is*</sup> and to know the meaning of this; to which they answered, <sup>*in arms.*</sup> that, in a country where every body was in arms, they thought it requisite, for their own safety, to go armed also<sup>s</sup>. The king Don *Juan* sent for them to join him, which the king of *Navarre* did, but the Infant Don *Henry* went to the malecontents<sup>t</sup>. After many conferences and much trouble, the king yielded to an accommodation, by which the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry* were to be restored to their estates, and the constable was to be banished the court for six months. Yet, after a little time, the king went off from this agreement, and endeavoured to collect such a force as might reduce the malecontents to reason; but he found things strangely altered; and many of those who had formerly served him with the greatest fidelity going daily over to the malecontents<sup>u</sup>. While things were in this situation, he received a very long letter, or rather manifesto, subscribed by the king of *Navarre*, the Infant Don *Henry*, the amirante, and all the lords of their party; in which, after very warm professions of the utmost duty and respect, they told him, that it was not against him, but against Don *Alvaro de Luna*, that they had taken up arms; because that, without his knowledge, he had imposed taxes upon the people, taken away mens goods and estates at his pleasure, caused money to be coined below the standard, had prevailed upon the king

1439.

<sup>r</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

<sup>s</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. GALINDEZ DE CARVAJAL.

<sup>t</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ALPHONSI a Carthagena de reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

<sup>u</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

to seize persons of distinction without cause, and then carried them to be murdered without his privity; that he disposed of all civil offices at his pleasure, threatened such as were in the king's service if they did not pay a servile complaisance to his will; and that, at *Arevalo*, he had killed one man, and beat another in his majesty's presence; so that they could not look upon him as acting freely, or believe themselves or the kingdom in safety, while such a man remained about his person. The king did not much regard this letter; but found himself under a necessity of assembling the states at *Valladolid*; and, previous to their meeting, he formed the household of the prince of *Asturias*; at the head of which he placed Don *Alvaro de Luna*<sup>w</sup>. One of the first things done at *Valladolid* was completing the marriage of the prince of *Asturias* and Donna *Blanca*, as they were then both of age; which was done with great solemnity and at a vast expence<sup>x</sup>, though, as it afterwards appeared, there was no consummation. About this time Don *Pedro Manrique*, in whose quarrel these disturbances began, deceased; and, in a short time after, the prince of *Asturias*, by the persuasion of his favourite Don *Juan Pacheco*, privately quitted the court, and retired to the malecontents<sup>y</sup>.

1440.

*The queen  
and the  
prince of  
Asturias  
concur  
with the  
malecon-  
tents.*

THE king of *Castile* received early the next year the mortifying news of the Infant Don *Henry's* having taken possession of the city of *Toledo*. He marched thither with such troops as he could assemble, in hopes of recovering it, but without effect: and though he proceeded to extremities, and issued various edicts and proclamations, yet they neither encouraged his own party, nor intimidated that of the malecontents. The constable, and his brother the archbishop of *Toledo*, had assembled a great strength at *Escalona*, and their friends, in several small actions, came off with great reputation; insomuch, that they accepted a challenge of deciding all differences in a single battle: but the king sending an order in writing to both parties to forbear hostilities, on pain of being denounced rebels, he was obeyed<sup>z</sup>. Some fortunate attempts made by those who adhered to him, encouraged the king so much, that he began to seize the estates of the principal persons embarked in what was now called the league; but it gave

<sup>w</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Luna. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. <sup>x</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæsis. <sup>y</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>z</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

him

him great concern to find both the queen and the prince of *Asturias* affecting to act as mediators between him and his subjects, while in reality they were in the interests of the malecontents: however he yielded nothing to their intercessions. He sent for the constable and all his forces to *Medina del Campo*, where, as some writers say, he was betrayed, but, as all agree, surprized, by the forces of the league, who entered the town in the night <sup>a</sup>. The first thing the king did, was to send to the constable and the archbishop to retire with their friends, and provide for their own safety; whilst himself, with such as he could depend upon, formed in the square, and, by that disposition, hindered an immediate pursuit; but as soon as the constable had forced a passage, the king sent the archbishop of *Seville* to the lords of the opposite party, to let them know he should be glad to see them. This passed on the 28th of *June*; and the king, finding himself now intirely in the hands of those he esteemed his enemies, consented to whatever they asked, as appears from a long treaty of twenty-nine articles, which amount to no more than this, That the constable should be separated from the king one half of the year; that he should give his son as a hostage, and also nine fortresses, by way of security, that he would submit to these terms; and all forfeitures and all grants from the king were to be void <sup>b</sup>. He went, soon after this, to *Burgos*, and consented to call an assembly of the states, as they desired him; but made choice of *Toro* instead of *Madrigal*, which they recommended: and, in the mean time, both sides carried on their intrigues <sup>c</sup>.

1441.

THE king, instead of caressing Don *Juan of Navarre*, or his brother Don *Henry*, paid a great deal of respect to the amirante, with whom also the constable endeavoured to entertain a private correspondence, which, in all probability, had succeeded, but for the circumspection of the count de *Castro*, who, considering that Donna *Blanch*, queen of *Navarre*, and the Infanta *Catalina* of *Castile*, were both dead, advised the king, and the Infant Don *Ferdinand* his brother, to strengthen their interest by marriage; proposing to the former Donna *Joanna*, daughter to the amirante, and Donna *Beatrix*, sister to the count de *Benavente*, to the latter; and those marriages, being quickly settled, strengthened the league extremely <sup>d</sup>. At the assembly of the estates at *Toro*, the king

By which  
the king is  
compelled  
to yield to  
their re-  
quests.

<sup>a</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>b</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>c</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>d</sup> ALPHONSE a Carthage de reg. Hispan. Anacephalazosis.

obtained

1442.

obtained a considerable supply, and had very probably done more, if it had not been discovered that the constable had procured the lodgings of the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry* to be undermined, with an intent to have blown them up, which added not a little to that hatred that was already borne him; but notwithstanding this, a dispute having happened in the order of *Calatrava*, in which some blood had been spilled, the king marched with the forces about him to put an end to the disorder, reduced *Talavera* in his way, and then proceeded to *Toledo*<sup>c</sup>. In his route the constable Don *Alvaro* came to kiss his hands, and had a private conference with the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry*, after which he returned to *Escalona*, not a little chagrined at the loss of his brother the archbishop of *Toledo*<sup>f</sup>. The king managed his affairs with great address; for, perceiving that factions were formed, and that seditions broke out in several parts of his dominions, he commissioned the principal lords of the league to reduce these disturbers of the public quiet; and actually engaged the Infant Don *Henry* to besiege the new grand master of *Calatrava*, who had been chose without the king's consent, and who lost his life in this dispute<sup>g</sup>. But the constable giving the king notice that his wife was delivered of a daughter, the king and queen went to *Escalona*, and assisted at the christening, which piqued the league extremely<sup>h</sup>. The king coming to *Madrigal*, the prince of *Asturias* repaired thither, and proposed in the privy council that several persons should be removed from his father's presence, and all the creatures of the constable dismissed; so that, in a short time, from being a great king, Don *Juan* found himself very little better than a prisoner, and this with the bitter circumstance of being thus treated by his son.

1443.

*The bishop of Avila prevails on the prince to attempt his father's release.*

AT the opening of this year the affairs of the king of *Castile* were in a most distressed condition; the malecontents, and more especially the amirante, being so jealous of him, that they appointed the brother of that lord, and another person in whom they could confide, to keep him constantly in view; which, as soon as that prince perceived, it threw him into a deep melancholy. This affected the bishop of *Avila* to such a degree, that he addressed himself to Don *Juan Pacheco*, and asked him how he could be guilty of such ingratitude to Don *Alvaro de Luna*, who had made him every thing? or how he

<sup>c</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

<sup>f</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>g</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>h</sup> RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

durst inspire the prince his master with sentiments of disloyalty to his father? *Pacheco* gave him to understand, that the prince needed no tutors in an affair of that kind, and that himself was sick at that time; but that he was willing to bring his master off from the league; in which he was as good as his word <sup>1</sup>. The prince then made a treaty with the constable *Don Alvaro*, and stipulated certain terms for himself and his favourite, on which he was willing to attempt his father's release. In managing this affair he acted with the most profound dissimulation and deceit, till the bishop of *Avila* had engaged the count *de Haro*, and many other great lords, to take up arms in the cause of their sovereign <sup>2</sup>. The prince of *Asturias* then put himself at their head; upon which the league took the king from *Tordesillas*, and sent him to the fortress of *Portillo*, under the care of the count *de Castro*, and then marched with all their forces to give the prince battle. While they were in the field, the king, by the assistance of cardinal *Cervantes*, made his escape, and, by his own authority, quickly raised another army; so that the king of *Navarre* and his partizans had now the prince in their front, and the king in their rear; which struck them with such a panic, that many daily deserted them. At length, their army breaking up, the king of *Navarre* retired into the territories of *Arragon*, and the Infant *Don Henry*, losing all *Andalusia*, the king, who, at the beginning, was a close prisoner, found himself, before the close of the year, at least as much a monarch as he had ever been <sup>3</sup>.

A. D.  
1444.

THE king of *Navarre* was not long before he collected *A new ci-*  
fresh forces, and gave notice to all his partisans to dispose *vil war*  
things in the best manner they could to join him; and if they *breaks out,*  
found that impracticable, to repair to his brother *Don Henry*, in *which*  
who, with infinite hazard and diligence, drew together *the king is*  
the broken remains of the league <sup>4</sup>. The king, having the *completely*  
prince his son, the constable, and a considerable body of *victorious,*  
troops about him, endeavoured to hinder the brothers from joining, but without effect; so that they brought their whole strength together at *Almedo*, before which place the king soon presented himself with his forces. On the 19th of *May* in the morning, the prince of *Asturias*, at the head of two hundred horse, went to reconnoitre the place; upon which *Don Ro-*

<sup>1</sup> *Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.* <sup>2</sup> *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.* <sup>3</sup> *ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.* <sup>4</sup> *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.*

*drigo Manrique* issued out with a superior body of cavalry, and drove him into his father's camp. The king, provoked and astonished at this insolence, ordered his standard to be displayed, and advanced towards the town in order of battle, and kept his troops under arms till it was within two hours of night, by which time the king of *Navarre* drew out his forces in exact order, and an obstinate engagement ensued. The king's forces had the advantage from the beginning, when, a little before night, the malecontents were entirely routed, the amirante, with Don *Henry* his brother, the count *de Castro* and his son, and many other persons of distinction, were made prisoners. The king of *Navarre*, and his brother the Infant Don *Henry*, who was wounded in the hand, retired first to *Almedo*, and from thence in the night towards the frontiers of *Arragon*; where, when they arrived, the Infant Don *Henry* died of his wound<sup>n</sup>. The king, by the advice of the constable, gave a loose to his resentment, put some of the prisoners to death, and granted away the estates of most of those who had been in arms. This disgusted the prince of *Asturias*, who, with his favourite Don *Juan de Pacheco*, retired to *Segovia*; and the amirante, having made his escape, joined such of his friends as had retired to *Andalusia*; and, having drawn together a considerable body of men, sought to make his retreat out of the kingdom<sup>o</sup>. The king went on, reducing the places belonging to the malecontents, and to that lord in particular; in which, however, he met with some obstruction; the prince very roundly declaring, that he had taken the amirante and his family under his protection<sup>p</sup>. In the mean time, the constable of *Portugal* entered *Castile* with a body of troops, which the king, by the advice of Don *Alvaro de Luna*, had demanded, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the nobility, who foresaw that they would come too late. However, he gave them a good reception; and Don *Alvaro* had several private conferences with the constable<sup>q</sup>. The queen Donna *Maria* of *Castile*, sister to the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, died in the beginning of the year, not without suspicion of being poisoned, by the contrivance of Don *Alvaro*; and that ambitious favourite, without so much as saying a word to his master, concluded with the constable

<sup>n</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Hist. de Royaume de Navarre. MARIAN. FER. <sup>o</sup> ALPHONSE a Carthage de reg. Anecephalæosis. FRANCISCI TERAPHÆ de reg. Hisp. <sup>p</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hisp. part iv. <sup>q</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.



of *Portugal* a marriage for that prince with *Donna Isabella*, daughter to the Infant *Don Juan of Portugal*<sup>1</sup>. When the strangers were departed, he acquainted the king with what he had done, and the advantages he proposed from the match; with which *Don Juan* was exceedingly offended, as he proposed to have married a daughter of *France*: but *Don Alvaro* had such an ascendancy over him, that he consented to the match<sup>2</sup>. He was soon after obliged to disgest another disagreeable proposition from the prince of *Asturias*, which was the pardoning the amirante and the count of *Benavente*; at the same time he made *Don Lopez de Mendoza* marquis of *Santillana*, and *Don Juan Pacheco* marquis of *Villena*. He procured likewise *Don Alvaro de Luna* to be elected grand master of the order of *St. James*; and, having deposed *Don Alonso*, the natural son of the king of *Navarre*, from the office of grand master of *Calatrava*, *Don Pedro Gironne* was placed therein, tho' not without difficulty, to oblige the prince, who was still out of humour, and to whom he was obliged to give the town of *Caceres*, as he did the important town of *Albuquerque*, with all its dependencies, to the grand master *Don Alvaro*<sup>3</sup>. But, at the close of the year, deposing *Pedro Lopez de Ayala* from the government of *Toledo*, and ordering his process to be made for numberless crimes, the prince of *Asturias* took fresh offence thereat, and the king his father was obliged to promise him satisfaction in this and in every thing else<sup>4</sup>. There happened this year a revolution in the kingdom of *Granada*, where *Mohammed ben Osman*, the nephew of *Mohammed ben Nacer*, at this time upon the throne, having intelligence at *Almeria* where he lived of great heartburnings in the court, he came secretly to *Granada*, and causing a tumult to be raised by his partisans, proceeded suddenly to the *Alhambra*, or palace, where he seized his uncle, and, having confined him to a prison, mounted the throne. As this was conducted by the populace, and by a few inferior officers, *Abdilbar*, who was the chief magistrate, retired to *Monte Frío*, on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Jaen*, and, with others of the nobility, invited *Ishmael*, a prince of the blood, then in the service of *Don Juan of Castile*, to come to them, with a promise of using their endeavours to make him king; in which he had also some assistance from the monarch of *Castile*, but not enough

A. D.  
1445.<sup>1</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.R<sup>oy</sup> Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

R<sup>ey</sup> Don Juan II.<sup>3</sup> Historia delR<sup>ey</sup> Don Juan II.<sup>4</sup> Historia delR<sup>ey</sup> Don Juan II.

to carry his point, though his partisans adhered to him with great fidelity \*.

*The prince of Asturias raises fresh disturbances, and offers his father battle.*

THE misunderstanding between the king Don Juan of Castile and his son the prince of Asturias rose higher, and grew much more public than ever; insomuch, that it was no secret to the people, that, under colour of repressing the insolence of the grand master Don Alvaro, he really meant to take the crown from his father's head, and to place it upon his own. Don Juan, being apprised of this, and having more steadiness in his temper than his son, thought the sooner this was decided the better; and therefore, hearing the prince was in the field, he marched against him with pretty near the same force<sup>2</sup>. The two armies met between *Arcvalo* and *Madrigal*; but the clergy and people of discretion, who were about the king and prince, prevailed upon them to spare their subjects' blood in so unnatural a quarrel; upon which it was agreed to leave the discussion of their respective grievances to the real authors of them, Don Alvaro de Luna and Don Juan Pacheco, who, for the present, patched up an agreement to their own satisfaction, who were to be the only gainers by it, which was subscribed on the eleventh of May<sup>3</sup>. The king Don Juan then turned his arms against his cousin of Navarre, and endeavoured to reduce the few strong places he had left; but while he was thus employed, Don Juan Pacheco revived in the prince's mind a desire of obliging the king to banish the grand master, who was become his own enemy: the king knew this well enough, and had no dislike at all to the thing, for he knew him to be a bad man, and hated him as a great one. Don Alvaro was not at all ignorant of this; but he showed the king so clearly that it was by his power and abilities that he was himself kept on the throne, that he rendered him more steady to him through timidity than he had ever been through affection. By his advice the king wrote to the ammirante and to the count de Benavente, to whom he knew that his son had made propositions, assuring them that he would make fidelity more their interest than treason. A more miserable nation than this, unconquered by a foreign force, was never seen; and yet into this miserable condition must every nation come, where factions long prevail<sup>2</sup>. The king of Navarre, to be revenged on the monarch of Castile, procured

\* Chron. de los Moros de Espana.

\* Chron. del Rey

Don Juan II. GALINDEZ DE CARVAJAL.

7 Chronica

de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

ROD. SANTIR

Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

\* FRANC. TARAPHÆ. ALPHONSI 2

Carthagena, & auct. sup. citat.

a great body of *Gascous*, hungry and out of pay, to make a quick march through his own dominions, and take up their winter quarters in *Castile*, where, to all the untoward consequences of civil broils, they added every dismal misfortune that could offend a barbarous invader. To heighten the horrors of this scene, the king of *Granada*, having first reconciled *Ishmael*, made several incursions into the territories of *Castile*, in quality of confederate to the king of *Navarre*, burnt several places, and drove multitudes into slavery; while, to give the finishing touch to the piece, the prince of *Asturias*, who commanded on the frontiers, forbid any succours being sent to the places attacked, from the wicked desire of rendering his father more odious, and his administration more contemptible, as the most effectual method of compelling him to a resignation<sup>a</sup>.

A. D.  
1446.

It was not possible for any prince to have a truer or a sharper sense of his condition than Don *Juan* of *Castile*; but, of *Castile* for many reasons, he was obliged to dissemble; and, if that *is to be esteemed, as some say it is, a royal quality, he possessed it in a supreme degree.* Don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*, bearing continually in his mind what noble estates he once had in *Castile*, meditated every method possible for recovering them, and found none more promising for the present than to complete the marriage with Donna *Joanna Henriques*, daughter to the amirante, which he had contracted some time before; the brother of that lady being acquainted with his intentions, conveyed her privately to the frontiers of *Arragon*, where that monarch met and espoused her<sup>b</sup>. This alliance prompted him to raise new troubles in *Castile*; but his son the prince of *Viana* interposed, and, by his great influence with the states of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, prevented him from doing what he proposed<sup>c</sup>. Don *Juan* of *Castile* married also a second time Donna *Isabella*, daughter to the Infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*, who, in a very short space of time, acquired his affection to such a degree, that he intrusted her with his great secret, which was, that he mortally hated, and was extremely desirous of being rid of, Don *Alvaro*, who had been so long his favourite, for which he assigned many motives, but, in all probability, suppressed one, which was none of the least, that he had obliged him to marry this very princess against his incli-

<sup>a</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. de Castilla. HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. <sup>b</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>c</sup> Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

nation,

A. D.  
1447.

nation<sup>d</sup> (C). The king of *Granada*, in quality still of ally to the king of *Navarre*, made himself master of several places that lay very conveniently for him, and which the prince of *Asturias* might easily have prevented, but for the reason that has been before assigned; which, though the worst in the

<sup>d</sup> BRAND. Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por ALVAR GARCIA DE SANT. MARIA. JUAN DE MENA. HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, y GOMEZ CARRILLO.

(C) This great favourite Don *Alvaro de Luna*, having maintained himself so many years in the possession of power, by studying the king's temper, and complying with it, saw plainly enough that he could not long remain a widower; and that it was of the last importance to his safety that he should receive a wife from his hand. It was this that induced him to set on foot a secret negotiation with the crown of *Portugal*; or rather with the regent and his family; that in case of any revolution in *Castile*, which he had always to fear, he might have some neighbouring country, from which he might expect succours, or into which he might retire in case of necessity. Donna *Isabella*, in all probability, came to the court of *Castile*, with sentiments of respect and gratitude for Don *Alvaro*; but when she found the easiness of Don *Juan's* temper, and that Don *Alvaro* had lost his inclinations, though he preserved his influence over his master, she conceived a design of making herself, what he had formerly been, the sole oracle of the king, and the absolute mistress of his affairs. In order to this, there was no other way than to enter into the king's secret, and to

manage the destruction of her benefactor; which, though he had a very good will, the king wanted capacity to bring about. For this, the *Spanish* historians, and it is no wonder, load her memory with the strongest imputations of ingratitude, and even cruelty; since the king relented at last, and, if it had not been for the queen, would have preserved this great man's life. The vanity of oblique policy is evident in the pains that Don *Alvaro* took to bring about his own destruction, while, in his own opinion, he was taking the most effectual means to support his power, or at least to preserve his person. On the other hand, the folly of female intrigues is no less apparent from the queen's behaviour, who, by sacrificing Don *Alvaro*, exposed herself to all that contempt, ill usage, and severe treatment, which she met with in the succeeding reign. They had both of them great address in turning circumstances and events to the facilitating of their private views; both of them triumph'd in their turns by these sinister contrivances; and both of them perished in the end by the success of their own arts.

world,

world, continued to be the rule of his conduct<sup>c</sup>: or, if that be any apology for his conduct, it was the maxim of Don *Juan Pacheco*, who then and ever after governed him at his pleasure.

THE grand master Don *Alvaro de Luna*, perceiving that the greater part of the nobility of *Castile* inclined to the party of the king of *Navarre*, judged it absolutely necessary, for his own safety, that the king and the prince should be reconciled; and this he brought about, as he had often done before, by gaining Don *Juan de Pacheco*. In order to this reconciliation, an interview was to be had between the father and the son, to which they came with an equal number of guards; and at which the king caused the count *de Benavente*, Don *Henry Henriquez*, and Don *Suero de Quinones*; to be arrested; and the prince, on his side, did the same, with regard to the count *Alba de Tormes* and Don *Pedro de Quinones*, persons who had given umbrage to their respective favourites<sup>f</sup>. This, as might have been easily foreseen, augmented the troubles, which were already but too great, and obliged many of the nobility to unite more strictly to the king of *Navarre*. The *Moors* also renewed their incursions; and though the prince, as a proof of his reconciliation, sent *Alonso Tellez* against them with a small body of forces, yet this served only to increase the evil; since, thro' his own ill conduct, most of his troops were cut to pieces<sup>g</sup>. The count of *Benavente*, having made his escape, took up arms against the king, and gave him a great deal of trouble. The grand master Don *Alvaro*, having the king's order to protect the frontiers against the *Moors*, first went to *Toledo*, in order to borrow a sum of money; which so irritated the citizens, that they revolted, and made *Pedro Sarmiento*, who was governor of the castle, their chief. He defended the city against the king, whom he treated with the utmost insolence; and, when he found himself hard pressed, offered to declare for the prince, who thereupon required the king his father to raise the siege, as he had taken *Toledo* and all its inhabitants under his protection; which, to avoid a new civil war, the king was constrained to do<sup>h</sup>. For these good services *Pedro Sarmiento* thought it reasonable to pay himself, by stripping most of the rich citizens of all that they were worth, which he did, with all the circumstances of oppression and barbarity that can be imagined. The prince, being informed of this, went thither and turned him out; but suffered him to carry away all

*An interview between the king of Castile and his son.*

1448.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. de los Moros de España.

<sup>f</sup> HERNANDO PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

<sup>g</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. de Castilla.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. auct. supra citat.

1449. his ill-got wealth, with which he retired into *Arragon*<sup>1</sup>. The  
*The Moors* *Moors* continued their incursions, and took several places up-  
*renew* on the frontiers. The king of *Castile*, growing old and weary  
*their in-* of continual disturbances, and becoming more and more un-  
*curfions.* easy at the power which the grand master Don *Alvaro* assum-  
ed, though he shewed him as great marks of favour as ever,  
resolved to reconcile himself, once for all, to the king of *Na-*  
*varre* and the malecontents. While he was engaged in a  
negotiation for this purpose, the prince of *Asturias* fell into the  
like distaste of his favourite Don *Juan Pacheco*, marquis of  
*Villena*; but, as he could never keep a secret, the design he  
had laid to seize him miscarried, and he was forced to give  
him leave to quit his court, which he did, and retired to one  
of the fortresses in his own possession; yet, in a short time  
after, this quarrel was composed, and the marquis restored to  
the prince's good graces<sup>2</sup>; who, though a weaker man, was  
a better master than his father.

1450. THE pope being fully acquainted with the sad and strange  
*Reconcilia-* situation of affairs in *Castile*, which gave the *Moors* an oppor-  
*tion be-* tunity not only of enriching themselves, by their annual ex-  
*tween the* cursions, but likewise to strengthen and enlarge their domini-  
*king and* on, sent a bull, addressed to most of the prelates in *Spain*, re-  
*his son.* quiring them to excommunicate such as refused to submit to  
their sovereign, and, by perplexing his affairs, gave such an  
advantage to the Infidels. This bull being published, had a  
great effect; insomuch, that the prince of *Asturias* found him-  
self obliged to submit himself in earnest to his father; and,  
to take away all grounds of suspicion, took an oath, which  
was administered to him by the archbishop of *Toledo*, to re-  
main inviolably attached to him for the future. In con-  
sequence of this, *Toledo* returned to the king's obedience<sup>1</sup>.  
Several of the adherents and instruments of *Pedro Sarmiento*  
were seized, convicted, and suffered cruel deaths. He was  
also condemned as a traitor, and his estates confiscated; but  
the king suffered him to live privately with his family, which,  
however, did not exempt him from the heavier sentence of  
another tribunal; for, falling into a violent illness, he suffered  
for a long time most excruciating tortures, and ended his days  
in the most deplorable manner<sup>2</sup>. The prince, in virtue of  
his reconciliation with the king, prevailed upon him to make  
war with *Navarre*; which, however, was soon compromised,  
by the prince of *Viana*'s repairing to the king's camp, and af-

<sup>1</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

<sup>2</sup> HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. Chron. de los Moros de Espana.

<sup>1</sup> RAINALD.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don

Juan II.

sureing him that he took no share in his father's measures; the truth of which quickly after appeared by the breaking out of a war between them. On the 23d of *April* this year, the queen was brought to bed, some say at *Madrid*, others at *Madrigal*, of the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, who, in process of time, became queen of all *Spain* <sup>a</sup>.

A. D.  
1451.

THE queen continued incessantly to irritate the king against the grand master Don *Alvaro*, to which she herself was chiefly instigated by the treasurer Don *Alonso Perez de Vivero*, a man of address and abilities; who, at the same time, owed all his preferments to the man whom he thus laboured to destroy, and by whom, at this time, he was entertained as a bosom friend. The king had it several times in his mind to cause him to be arrested; but the sense of continual danger had taught the grand master such an habitual caution, that every attempt of this kind was found impracticable. Yet he who, without knowing their schemes, could defend himself against others, facilitated his own ruin by the methods he took to accomplish theirs. He persuaded the king to attack his old enemy the count *de Placentia*, or rather to lend him the concurrence of his person and authority to despoil that nobleman of his estates; which the king, who no longer considered every man as his enemy that was so to his favourite, refused <sup>o</sup>. Of this project *Vivero* gave that nobleman a full account; who thereupon framed the scheme of a general confederacy for the grand master's destruction, which he sent to the prince of *Asturias*, and to several of the nobility. The prince, at that time, was not very clear, whether the destruction of the grand master was his interest or not, and therefore sent a loose and inconclusive answer; but the count *de Haro*, the marquis *de Santillan*, and the count *de Benavente*, entered into the confederacy, and promised to support it at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, and it was this that brought the grand master to his ruin <sup>p</sup>. The king and the prince of *Asturias* concurred in supporting Don *Carlos*, prince of *Viana*, against his father, and indeed he had all the plausible pretences that could be offered for such a proceeding. But Don *Juan of Navarre* was another sort of a man than Don *Juan of Castile*, and not to be frightened by appearances. His son took the field against him with a superior army, and endeavoured to force him to a battle; but, before the quarrel came to be decided by the sword, he offered him peace, upon such

<sup>a</sup> HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. <sup>o</sup> Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. <sup>p</sup> Historia del Rey Don Juan II. HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

Battle between the king of Navarre and his own son.  
1452.

terms as he thought fit to prescribe. The king of *Navarre*, who looked upon the loss of his honour and authority as a far greater misfortune than the loss of life, rejected those terms, and upon this an engagement ensued; in which, if the prince would have been content with victory, he might have had it; but attacking the king's guards, and putting his father's person in danger, his brother Don *Alonso* exerted himself with such passion for the preservation of him who had given him being, that the prince's party were not only defeated, but he was forced to deliver up his sword into his brother's hands, and so became his father's prisoner, who treated him sternly indeed, but not with cruelty<sup>1</sup>.

THE king of *Castile* had a conference with the prince of *Asturias* at *Madrigal*, to concert measures for procuring the prince of *Viana's* liberty; and in this conference Don *Alonso Perez de Vivero* engaged the prince to concur with his father in the destruction of the grand master, for arresting of whom some plots were laid, but without effect<sup>2</sup>. This did not hinder the king's accepting an invitation from the grand master to go with the queen and the whole court to *Tordesillas*, where they were splendidly entertained at his expence; and it was in the midst of these diversions, that, by an accident, the grand master discovered the intrigues and correspondences of *Vivero*; upon which he first thought of destroying him, but referred it to another occasion, when he might withdraw himself from court, and stand upon his defence; but, considering that he had always a gallant company of guards, commanded by a natural son of his, Don *Pedro de Luna*, he rejected that likewise as beneath him<sup>3</sup>. He went therefore with the king to *Kalladolid*; but, when his master proposed going to *Burgos*, he demanded a safe-conduct, which was granted him. When the court arrived there, the king sent a person of confidence to the count of *Placentia*, with orders to arrest the grand master; but the count suspecting this was no more than an artifice to entrap him, declined the commission, which, however, he cheerfully accepted, upon the king's writing him a letter with his own hand. But, being confined to his bed by the gout, he committed the direction of this difficult affair to his son Don *Alvaro de Zuniga*, who, with a small body of determined men, went privately to *Burgos* in order to effect it<sup>4</sup>. This design, though conducted with all the art and all the spirit possible,

<sup>1</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. FER. <sup>2</sup> Rod. SANTI Hift. Hispan. part iv.

Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

<sup>3</sup> ALPHONSI a Carthagina reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.



was attended with such difficulties, that the king once sent that young nobleman orders to desist; but, upon his undertaking for the success, he renewed his command to proceed. The grand master, though he had no distinct intelligence of the measures pursued, knew in general that something was brewing against him; and therefore, upon *Good Friday*, called a council of his particular friends to concert the properest means for securing his safety, to which, amongst the rest, Don *Alonso Perez de Vivero* was invited. The place where this consultation was held was the top of the tower of the palace in which he lodged; and, having first shewn Don *Alonso* his own letters and the king's, which he could not deny, he then turned his back upon him; on which signal two of his friends caught up Don *Alonso*, and threw him over the tower, by which his brains were beat out in the street<sup>u</sup>. Upon this they set up a great cry, as if it had happened by accident; which, however it deceived the people, could not deceive the king, who, by this action, was determined in his measures. At length Don *Alvaro de Zuniza* invested his house, and would have forced it, but the king sent an order to the grand master to submit himself prisoner, which he offered to do, provided he had the king's promise that nothing should be attempted against his life or honour: this he accordingly received, though some say the words of that promise were, nothing should be *unjustly* attempted<sup>w</sup>. However upon this he submitted. His castle of *Portilla* being soon after reduced, the king ordered him to be sent thither, and directed a commission to twelve lawyers and lords of the council to form his process, and to proceed to judgment, which they did, and unanimously pronounced sentence of death on him<sup>x</sup>. He was transferred from thence to *Valladolid*, by Don *Diego de Zuniga*, who had the custody of him, where he suffered death on *The grand* a scaffold, on the seventh of *June*, as *Ferreras* says<sup>y</sup>, though *master of Mariana* and other writers affirm, on the 5th of *July*<sup>z</sup>. He *St. Jago* died with great steadiness and courage; and it is said that *suffers* the king, if he had not been with-held by the queen, would *death upon* have preserved him even on the morning of his execution (D). *a scaffold at Valla-*  
This *dolid.*

<sup>u</sup> HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. *Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.* <sup>w</sup> FER. <sup>x</sup> *Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.* ROD. SANTII *Hist. Hispan. part iv.*  
<sup>y</sup> *Historia de Espana, part ix. sect. xv.* *Historia general de Espana, part ix. sect. xv.*

(D) It was contrived by those *Castile*, that this sacrifice of the who were about the king of great master of *St. James*, and high  
Cc 3

This action has been considered by different authors in very different lights ; for some regard him as a criminal who met with

high constable, Don *Alvaro de Luna*, should be accompanied with all the pomp and solemnity possible, that it might make the greater impression on the people. The scaffold was erected in one of the most public places in *Valladolid* ; there stood upon it a table covered with black velvet, upon which was a cross, between two flambeaux of white wax lighted ; to which, as soon as he came upon the scaffold, he made a profound reverence. Upon the reading of his sentence, he said, My sins have deserved not only this, but a much heavier punishment. He then gave his hat and his ring to one of his pages, saying, These are the last favours I have to bestow ; upon which the youth burst out into such a passion of tears, as affected all the spectators. He cast his eyes next on the master of the horse to the prince of *Asturias*; *Baraza*, said he, tell your master from me, that he will do well not to follow his father's example in the rewarding of his old servants. Observing a very high post with an iron hook upon the top of it, he said to the executioner, My friend, what is that for ? It is, returned the executioner, to place your head on when I shall have severed it from your body. Don *Alvaro*, without the least emotion, replied, when I am dead, you may do with my remains what you please ; no death can be shameful, which is supported with courage and intrepidity, or untimely, after a man has for many

years been at the head of affairs, and conducted all things with dignity and reputation. He then laid himself along upon the cloth prepared for that purpose, for in *Spain* they do not behead, but cut the throats of persons condemned for high treason, and afterwards separate the head from the body. Immediately before he lay down, the executioner would have tied his hands behind him with a cord ; but Don *Alvaro* putting his hand into his bosom, pulled out a ribband, which he gave him for that purpose. As soon as he was prostrate the executioner struck his long knife into his throat, and presently after divided his head from his body, which, after it had been exposed to the people, was placed upon the pole before-mentioned, and remained there nine days, tho' the body lay on the scaffold but three. A bason was placed near it, to receive the alms of charitably disposed people, to defray the expence of burying, says *Mariana*, a man, who in power and wealth, but a few days before, was equal to some sovereign princes. Others, with more probability, say this money was bestowed to procure masses for his soul. He was at first interred at St. *Andrews*, where malefactors were usually buried ; but leave was afterwards procured to remove his body to the church of St. *Francis*, in *Valladolid* : some years after, with the king's permission, it was transferred to *Toledo*, and finally buried with great pomp

with no worse usage than he deserved, while others represent him as a victim of state, whose only crime was being a very able minister to a very weak prince (E). In this, however, most historians agree, that the king regretted the loss of him when it was too late, and when experience taught him that faction was not buried in the grave of the grand master, but that the powers of repressing it were much lessened by his death. He enriched himself exceedingly by the forfeitures, and by seizing the treasures of that great minister; though, by a kind of composition, he left much wealth to his widow and children. On the 15th of *November* the queen was delivered of the Infant Don *Alonso*, at *Tordesillas*<sup>d</sup>. About the same time a revolution happened in the kingdom of *Granada*, where *Ish-mael* at length found means to set himself on the throne, at least he was proclaimed king, though not without a rival, as will be seen hereafter<sup>e</sup>. The king of *Navarre*, at the request of the states of that kingdom and of *Aragon*, released the prince Don *Carlos*, upon certain terms; neither ought we to omit that the prince of *Asturias* was separated from his princess Donna *Blanca*, daughter to the king of *Navarre*, and sister to Don *Carlos*, on account of a reciprocal fridity towards each other; a cause which then, and ever since, has been considered in a proper, that is, in a ridiculous, light<sup>f</sup>.

1453.

THE king Don *Juan* having now learned from experience, the proper mistress of such kind of men, that the only way to be safe, after a reign like his, was to be armed, kept eight thousand lances about his person, which had a good effect<sup>g</sup>. The intelligence he received of the discoveries made by the king of *Portugal*, and the great advantages that he was like to reap from them, chagrined him so much, who, during a very long reign, had gained no advantage at all to his people, that, surmising these discoveries to be inconsistent

<sup>d</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.  
l'Histoire de Granada.

NANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

Juan II.

<sup>e</sup> PEDRAZA

<sup>f</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. HER-

<sup>g</sup> Chronica del Rey Don

pomp in the chapel of St. *James* belonging to the cathedral in that city, which was of his own foundation. This was the end of him who had served his master forty-five years, thirty of which he had governed at his pleasure both the king and kingdom.

(E) We might expect to find some distinct account of the

crimes of which he was convicted in the sentence that was read to him upon the scaffold, in the hearing of the people; but upon the perusal of the sentence, it will appear that it consists only of general suggestions, and seems to ground the opinion of the king's justice upon the notoriety of his offences.

C c 4

with

Death of  
Don Juan  
king of  
Castile,  
who is suc-  
ceeded by  
his son  
Henry  
IV.

with the grant which his predecessors had obtained from the pope of the *Canary Islands*, and whatever depended upon them, he threatened *Portugal* with a war, if the king did not desist from all thoughts of discovery ; but that monarch having made him a general promise, not to invade his rights, pursued them without any regard to the threats of Don Juan<sup>b</sup>. His sister the queen Donna Maria of Arragon, being come into *Castile* on purpose to confer with him, he went, though he was ill of a fever, from *Avila* towards *Medina del Campo* to meet her, but was taken so extremely ill upon the road, that those about him thought he was dead ; yet, upon exhibiting a proper cordial, he recovered so much strength as to be carried to *Medina del Campo*, and from thence to *Valladolid*, where he relapsed, and, with great patience and resignation, breathed his last, on the twenty-first of July<sup>i</sup>. By his testament he devised to the queen Donna Isabella the towns of *Soria*, *Arevalo*, and *Madrigal*, with all their dependencies ; to the Infant Don Alonso the administration of the grand mastership of St. James, and to the Infanta Donna Isabella the town of *Cuellar*, with its revenues and territory. He recommended in the strongest terms to the prince of *Asturias* unanimity in the royal family, and a proper regard in him for his mother-in-law, and for his brother and sister ; of which, however, it does not appear he had any great hopes (F). His demise was not much regretted by his

<sup>b</sup> PEREZ DE GUZMAN.  
SANTIL. Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>i</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Rod.

(F) We are told by *Mariana* that this unfortunate prince died on the twentieth, instead of the twenty-first, of June, in 1454 ; and he assures us, that though, by his last will and testament, he assigned the great offices of grand master and constable to the Infant Don Alonso, it was much less than he designed, and yet even that was more than was in his power. The truth, in the opinion of this and of other historians was, that he meant to have disinherited the prince of *Asturias*, as incapable and unworthy of the royal dignity, and one who had forfeited his right to it by his frequent rebellions. Ferreras takes no no-

tice of this, and yet he seems to confirm the truth of it, by observing, that, in the fit which the king had a little before his death, one of his principal ministers sent immediately for the prince Don Henry, from an apprehension that some of the nobility might get the person of the Infant Don Alonso into their hands, in order to create new troubles. This is scarce intelligible, unless some such intention of the king his father was known ; and allowing this, it will enable us to understand and account for many things that would otherwise appear very strange at least, if not altogether incredible, in the succeeding part of the history.

subjects,

subjects, and perhaps it would have excited still less sorrow if they had not been so well acquainted with his successor <sup>k</sup>.

As soon as the obsequies of the late king were performed, his son, Don *Henry* the fourth, took possession of the kingdom, at *Valladolid*, with great ceremony, the principal nobility and prelates of the realm repairing thither to pay their allegiance, and testify their regard for the new king <sup>l</sup>. Upon this occasion Don *Henry* affected, by his behaviour as a king, to efface all memory of the strange things that had been done by the prince of *Asturias*. He caused Don *Diego Manrique*, count of *Trevino*, whom he had, for some time, kept in prison, to be set at liberty; and he did the like with respect to Don *Hernando Alvarez de Toledo*, count of *Alba*, who had been restrained for a much longer time; which acts of grace were very acceptable <sup>m</sup>. Soon after he sent ambassadors to renew the ancient alliance with the crown of *France*; and, within as short a space as could be expected, he regulated with Donna *Maria*, queen of *Arragon*, the treaty of accommodation which had been begun by his father <sup>n</sup>. This settled and extinguished all the pretensions of the king of *Navarre* and his family, as well as their adherents. That monarch, his son Don *Alonso*, and his nephew Don *Henry*, had each of them a large annuity as a satisfaction for their estates; and for their partizans they were, a few only excepted, restored to their titles, dignities, and possessions, without being liable to any enquiry for what was past; the intire settlement of so perplexed an affair being referred to a congress <sup>o</sup>. As to the affairs of *Arragon*, the king Don *Henry* thought fit to settle these by an embassy sent for that purpose to king Don *Alonso* in *Italy*; and, this being in a fair train, he called an assembly of the three estates of the kingdom, in which his design of attacking the *Moors* was highly approved, and a liberal supply granted him for that purpose. He likewise negotiated a marriage with Donna *Joanna* Infanta of *Portugal*, which was concluded, though that princess was no stranger to the suspicions created by the dissolution of his former marriage with the Infanta of *Navarre* <sup>p</sup>, which indeed were the common topics of discourse through *Spain*.

<sup>k</sup> ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. HER-  
NANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

<sup>l</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

<sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO ENRIQUES del Castillo.

<sup>n</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

<sup>o</sup> Vide auct. sup. citat.

<sup>p</sup> EMANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA.

ABARCA.

1454.  
Makes  
war upon  
the Moors.

IN the congress held at *Agrada* all the points in difference between the crowns of *Castile* and *Navarre*, and their allies and adherents on both sides, were very happily terminated, on the conditions that have been already mentioned. The war with the *Moors* was undertaken in the spring with a great force, but with no great effect, since the king only ravaged the open country about *Granada*. This displeased some of the nobility; who, perceiving that the king was as much held in leading-strings by the marquis *de Villena*, as his father had ever been by Don *Alvaro de Luna*, resolved to seize on the person of their monarch, and then to make such alterations as they should think convenient. But this design was discovered and prevented<sup>a</sup>. He went afterwards to *Cordova*, where he espoused Donna *Joanna* of *Portugal*<sup>r</sup>. In the autumn he made a new irruption into the territories of *Granada*, where he did infinite mischief; insomuch, that *Ishmael* king of *Granada* entered into a negotiation, which, however, was attended with no effect; and at length, the season being spent, the Christian army retired<sup>s</sup>. The grand masterships of *St. James* and *Alcantara* being vacant, the king took their revenues to his own use; but the marquis *de Villena* was secretly ambitious of attaining the first. In this he was traversed by *Michael Luc*, whom the king had lately taken into his good graces, and who, though a man of very mean birth, was supported by the duke *de Medina Sidonia*, the bishop of *Cuenca*, and others of the nobility, out of spleen to the marquis; though the people in general bore an equal hatred to them both<sup>t</sup>: but, of the two, Don *Michael* had a better character, and deserved it.

1455.

THE late treaty of peace concluded at *Agrada* appeared to the king of *Castile* of so great consequence, that he resolved to send ambassadors to the king of *Arragon*, then at *Naples*, in order to have his concurrence, in which he met with all the success he could desire. In the war with the *Moors* it was otherwise; he gave them, indeed, a great deal of disturbance, destroyed their country, and took some places of little importance, but there happened nothing decisive; and it was of very ill consequence to let the Infidels see armies of forty or fifty thousand men entering their territories in a hostile manner, and quitting them again in a few weeks<sup>u</sup>. After his summer expedition was over, the king had a strong inclination

<sup>a</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO ENRIQUES del Castillo.

de los Moros de Espana.  
cos, &c. FERRERAS.  
GOMEZ de Ciudad Real.

<sup>r</sup> FARIA Y SOUSA.

<sup>s</sup> Chron.

<sup>t</sup> Chronica de los Reys Catholi-

<sup>u</sup> Cartas del Bachiller FERNAND.

to visit all the sea coast as far as *Gibraltar*, which he accordingly did, under the protection of a proper escorte. There having a fight of the opposite continent of *Africa*, upon the invitation of the governor of *Ceuta*, he took a resolution of going thither, *Makes an* and that in a small vessel, and with a few persons, which *excursion* alarmed the principal persons about him exceedingly. The *to the coast* king, persisting in his own scheme, traversed the freight of *of Barba-* *Gibraltar*, and, after a few days amusement at *Ceuta*, where *ry*. the governor omitted nothing that could give him pleasure, he returned safely, though not without some difficulty and danger, to *Tarifa*; and there he was so unlucky as to hear that the bishop of *Jaen*, and the count of *Castenada*, being defeated in a battle against the *Moors*, were carried prisoners to *Granada* w. Towards the close of the year, he sent the marquis *de Villena* to regulate with the chief justice of *Arragon* the disputes that still subsisted in reference to the commanderies of the order of *St. James* in that kingdom, which were to have been restored in virtue of the late treaty, and which, notwithstanding, remained in the hands of those to whom the king of *Arragon* had given them. The marquis, instead of executing this commission as he ought, took occasion from thence to enter into engagements of quite another kind. He suggested to the chief justice, *Lanuza*, that, very possibly, there might come a time when he might be as much persecuted in *Castile* as the grand master *Don Alvaro*; in which case he was desirous of being sure of the king of *Arragon's* protection: with this view he offered, and actually took, an oath of fidelity to that monarch, which was administered to him by the chief justice *Lanuza*: and thus, without taking any care of his master's business, he returned to the court of *Castile*, very well satisfied with what he had done in his own \*. The whole country of *Biscay* being in commotion, through the disturbance excited by the factions of the *Gamboas* and the *Otanex*, the king found himself under the necessity of going thither: arriving at *St. Sebastians*, he embarked there on board a small vessel, that he might, with greater facility, examine the sea coast: and, having ordered several small castles to be demolished, as serving only for retreats to such as were disposed to trouble the peace of the country, visited most of the great towns, and quieted the whole province. He appointed *Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza* governor of *Biscay*, and

\* *Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.* \* *ZURITA*  
*Annal Arragon.*

Confederacy  
against  
him.

prepared to return into *Castile* <sup>y</sup>. Before he could put this in execution, he received an unexpected account of a new confederacy, into which the archbishop of *Toledo*, the amirante, the count *de Haro*, the marquis *de Santillan*, the count *de Al-ba*, the count *de Benavente*, and several other noblemen had entered, in order to procure a reformation in the government. They represented to the king, that, through his indolence and inattention, the laws had lost their vigour, industry was almost every-where ceased; that, jealous of his nobility, he gave up a great part of his private life to persons unworthy of his conversation; that, from hence, the civil administration was contemned, his military expeditions had no effect; and, while he governed, as it were, at random, and without any system, things were every-where declining into ruin and confusion. The king was exceedingly chagrined at this news; but, by the advice of the archbishop of *Seville* and the marquis *de Villena*, he resolved to have an interview with the king of *Navarre*, in order to prevent his giving any countenance to this new confederacy: they met accordingly on the frontiers, where it was agreed, that the Infant Don *Alonso* of *Castile* should espouse the Infanta of *Navarre*, and that the Infant Don *Hernando*, or *Ferdinand*, of *Navarre*, should espouse the Infanta *Isabella* of *Castile* <sup>z</sup>. These points settled, the king went to *Segovia*, and, having acquainted the lords of the confederacy, that, after the campaign was over, he would call an assembly of the states, in which all the grievances they had enumerated should be redressed, he desired them not to impede the progress of the war, which was of so great consequence to religion and the public welfare. With this they seemed to have acquiesced, since the king took the field against the *Moors* with a great army, and yet there passed nothing of more importance than the year before; at length the king of *Granada* proposed to acknowledge himself the vassal of *Castile*, and to pay a large annual tribute, to which Don *Henry* listened; but hostilities, notwithstanding, continued to the close of the year <sup>a</sup>. The rebellion of Don *Alonso Fajardo* in *Murcia*, which had broke out about seven years before, continued still to give the king a great deal of trouble, in consequence of the support which, from time to time, he received from the *Moors*. He laboured this year, by an embassy sent expressly for that purpose, to reconcile the *French* king *Charles* the seventh to his son the Dauphin, tho' without effect <sup>b</sup>.

Rebellion  
by Don  
Alonso  
Fajardo.  
1457.

<sup>y</sup> Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos, &c. <sup>z</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto. <sup>a</sup> Chron. de los Moros de España. <sup>b</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire de France.



HISTORIANS agree that it was not without foundation this monarch of *Castile* was suspected of impotence, notwithstanding which he had several mistresses, for the sake of one of which, of the noble family of *Castro*, he treated the queen extremely ill. The disorders of his family, tho' they might resemble, were by no means comparable to those in his government; for, knowing that he was hated by many, he suspected most of his nobility, and laboured to secure himself from the effects of their resentment by raising up new families, supposing that gratitude must naturally follow favours. With this view he made *Michael Luc* his secretary constable, and gave him several towns that belonged to the crown; which places, however, refused to acknowledge him for their lord. The mastership of *Alcantara* he bestowed on *Gomez de Solis*, a gentleman of good family indeed, but very poor. Don *Juan de Valencuela* he made grand prior of St. *John*; and *Bernard de la Cueva* master of his household c. The deaths of the marquis of *Santillan* and of the count *de Triveno* were favourable to the king, as they proved the cause of some disputes amongst their relations. The rebellion of *Fijardo* was entirely suppressed, and the war with the *Moors* carried on with various success, that is, with various losses to both nations. This year died Don *Alonso* king of *Arragon* and *Naples*, in the last-mentioned city, leaving all his dominions in *Spain* to his brother Don *Juan* king of *Navarre*, who became now a very potent, as he had been always a very active, prince<sup>d</sup>. The former league amongst the nobility being in some measure broken, was again renewed, by the industry of the archbishop of *Toledo*; upon which the king surprized some of their places, and amongst the rest deprived the unfortunate house of *Luna* of the best part of their estates, though they had given him no sort of provocation. The marquis *de Villena* was sometimes in full possession of his master's favour, and at others under a cloud. His brother Don *Pedro Giron*, master of *Calatrava*, who had been a malecontent from the beginning of the king's reign, was, by his brother's interest, restored to the good graces of his sovereign, about the end of this year, or the beginning of the next e.

A. D.  
1458.

1459

THE confederate lords transmitted to the king, by the hands of *Diego de Quimones*, a memorial, in which they exhorted him to observe the laws of the kingdom, which he had sworn to at the time of his accession, and not to violate the

c *Chronica de los Reys Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar.*  
 d *ZURIT: Annal Arragon.* e *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, &c.*

liberties of the church, the nobility, or the people; to cause exact and impartial justice to be every-where administered; to dismiss the *Moors* that were about his court; to reform his household, to carry on the war against the king of *Granada* with effect, in virtue of the great supplies he had received; to cause the Infant Don *Alonso* and the Infanta *Isabella* to be educated in a manner suitable to their rank; and to declare the former his successor to the throne, since he had no posterity of his own. The king answered, that he would consult of those things with the lords of his council <sup>f</sup>. Don *Bernard de la Cueva* was now become his principal favourite; and, being very desirous of making his fortune, he proposed to the marquis of *Santillan* that he should marry his youngest daughter, in which he prevailed. By restoring him to his estates, and giving the title of count to his son-in-law, Don *Bertrand*, he detached him from the confederacy: but what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, the knowledge he had that Don *Juan* king of *Aragon* and *Navarre* had deserted his alliance, and subscribed the confederacy; to shew his resentment for which, he entered into a secret negotiation with the prince Don *Carlos*, and offered him his sister the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, in breach of his former agreement with the king his father <sup>g</sup>. The next year was a scene of strange confusions; Don *Henry* took the *Catalans* under his protection who had revolted from their sovereign, on behalf of the prince Don *Carlos*; he invaded *Navarre*, and took some places there, reconciled himself to most of the malecontents, and, to gratify them, made various alterations in his government; brought the Infant and Infanta to court; so that there was a seeming harmony beyond any thing that had appeared during his reign. There was, however, much deceit and falshood on both sides. The king trusted these great lords by force, and there was abundance of fraud in their service; for, in the midst of the war they carried on against the king of *Aragon*, they held a private correspondence with that prince, as did also the marquis of *Villena*, and some others of the favourites. By these intrigues a new treaty was made between the two crowns with such secrecy, that the prince Don *Carlos* could learn nothing of its contents; and this raising many suspicions in his mind, threw him into a fever which cost him his life <sup>h</sup>.

1460.

Death of  
the Infant  
Don Car-  
los.

In the beginning of the year the queen Donna *Joanna* of *Castile* was delivered of a daughter, styled the Infanta Donna

<sup>f</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

<sup>g</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

<sup>h</sup> Cartes del

Bachiller FERN. GOMEZ de Ciudad Real.

*Joanna,*

*Johanna*, on account of which vast rejoicings were made <sup>1</sup>. The queen The king had treated her, during the course of her pregnancy, is delivered not only with the utmost tenderness, but with all possible marks of affection, and even of fondness, with a design to persuade his subjects that this was his daughter as well as the queen's; which, notwithstanding all the pains he could take, very few or none believed. However, she was solemnly baptized; the marquis of *Armagnac*, a French nobleman of the first rank, and ambassador from that crown, the marquis de *Villena*, and the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, being sponsors; the archbishop of *Toledo* performed the ceremony; and two months after the king caused her to be acknowledged heiress of the crown, the Infant Don *Alonso* and the Infanta Donna *Isabella* being the first who swore to the succession <sup>2</sup>. Yet some of the nobility privately protested against this preposterous proceeding; and the whole nation was so thoroughly persuaded that the child was not the king's, but the daughter of Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, that they bestowed upon her the surname of *Bertraneja* <sup>3</sup>. The archbishop of *Toledo*, supported by the rest of the secret friends of the king of *Arragon*, prevailed upon the king Don *Henry* to make a tour to *Alfaro*, while the monarch before-mentioned was at *Tudela*, that, being so near each other, all the little points that were still unadjusted might be the sooner settled. But, while the king of *Castile* was thus employed, the queen, whom he had left at *Aranda*, miscarried, by an unlucky accident, of a son, upon which he went immediately away to comfort her, and sent the marquis de *Villena* to *Saragossa* in order to conclude and sign the treaty with the king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, which he accordingly did. Upon his return to the court, then held at *Madrid*, he met with a very gracious reception from the king his master; notwithstanding which he could not help envying the credit of the count of *Ledesma* both with the king and queen <sup>4</sup>. The war with the *Moors* was still continued, through the perfidious behaviour of the king of *Granada*; and as the king trusted the war to his favourites, and supplied them abundantly, it was carried on in such a manner as drove the Infidels to the greatest distress, and at length excited a mutiny in the city of *Granada* <sup>5</sup>. The most glorious event, however, of *Gibraltar* the campaign, was the reduction of *Gibraltar*, with which the reduced.

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.*

<sup>2</sup> P. DANIEL *Histoire de France.* *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Enriques del Castillo.*

<sup>3</sup> FERKERAS.

<sup>4</sup> ABARCA.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronica de los Moros*

de Espana.

king was highly and justly pleased (G). Such, however, was the inconstancy of this prince's temper, that, notwithstanding the

(G) The recovery of this important fortress was so much the more acceptable, as it was altogether singular and unexpected, since these were times in which it was infinitely more probable that the Christians should lose than that they should gain any thing from the *Mohammedans* (1). It happened in this manner: there dwelt in the town of *Gibraltar* a Moor, whose name was *Ali el Zurro*, who was desirous of becoming a Christian. With this view he retired to *Tarifa*, and disclosed his sentiments in that respect to *Alonso de Arcos*, who was then alcaide, and who, approving his design, caused him to be baptized by the name of *Diego Zurro*. He then told him that it would be no difficult matter for the Christians to recover the place from which he came, since, upon the breaking out of a civil war at *Granada*, the whole garrison was marched thither to support one of the competitors to the crown. Don *Alonso* was too well acquainted with the *Moors* to give hasty credit to such a piece of intelligence; he sent therefore a detachment of eighty horse and one hundred and fifty foot, with orders to seize some of the inhabitants, which they executed, and from them he understood, that *Diego* had told him no more than the truth: upon this he assembled some troops belonging to the count *d'Arcos*, the duke *de Me-*

*dina Sidonia*, and of the governors of the adjacent places, with which he invested *Gibraltar* very unexpectedly. The inhabitants, however, made a very gallant defence; inasmuch, that many were inclined to raise the siege; but *Diego Zurro* exerted himself in such a manner, and solicited with such vehemency, that they remained before the place. They were daily joined by fresh troops; and Don *Rodrigo*, the son of the count *d'Arcos*, actually possessed himself of a great part of the town, and might have had the rest by capitulation, if the duke *de Medina Sidonia* had not sent to desire that he might have a share in the glory. He arrived accordingly with his forces, and the very same night entered into a private treaty with the *Moors*, who delivered up the place to him the next day. This sinister behaviour produced a feud between the families of *Medina Sidonia* and *Arcos*, which lasted many years, and cost a great deal of blood (2). The king was no sooner acquainted with this unexpected piece of good fortune, than he named Don *Pedro de Porras* governor of the place, and ordered the duke *de Medina Sidonia* to put it into his hands under the severest penalties, which he immediately obeyed. As a farther proof of his satisfaction, he ordered the title of king of *Gibraltar* to be added

(1) *Mariana. Mayerne Turquet. Ferreras. Henrique IV. de Alonso de Palencia.*

(2) *Chronica del Rey Don*

the peace lately concluded with *Arragon*, he entered into new intrigues with the *Catalans*, who pretended to prove from an old genealogy that he was their legal master ; and, upon his sending a body of troops to their assistance, they proclaimed him their sovereign on the thirteenth of *November* in the city of *Barcelona* ° ; not out of affection to him, but to obtain assistance against the king of *Arragon*.

*The king of  
Castile  
proclaimed  
sovereign  
of Catalo-  
nia.*

As the step which the king had taken, in relation to the principality of *Catalonia*, was altogether inconsistent with the notions of his favourites, they endeavoured to persuade him to refer all points in dispute to the arbitration of *Lewis* the eleventh king of *France*, which, by a piece of very dextrous management, they brought about <sup>p</sup>. All things, however, had like to have been overturned again, by the arrival of fresh deputies from *Catalonia*, whose propositions the king would needs hear himself in council. They began with shewing, that, by several notorious breaches of the constitution, the king *Don Juan* had lost all right to the realms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, to which he might form just pretensions, which most of the nobility would willingly support : and as to the principality of *Catalonia*, as the king, by his own consent, had been proclaimed their sovereign, they had the same claim to his protection as the rest of his subjects. In the council, however, the archbishop of *Toledo* and the marquis of *Villena* alleged, that the *Catalans* were naturally a mutable, restless, and rebellious people, whom it was impossible to content ; and that, besides, having referred all things to the decision of the king of *France*, nothing ought to be undertaken till that was known ; in which, though against his own opinion, the king acquiesced <sup>q</sup>. It was afterwards agreed, that the two monarchs of *France* and *Spain* should have an interview on the frontiers, and that, in the mean time, hostilities should cease between the crowns of *Arragon* and *Castile*. It was not long after that the *French* monarch, as umpire of the disputes between the two crowns, made his award to this effect ; That the king of *Castile* should quit all pretensions to the sovereignty of *Catalonia*, and withdraw his troops immediately out of

1462.

° *Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar.*  
*ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.*      <sup>p</sup> *Chron. del Rey Don*  
*Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.*      <sup>q</sup> *ROD. SANTII*  
*Hist. Hispan. p. iv.*

to his titles ; following therein *Moorish* monarch, who had done the example of *Abu Malic*, a the same thing long before (3).

(3) *Historia general de Espana, por Mariana, lib. xxii.*

MOD. HIST. VOL. XX.

D d

*Arragon*

Interview  
between  
this king  
and Lewis  
XI. of  
France.

*Arragon* and *Navarre*; and, on the other hand, that the king *Don Juan* should yield to his cousin of *Castile* the town of *Estella*, with all its dependencies, and pay him likewise the sum of fifty thousand florins in gold, for the expences of the war: it was also settled that the queen of *Arragon* should remain as a hostage in the hands of the archbishop of *Toledo*, till this sentence should be complied with in all points<sup>r</sup>. The king of *Castile* had afterwards an interview with *Lewis* the eleventh on the river of *Bidasoa*, which was very short, but they parted with a thorough hatred and contempt of each other; the king of *Castile* having about him a great number of his favourites, but particularly the count of *Ledesma*, most richly dressed, and, in a manner, covered with jewels: whereas the duke of *Burgundy*, the marshal (there was then but one) and the admiral of *France*, in compliance with the king's humour, were very modestly dressed, and *Lewis* himself so plain, that it was impossible, by any exterior mark, to know the king<sup>s</sup>. *Don Henry* of *Castile* and *Don Juan* of *Arragon* were equally dissatisfied with his sentence. The former had lost much, the latter was to lose something, and the humour of kings is to part with nothing. The king of *Arragon* hoped to effect this by chicane; for, instead of delivering up *Estella*, he put a strong garrison into it, and, on the complaint of the marquis of *Villena*, threw the fault upon the states of *Navarre*, declaring that he would take no umbrage at seeing the place reduced by force. In a little time a new negotiation was set on foot; and the marquis, after having brought the king his master into *Navarre*, with so poor an army that he was able to do nothing, accepted a few inconsiderable places as an equivalent for *Estella*; upon notice of which the archbishop of *Toledo* released the queen of *Arragon*, as if the treaty had been fully executed<sup>t</sup>. By this the king of *Castile*'s eyes were opened, and he not only refused to approve of this convention, but dismissed the prelate from his councils, and threatened the marquis with his resentment. In the autumn the king marched with a numerous army against the *Moors*; but, being on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Granada*, that monarch sent his tribute and very rich presents besides; upon which the king dismissed his troops, and went to pass his *Christmas* at *Seville*<sup>u</sup>.

1463.

<sup>r</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire de France. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.  
<sup>s</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. <sup>t</sup> ABARCA.  
 ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS. <sup>u</sup> OR-  
 TIZ DE ZUNIGA. Chron. de los Moros de Espana.

IN the beginning of the ensuing year, the king, for his *Another* amusement, made a tour to *Gibraltar*, the recovery of which *powerful* he considered as the great glory of his reign. On his arrival *league* there, he heard that the king of *Portugal* was at *Ceuta*, upon *formed a-* which he sent him a civil invitation to come to *Gibraltar*, *gainst the* which was accepted: but, while he was employed in concert- *king of* ing some schemes with that prince, to whom he promised his *Castile, by* sister *Isabella*, and renewing the truce with the *Moors*, things *the arch-* had taken a very wrong turn in *Castile* \*. The archbishop of *bishop of* *Toledo* and the marquis *de Villena*, finding that they were totally *Toledo* shut out of the government, resolved to put themselves once *and divers* more at the head of a confederacy, in which the amirante, *noblemen.* the counts of *Placentin*, *Benavente*, *Paredes*, *Miranda*, and *Osborne*, the archbishop of *Compostella*, the grand masters of *Calatrava* and *Alcantara*, very readily entered; so that this league became more formidable than any that had been hitherto made †. The king being informed of this by the queen, resolved to return, without delay, into *Castile*, where he found the great affair of the peace of *Arragon* set upon an equitable foundation, through the fear that the archbishop, the marquis, and even the king of *Arragon* himself, were under, that their contrivances should reach the ear of *Lewis* the eleventh, who, in that case, would not fail to enter *Arragon*: the king, therefore, seeing no reason to refuse it, ratified the peace, not without hopes that this might pacify the malecontents: he carried the queen also to an interview with the *Portuguese* monarch at *Guadalupe*, where he again promised him his sister *Donna Isabella*, and really meant to keep his word; but, when he mentioned it to the Infanta, she shewed no inclination to become queen of *Portugal*, but pretended that a princess of *Castile* could not marry without leave of the states, to whom, therefore, the king engaged to propose it ‡. As he persuaded himself that he had still a great influence over the marquis of *Villena*, he had a mind to confer with him, in hopes of dissipating the league; to which, after hostages given, the marquis consented, as having an inclination to detach the archbishop of *Seville*, the most able man the king had about him, and to bring him over to the malecontents. At this conference, therefore, he told the king, that the archbishop was the principal object of his own apprehensions, and of those of his associates; and that, if he would arrest and keep him confined, he made no question of bringing all the lords

\* FARIA Y SOUSA. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

† Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castilló. ‡ ZURIT. Annal Arragon. BRAND. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

back to his service. The king very readily consented ; and the marquis no sooner left him, than he sent a domestic to inform the archbishop of the danger he was in ; upon which that prelate, knowing no other way to be safe, went immediately to the count *de Plasencia*, one of the league, and to whom he had been the greatest enemy, to demand his protection<sup>a</sup>. The count received him with open arms ; the detachment of the king's guard, sent to secure him, returned without their prisoner ; and thus the marquis *de Villena*, not satisfied with betraying the king, contrived to make him an instrument in betraying himself<sup>a</sup>. The success attending this enterprize, encouraged him to form one still more extraordinary ; and this was, to surprize the king at *Madrid*, to deliver the Infant and Infanta out of his custody, and to bring away the count of *Ledesma* ; but, though it was well laid and well conducted, this scheme miscarried, and the king threatened him with the utmost weight of his resentment<sup>b</sup>. This did not deter him from a bolder enterprize than the last : he prevailed upon Donna *Maria de Padilla*, the wife of *Ferdinand Carrillo*, who lay in the room contiguous to their majesties bed-chamber, to admit his adherents in the night ; and, by this means, he hoped to secure the persons both of the king and queen ; in which, also, he very narrowly failed<sup>c</sup>. After all this, he engaged the king to promise an interview with some of the malecontents, to which, as he was on the road, he had intelligence of their having assembled a great force in order to seize him and those who were about him, upon which he thought proper to retire, which, if he had not done with great precipitation, would have been to no purpose<sup>d</sup>. To shew in a particular manner how much he was piqued at the marquis, he with great solemnity invested Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, grand master of the order of St. *James*, which he knew was the principal object of the other's ambition<sup>e</sup>. The king of *Aragon* and *Navarre* having entered into the league, the confederates held a general assembly at *Burgos*, where, upon the twenty-ninth of *September*, they subscribed an instrument, comprehending the reasons of their revolt, and their plan of regulating public affairs, to which they not only subscribed, but solemnly swore to adhere inviolably to each other, till every point of it was accomplished ; and this league they

<sup>a</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FER. <sup>a</sup> Cartas del Bachiller FERNAN GOMEZ de Cuida Real. MARIAN. <sup>b</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.

<sup>c</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FER. <sup>d</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

<sup>e</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

caused



caused to be transmitted to *Rome*, to prevent the king's obtaining any bulls from pope *Paul* the second against them<sup>f</sup>. In the mean time, the king being informed that one of the principal points of the confederacy turned upon his impotency, and compelling the nobility to swear to a supposititious child, he pretended to establish his capacity by judicial proofs, and the testimony of his physician, which served only to lessen and debase his character. Yet, before the end of the year, without the participation of his council, he ventured upon another private interview with the marquis of *Villena*, at which he concluded an agreement with the malecontents, upon the following terms; that he should deliver the Infant *Don Alonso* to the marquis, and acknowledge him for his heir and successor; that *Don Bertrand de la Cueva* should renounce the grand mastership of *St. James*, and the pope be desired to confer it, by a bull, upon the Infant *Don Alonso*, agreeable to his father's will; that the regulation of public affairs in general should be left to four lords, two of which should be named by the king, and two by the league, and, if they could not agree, the judgment of *Alonso de Oropesa*, prior of the order of *St. Jerom*, was to be decisive: for the due performance of all which *Don Bertrand de la Cueva* was to constitute himself prisoner in the fortress of *Portillo*, under the care of *Gonzalez de Sahavedra*, and the count *de Benavente* was to do the like in the fortress of *Mucientes*, in the hands of the count of *St. Martha*, by which the king hoped to secure his own quiet and that of his subjects<sup>g</sup>.

*His agreement with the malecontents.*

1464.

WHEN the contents of this convention were known, several of the king's faithful subjects laboured to shew him how much he had been deceived, and that the sole aim of the confederates was to get the Infant *Don Alonso* into their hands, with a design to place him at their head, and perhaps to make him king. This alarmed *Don Henry* extremely; but his secretary *Don Alvaro Gomez*, who was the creature of the marquis of *Villena*, terrified him so much with the thoughts of reviving all past disturbances, if he did not execute punctually every article of his treaty, that he no sooner understood the marquis of *Villena* was come to *Sepulveda* to receive the Infant, than he carried him thither, and put him into his hands<sup>h</sup>. He afterwards repaired to *Cabazon*, where he gave audience to all the confederates in a body, and after each of them had kissed his hand, *Don Alonso* was declared his suc-

<sup>f</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto de ALONSO de Palencia.

<sup>g</sup> ABARCA, Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castilla.

<sup>h</sup> RQD. SANTI. Hist. Hispan. part iv. F58.

cessor to his dominions, and promised to espouse Donna *Joanna*<sup>1</sup>. Don *Bertran* count of *Ledesma*, being present, they summoned him to resign the grand mastership of St. *James*, the most honourable and most beneficial office in the kingdom. I will do it, answered Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, with much greater pleasure than I received it, because it is to render a service to that most gracious monarch, to whose favour I owe that and all that I have, and am glad of affording a testimony to his subjects, that he has raised at least one man of fidelity and merit. This answer astonished the whole league, and made the marquis of *Villena* blush<sup>2</sup>. The king rewarded him bountifully, gave him the town of *Albuquerque*, with the title of duke, four other lordships, with a pension of three million and a half of marvadies<sup>3</sup>. They proceeded next to name commissioners; the king chose Don *Pedro de Velasco*, eldest son to the count *de Haro*, and *Gonzalez de Sahavedra*; and the league appointed the count of *Placentia* and the marquis *de Villena*. The marquis in a little time corrupted the king's commissioners, so that he carried every thing at his pleasure, and without being obliged to consult *Alonso de Orospesa*, a person of incorruptible integrity, whom the confederates named for umpire, merely to give a lustre to their cause<sup>4</sup>. The king having discovered the defection of his commissioners, and the treachery of his secretary, the marquis *de Villena* had recourse to a new artifice; he prevailed upon the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the amirante, to make a shew of quitting the confederacy, and going over to the king. Don *Henry* received them so graciously, and trusted them so entirely, that they began to be in earnest on his side, when the marchioness of *Villena* came to *Madrid*; and, by her arts, recovered them to the league; and, which was more extraordinary, persuaded the king that her husband was still loyal in his heart, and would take an opportunity of doing his majesty good service<sup>5</sup>.

*His refusal  
to perform  
articles.*

By the advice of the archbishop of *Toledo* and the amirante, the king annulled all that had been done by the commissioners, summoned the confederates to restore to him his brother, and threatened to declare them traitors if they did not. Upon this they called a general assembly at *Placentia*, and soon after, another at *Seville*, where it was publicly debated, whether they should depose the king, and advance the Infant Don

<sup>1</sup> FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. MARIAN. FER.

<sup>2</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

<sup>3</sup> ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

<sup>4</sup> Cartas

del Bachiller FERNAN GOMEZ de Ciuda Real. FER.

<sup>5</sup> Chron.

del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palenc.

*Alonso*

*Alonso* to the throne? The agent of the archbishop of *Toledo* <sup>The confederates</sup> argued warmly for the affirmative, which was as warmly opposed by the marquis *de Villena*; but at length, after taking the opinion of some lawyers, they agreed that the king should be deposed°. The king was at this time preparing to reduce *Salamanca*, and the count of *Alba de Tormes* was the first nobleman in *Spain* who declared for him. The archbishop of *Toledo* and the amirante attended him upon this occasion; and, by their advice, he resolved next to besiege *Arevalo*, upon which they took their leaves, and promised to repair thither with their forces, receiving each of them money from the king for that purpose. The king waited for them long, and sent to them often; at length the prelate sent him word not to tire him with any more messages, for that he would quickly let him see who was the true king of *Castile*; and, at the same time, the amirante seized *Valladolid*, and declared for the Infant Don *Alonso*°. The king, amazed at this behaviour, retired sorrowfully to *Salamanca*, and had sunk under his misfortunes, but for the prudent counsels of his sister *Donna Isabella*. As for the confederates they went roundly to work, and having deposed the king Don *Henry*, with great solemnity (H), they declared the Infant Don *Alonso* king, and raised

• ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. P Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar. FER.

(H) There is not any event in the *Spanish*, or, to say the truth, in any other history, the record of any transaction more extraordinary or more extravagant than this; the malecontents caused a theatre of vast extent, in the great plain that lies on one side of the town of *Avila*, to be erected, so that all the multitude resorting thither might see and hear every thing that was said or done (4); upon this magnificent throne was placed, upon which was seated the figure of the king Don *Henry*, with the

crown upon his head, the sceptre in his hand, the sword by his side, the royal robe on his shoulders; and, in a word, with every other ensign of majesty then in use. A herald then mounted the theatre, and read with a loud voice, a declaration, containing the motives which appeared to them sufficient for deposing and depriving him of the royal dignity. At the same time that he began to read, the archbishop of *Toledo*, the marquis of *Villena*, the count of *Placentia*, the grand master of

(4) Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de Hernando del Pulgar.

raised an army to make him so<sup>9</sup>. The archbishop of *Toledo*, who had the best head and the worst heart in the whole assembly, proposed marching, without loss of time, to crush the king at *Salamanca*, which he shewed them plainly might be done both safely and speedily. The marquis de *Villena* raised many difficulties, and in the end diverted that motion. At the same time he gave notice to the king to be upon his guard<sup>r</sup>. His sole view was to keep the world in storm, as not knowing how to steer in calm weather. The confederates marched with their forces, and besieged *Simencas*. The king was, for once, the better of the marquis's advice, and wrote to the nobility in pressing terms to come to his assistance. The count *Alba de Tormes* was again the first, the duke de *Albuquerque*, the count de *Trasamara*, the marquis de *Santillan*, the count de *Medina Cæli*, soon after joined him. By this time, the archbishop of *Toledo* began to grow jealous of the

<sup>9</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>r</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

*Alcantara*, the counts of *Benavente* and *Paredas*, went up to the figure, and as he read, the archbishop took off the crown, the marquis de *Villena* took away the sceptre, the grand master pulled off the sword, and the other three stripped away the rest of the ornaments; after which they kicked the figure away from the throne with their feet, adding the most abusive and insulting language to these actions, which the populace beheld in profound silence, except that here and there some burst into tears (5). Then the Infant *Alonso* mounted the theatre, and being carried on the shoulders of those who were present, was at length seated on the throne; after which, all the prelates, noblemen, and persons of rank and property, who were present,

did homage to him, and the trumpets sounding, the standards were displayed in his name; those who assisted in this strange scene crying, according to the custom of those times, "*Castile! Castile! Long live the king Don Alonso of Castile, Leon, &c.* (6)." Besides those who were actually concerned in this act of deposition, the amirante, the grand master of *Calatrava*, the counts of *Luna*, *Castro*, *Castaneda*, *Ossorno*, *St. Martha*, and many others, concurred in approving and applauding this subversion of the constitution, and pretended to own for their king, a child hurried about by a faction, who assumed a power of deposing their king for those acts of prodigality, to which they were indebted for their titles and splendour (7).

(5) *Diego Henriquez de C. Afillo. Alonso de Palencia, &c. Pulgar, Palencia.*

(7) *Mariana, &c.*

(6) *Zuniga,*

marquis

marquis *de Villena*; but that subtle politician had the address to deceive him again into a better opinion of him than ever. He feigned himself indisposed, grew in a few days dangerously ill, and having received those spiritual comforts that are only given at the point of death, he made a will, by which he recommended his widow and children to the care, and left all his estates to the direction, of the archbishop, who, being thoroughly convinced by this of his friendship, rejoiced very sincerely at his recovery\*. This prelate having taken several places in person, repaired with all his forces to *Simencas*, to the relief of which the king advanced, with an army so much superior to the malecontents, that they retired with some precipitation, and if the king had pursued them, and prosecuted the war with vigour, he might have reduced them and reigned the rest of his days in peace; but, by a most unaccountable fit of credulity, he consented to an interview with the marquis *de Villena*, who engaged him to consent to a suspension of <sup>Suspension</sup> arms, and to dismiss his forces, which he accordingly did, <sup>of arms be-</sup> after paying them punctually, and assuring them that he would <sup>tween the</sup> reward them for their services, as he afterwards did very li- <sup>king and</sup> berally, bestowing *Carpio* and some other places on the count <sup>the male-</sup> of *Alba*; *Astorga*, with the title of marquis, on the count <sup>contents.</sup> of *Trastamara*; *Agreda* and its territory he gave to the count of *Medina Cæli*; and the county of *Gijon*, with the title of duke, to the count of *Valentia*: neither was he unmindful or ungrateful with regard to persons of less distinction†. This year died *Ishmael*, king of *Granada*, and was succeeded by his son *Albobacen*, a prince of a generous and martial spirit‡.

1465.

IN the beginning of the year, the archbishop of *Toledo* sent some of the clergy, who were his creatures, to *Rome*, in order to persuade the pope, that himself and his partizans had done nothing amiss in solemnly deposing their king; but, on the other side, the king sent the dean of *Salamanca* thither, to espouse his cause; which he did so effectually, that the pope would give no countenance to the rebels in *Spain*§. The city of *Valladolid* declared for the king, who, though he had been so often betrayed by him, would have gone from thence to meet the marquis of *Villena*, if he had not been withheld by the nobility about him¶. The king, however,

\* ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIAN. FERRERAS.

† Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.

‡ Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

§ RAINALD. FER.

¶ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

received the archbishop of *Seville*, who came from him, and listened to one of the strangest projects that was ever devised. He proposed that Don *Pedro Giron*, grand master of *Calatrava*, and brother to the marquis de *Villena*, should marry the Infanta Donna *Isabella*; upon which the archbishop of *Toledo*, the grand master, the marquis, and all their dependants, would become once more good subjects, give the king a large sum in ready money, and sacrifice the Infant Don *Alonso*; but all this the king was desired to keep a profound secret, and in the mean time to dismiss from the court the bishop of *Calahorra*, and the duke of *Albuquerque*, who they knew were men not to be imposed upon by such artifices. The king consented to all this, the bishop and the duke retired, the grand master resigned his dignity to his third son, and the most pompous preparations were made for the wedding, tho' the Infanta declared from the beginning that she would never give her consent. But when all things were ready, and the king disposed to force his sister, Don *Pedro* fell sick upon the road of a fever, and died in a few days. The archbishop and the marquis returned immediately to the party of the Infant Don *Alonso*, who received them very graciously, because he was afraid of them. The rest of the year was spent in war, without any other effect than that of ruining and destroying the people, and in treaties that came to nothing, through the artifices of the marquis de *Villena*, notwithstanding all the pains the pope's legate could take, which rendered the marquis as odious to the malecontents, as he ought to have been to the king, who, notwithstanding, could never divest himself of that affection for him, which he so little deserved<sup>2</sup>.

Fruitless  
negotia-  
tions for a  
peace.

1466.

THE weakness of this prince was such, that even his best as well as his worst subjects, were driven into rebellion. The archbishop of *Seville*, in the beginning of this year, had prevailed upon him to go and confer with the malecontents at *Bejar*, where a scheme was laid to seize his person. All representations to prevent this false step were to no purpose; so that the inhabitants of *Madrid* were forced to take up arms to keep the king in his palace, from whence, when he had laid aside all thoughts of going to *Bejar*, he proceeded to *Segovia*<sup>3</sup>. In the mean while, the Infant Don *Alonso* went to *Toledo*, where some commotions had happened in favour of the king, where he was joyfully received, publicly proclaimed,

<sup>1</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FER. <sup>2</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONS. de Palenc. <sup>3</sup> Cartas del Bachiller FERNAN GOMEZ de Ciudad Real. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

and

and treated with all royal honours<sup>b</sup>. The king, perceiving that the rebels were reducing one place after another, and that many of the nobility grew cold in their affections for his service, resolved, while he had yet sufficient strength, to put the issue of things to a battle, and accordingly advanced for the relief of *Medina del Campo*. The rebels resolved to wait for him there: when the two armies were very near, the archbishop of *Toledo* sent to give the duke of *Albuquerque* notice that forty persons had sworn not to suffer him to return alive, if he appeared in the field; and therefore advised him to take care of himself. The duke, suspecting the truth of this intelligence, invited a soldier of the enemy's advanced guard to come and speak with him, and sent him a passport; the man came accordingly, and being asked if this intelligence was true, he assured him it was, and that every body knew it in the camp: why then, says the duke, tell those forty men that I shall be in the field to-morrow, armed in such a manner, and with a scarf of such a colour, and dismissed him with a reward<sup>c</sup>. This action happened on the 20th of *August*; the Infant Don *Alonso* was there, in person, having the archbishop of *Toledo* by his side, who wore over his robe a crimson scarf, embroidered with white crosses. The king, at the instance of the constable of *Navarre*, retired, with thirty horse, to a place at some distance; his army consisted of eight hundred lances, seven hundred light horse, and two thousand foot; that of the rebels was of much the same strength; the engagement began in the afternoon, and did not end but with the light. It was far from being decisive, though there might be about five hundred men slain on both sides, the king ordered his standard to remain in his camp, being unwilling to display it against his people, and by that accident it was taken. Both sides claimed and made rejoicings for their victory, which belonged to neither<sup>d</sup>. The town of *Segovia* was shortly after betrayed to the Infant, who by that means got his sister, the Infanta *Isabella*, into his custody, but the *Alcazar*, in which were the king's treasures, was preserved<sup>e</sup>. The king, notwithstanding this, was prevailed upon to go thither, to confer with the malecontents, to whom he spoke better than his friends expected. He told them he would say little either of or for himself; he could not govern so great a country, but by his ministers and magistrates; that these he

*Battle of Medina del Campo.*  
pg.

<sup>b</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.* <sup>c</sup> *FER. Histoire de España. p. ix. sec. xv.*

<sup>d</sup> *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIAN. FERRERAS.*

<sup>e</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.*

had

had often changed; and notwithstanding, had been generally abused; if they knew where to find him better, he was willing to employ them. But what he had chiefly at heart, and what he wished at theirs, was the misery and distress of the poor people, the innocent victims of their passions and follies. He said it was plain that he was not accountable for this, either to God or man, as they had left him no power to protect them; but, forgetting what was passed, if they would yet take measures to make his subjects happy, and restore him to his authority, he would exert it for that purpose. They promised to consider of the matter, and the king delivered his queen into the hands of the archbishop of *Seville*, as a hostage for his making good his promises. The true design of this conference, was to cheat the king out of the *Alcazar*, which they could not so easily reduce, and to engage him to confirm to the marquis of *Villena* the grand mastership of *St. James*, which he had obliged the Infant Don *Alonso* to resign in his favour. This he very willingly did; and in return, the marquis hindered any peace from being made, to which most of the lords of his party were inclined, and for which the bishop of *Leon*, the pope's legate, after severe reproaches, excommunicated them all <sup>f</sup>.

The male-  
contents  
excommu-  
nicated by  
the pope's  
legate.

Death of  
the Infant  
Don A-  
lonso.

As the rebels found themselves not a little hurt by these ecclesiastical censures, they sent two of their party to *Rome*, to make an apology to the pope, from whom they received a very bad reception, who told them they were rebels to their king, and tyrants to their fellow subjects, bidding them go home, and pacify these troubles; and, as the *Spanish* historians say, telling them, if they did not, God would speedily call the Infant, whose name they abused, and who was no more than an image in their hands, to another life, and leave them to answer for their own offences<sup>g</sup>. While they were thus employed, the king Don *Henry* went in person to assist in the execution of an enterprize for the recovery of *Toledo*, in which he narrowly escaped with his life; for tho' his party received him privately into the city, yet the populace no sooner understood that he was in the cathedral church, than they attacked it with the utmost fury, and it was with great hazard that he escaped. A few days after, the populace changed their minds, and, by the help of a little persuasion, drove out the partizans of the royal Infant, and invited the king back, who went thither, and was received with the loudest acclamations by those who, but a little before, had

<sup>f</sup> RAINALD. ROD. SANTIL. Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

<sup>g</sup> RAINALD. Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. MARIAN. FER.

thrust



thrust him out of the same place<sup>b</sup>. The Infant Don *Alonso* was then at *Arevalo*; and his party being astonished at the news, thought it proper that he should go to *Avila*. On the road he dined with his sister at *Cardenosa*, and retiring afterwards to sleep, was, in the space of an hour, found dead upon his bed, or at least senseless and dying<sup>c</sup>. This happened on the 5th of *July*, when that prince was about fifteen (1). The  
archbishop

<sup>a</sup> *Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar.*

<sup>b</sup> FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ZUKIT. Annal Arragon.

(1) Amongst all the obscure passages in the history of these distracted times, there is none darker than the death of the Infant Don *Alonso*: an author, indeed, who wrote expressly the history of his reign, as he was pleased to call it, does not hesitate in the least in declaring that he was poisoned by eating a trout, that made part of his dinner; and with the like freedom he tells us, that the author of this execrable action was the marquis of *Villena* (1). *Mariana* seems to doubt of the truth of this, but he assigns no better reason than this, that it is hard to conceive how a nobleman, like him, could be guilty of so base an action (2); and, perhaps, the reader will wonder how he could conceive this objection, after having enumerated so many base actions that this unworthy nobleman had done. Other writers incline to think he died of poison, without fixing the blame any where (3). Some have ascribed his death to a stroke of the apoplexy;

and others allege that he died of the plague (4). In what manner or by whose hands he received his death, must therefore remain, in some measure, undecided. In two points, the *Spanish* historians agree, though no inference can be drawn from it; the first is, that his death was predicted by pope *Paul* the second; the other, that he expired within a few miles of the place where the theatre had been erected for his brother's deposition, and for his own election (5). He was a youth of very pregnant parts, and had given some instances of firmness, and a love for justice, which could not be very acceptable to some about him, who might possibly apprehend that the time was approaching, when, from being treated and called, he might think and act like a king (6). The setting up therefore of the Infanta Donna *Isabella* would have answered their purposes as well, without exposing them for the present to the like fears (7). But the very pru-

(1) *Alonso de Palencia.*

(2) *Historia general de España por Mariana,*

*lib. xxiii.* (3) *Diego Henriquez del Castillo. Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos, &c.*

(4) *Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, &c.* (5) *Diego Henriquez del Castillo, Alonso de Palencia, Hernando del Pulgar.*

(6) *Alonso de Palencia, Alcocer, Ferreras.* (7) *Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet, &c.*

*The suc-  
cession settled  
on the In-  
fanta Isa-  
bella.*

archbishop of *Toledo*, and the grand master of *St. James*, conducted the Infanta Donna *Isabella* to *Avila*, where, at the desire of the party, the archbishop began to dispose her to take the title of queen, to which she answered very modestly, that she was much obliged to them for their good affections, but that the crown of *Castile* did not belong to them to bestow, but was held from God by the laws. Yet, if they would interpose with the king, her brother, that she might be declared the presumptive heir of the crown, which she took to be her right, she would be thankful; neither was she moved from this resolution, when she heard that at *Seville* and several other places they had proclaimed her<sup>k</sup>. The archbishop acquiesced, and in a short time the accommodation was made. On the 19th of *September*, the king, and his sister the Infanta, met the pope's legate, released the lords from the oaths they had taken to the princess *Joanna*; after which, they swore to the succession of the Infanta *Isabella*; and the king, at the same time, undertook to send the queen and her daughter into *Portugal*<sup>l</sup>. The marquis de *Castellan*, who had served the king with great fidelity, thinking those services less considered than they ought to have been; and having Donna *Joanna* confided to his care, solicited the queen to come to him, also promising at all times, and at all events, to defend her, and to support her daughter's title; the queen joyfully accepted this offer, and, at the hazard of her life, made her escape from the archbishop of *Seville*. Being let down by cords out of the window of her apartment in the castle of *Alaejos*, she mounted behind Don *Lewis Hurtado*, and retired to the marquis<sup>m</sup>. Yet some writers say, that she found a gallant there, and that this gallant was the archbishop's nephew, which others treat as a calumny. The states were ordered to assemble at *Ocana*; but there were very few of the deputies came thither; and the king believing his affairs to be in a better situation than they had been, did

<sup>k</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Pá-  
lencia.*

<sup>l</sup> *ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. RAINALD.*

<sup>m</sup> *Cartas del Bachiller FERNAN GOMEZ de Ciudad Real. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.*

dently declined it; and, as some writers say, alleged the death of her brother, as the reasons of her declining it, intimating that Providence did not seem to favour these kind of counsels, and that, though she wished to pre-

serve her own rights, she was by no means inclined to invade those of her brother, but would repose herself on Providence, and contentedly wait the disposition of things, without creating any discord or disturbance.

not

not treat with much complaisance those that did come; so that the assembly was quickly prorogued to the next year<sup>n</sup>. The marriage of the presumptive successor was now the great point in view, upon which it was very evident that the security of the crown and the happiness of the people must, in a great measure, depend; the old king of *Arragon*, Don *Juan*, never lost sight of his first purpose of procuring that princess for his son the Infant Don *Ferdinand*; and, the better to qualify him for so great a match, he gave him the title of king of *Sicily*, which island was then a part of his dominions<sup>o</sup>. In order to bring this important design to bear, he sent his agents into *Castile*, with instructions to apply themselves to his old friend the archbishop of *Toledo*, to his father-in-law the amirante, to the counts of *Medina Cæli*, *Triveno*, and other great lords. At the head of these agents was the constable of *Navarre*; and, besides excellent instructions how to manage the affair, they had blanks filled with promises, with the king's signature and seal, to be addressed to such persons as they should find it necessary to gain, and what was like, perhaps, to go farther than all their instructions and credentials, they had a very large sum in ready money, with full powers to dispose of it as they thought fit<sup>p</sup>. The constable of *Navarre* found, on his arrival at the court of *Castile*, the archbishop of *Toledo* perfectly well inclined to the business; and by his and the amirante's assistance, many of the chief nobility were gained; and the gold, and the king's letters, being properly distributed amongst the Infanta's domestics, brought them to prefer the king of *Sicily* to all the princes upon earth<sup>q</sup>. The grand master, now in more favour with the king than ever, was exceedingly disturbed at this, and engaged many of the old malecontents, more especially such as had been enriched by the forfeitures of the house of *Arragon*, to concur with him in opposing a marriage so prejudicial to their interest. To augment the strength of this party he devised a new intrigue, which indeed was his great talent; for he struck in with the marquis *de Santillan*, and proposed to the king, with his consent, that Donna *Isabella*, his sister, should be given in marriage to the king of *Portugal*, and Donna *Joanna*, whom he owned for his daughter, to the Infant of *Portugal*. With this scheme the poor king was highly

<sup>n</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FER. <sup>o</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>p</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto de ALONSO de Palencia. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>q</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ABARCA.

pleased,

pleased, and assured them of his concurrence<sup>r</sup>. The grand master founded next the archbishop of *Toledo*; but that prelate gave him a very round answer; he said, his ambition and his artifices had already cost his country too dear; that for himself he was confident that he was now on the right side, from which nothing should ever move him to depart. The monarch of *Portugal*, at the request of Don *Henry* and his ministers, sent the archbishop of *Lisbon* to demand the Infanta *Isabella*, who very decently, but at the same time very peremptorily, refused her consent<sup>s</sup>. The grand master, who foresaw this, had provided another match, and procured a *French* embassador soon afterwards to make the like demand, in favour of the duke of *Berry*, the king's brother; but he also met with a refusal, which, though very civilly expressed, he bore but very impatiently<sup>t</sup>. The grand master directed his bosom friend, the archbishop of *Seville*, to post several bodies of troops in such a manner about *Madrigal*, where the Infanta *Isabella* then was, that she found herself, in a manner, imprisoned; but the archbishop of *Toledo* and the amirante quickly delivered her, and carried her to *Valladolid*. She had not been long there before the archbishop of *Toledo* and the lords of his party determined, that it was fittest for her safety and theirs to conclude and solemnize this marriage without delay. Don *Ferdinand* had notice of this; having first signed such articles of marriage as that prelate had drawn (K), set out privately for *Castile*, and being safely conducted

*Who  
spouses  
Ferdinand  
king of  
Sicily, son  
and heir of  
the king of  
Arragon.*

<sup>r</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.* <sup>s</sup> BRAND. FARIA Y SOUSA. *Chron. de los Reyes Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar.* <sup>t</sup> P. DANIEL *Histoire de France.*

(K) These articles, to the punctual performance of which the king Don *Ferdinand* was sworn in the presence of Don *Gomez Manrique*, who was sent into *Arragon* for that purpose, were in substance as follows: 1. He shall always acknowledge the pope for head of the church, and maintain all the ecclesiastical immunities. 2. He shall have all possible respect for the king Don *Henry*, his brother-in-law, and shall permit him to reign in

perfect tranquility, conforming himself in all things to the accommodation that was made when he acknowledged that princess for his heir. 3. He shall administer justice impartially, and shall not infringe, in any respect, the laws, usages, prerogatives, and privileges, of any of the cities, towns, places, or persons, in his dominions, agreeable to the oath taken by the kings of *Castile* at their accession. 4. He shall not alienate

ducted to *Valladolid*, secretly espoused and afterwards publicly married the Infanta, in the cathedral of that city, on the 25th

alienate any town, place, or fortress, without the consent of the princefs. 5. That all the foyal orders fhall be figned by them jointly, and that he fhall not put into the council, governments, or any other officers of ftate, any but natives of *Caftile*.

6. That all dignities, ecclefiaftical and civil, fhall be at the nomination of the princefs.

7. That he fhall grant a general amnefty, with refpect to all things that may have happened in the former civil wars, and fhall never fet up any claim or pretentions to thofe lands and eftates, which his father poffeffed in *Caftile*, and which have been given away by the crown, and are in the hands of feveral of the nobility. 8. That the archbifhops of *Toledo* and *Seville*, and the grand mafter of St. *James*, fhall ever enjoy their ranks and pre-eminencies in the government of the monarchy, as fhall alfo all the other lords and knights who have fteadily adhered to the princefs's party, and have contributed to fecure to her the fucceffion of the crown. 9. That the king Don *Ferdinand* fhall come and refide in the dominions of *Caftile*, and fhall make war againft the *Moors* as foon as it is in his power, but otherwife fhall not take up arms againft any, without the confent of his confort; in cafe, however, that any civil war fhould break out in *Caftile*, he fhall

furnifh, as long as it lafts, a thoufand lances from *Arragon*, to remain, during that fpace, in the pay of that crown. 10. That, over and above the fum of one hundred thoufand florins of gold, the princefs fhall have and enjoy the towns of *Borja*, *Magalon*, *Elcha*, and *Cervellen*, in the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*; and *Siracufe* and *Catania*, in the kingdom of *Sicily* (1). It is true that *Mariana* omits fome of thefe articles, and interprets others in a ftricter fenfe, fo as to leave the king no other fhare in the government than his confort fhould be inclined to allow him (2); but our readers will hereafter learn upon what motives we have preferred the authority of the *Arragonian* writers. As they ftand here, they fufficiently fhew the prudence and public fpirit of the prelate, by whom they were drawn, and it muft give every man of confcience and honour, no fmall uneafinefs, to reflect, that with fo great parts, and with fuch a perfect knowledge of the conftitution of his country, this great prelate was frequently led by his paffions and private views to act with the utmoft violence againft his principles; fo that it may be truly faid, there was hardly any good or any hurt done to his country in his time, of which he was not the author, or in which he was not an actor (3).

(1) *Annales de la Corona de Arragon por Geron. Zurita.* (2) *Historia general de Efpaña por Mariana, lib. xxiv. Mayerne Turquet, Belligarde, &c.*  
(3) *Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.*

A. D.  
1469.

of October <sup>u</sup>. The king was extremely offended at the news; and though, upon the receiving a letter from the princess at *Truxillo*, he seemed to be in a better temper, yet he gave no answer to it, but pursued his secret intrigues for altering the succession in favour of Donna *Joanna*, according to the advice of the grand master and his adherents, who, for the present, were wonderfully attached to that princess <sup>w</sup>.

*The Infanta Ju-  
anna is  
betrothed  
to the duke  
of Berry,  
and de-  
clared  
heiress to  
the crown  
of Castile.*

ALL imaginable pains were taken by the archbishop of *Toledo* and the amirante, as well as by Don *Ferdinand* and the Infanta *Isabella*, to dispose the king in their favour, but he remained absolutely silent; and if at any time he gave an answer, it was, that he would consult the grand master of St. *James*, and other great lords. This favourite, in the mean time, was labouring and endeavouring to procure an embassy from the *French* monarch, to demand Donna *Joanna* for the duke of *Berry*, whom the Infanta *Isabella* had rejected, which at length he obtained; and the person sent upon this occasion was cardinal *Albi*, the same who had shewn himself so much piqued upon the former occasion. While the two courts were thus employed, there was a civil war carrying on in almost every province in the kingdom; in some, between such as adhered to the king, against those who were attached to the king of *Sicily* and the Infanta; in others between noblemen, who, setting the laws at defiance, decided the quarrels that arose between them by open force, and, in some popular factions, raised disturbances in almost every great town; so that peace was scarce any-where to be found. The king Don *Henry* was extremely pleased upon the arrival of the *French* ambassador, paid him all the honours, and laboured to give him all the satisfaction imaginable; he also issued an edict, annulling all that he had said or sworn upon the treaty of accommodation with the Infanta *Isabella*, declaring the right of succession to be, as it always was, in the Infanta *Joanna*, his and the queen's lawful daughter <sup>x</sup>. The *French* cardinal, however, expected farther proofs, which the king resolved to give accordingly on a day fixed, which was the 20th of October; the king held a great assembly in the plain of *Lozoia*, to which, by his command, the marquis of *Santillan* brought the queen and her daughter: there the edict was publicly read in the king's presence; and all who were there took their oaths to

<sup>u</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. MARIANA. FER. <sup>w</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. <sup>x</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.

the

the Infanta Donna Joanna, except the marquis de Santillan and his family, who excused themselves, by saying they had taken that oath before; the cardinal then insisted that the queen should swear, as she did, that the princess was the issue of her body by the king; the king likewise swore that he verily believed her to be his own daughter; after which the count of Boulogne espoused her, with great solemnity, in the name of the French prince<sup>1</sup>. The king, as soon as this ceremony was over, issued his letters to all the towns in the kingdom, to inform them of this great event; and, on the other hand, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella emitted a manifesto, setting forth and insisting upon their rights, which they required all the people in the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, Toledo, &c. to maintain and defend, which only served to increase those disorders, by which these unhappy countries were but too much distracted and distressed<sup>2</sup>. The king Don Henry having procured two briefs from the pope, one against the bishop of Segovia, and the other against the archbishop of Toledo, caused them to be signified to both these prelates. This had some effect upon the former, but none at all upon the latter; who, on the contrary, wrote to the king, as he had often done before, that his misfortunes were the effects of his credulity and irresolution; that he (the bishop) had nothing in view but the general good of his subjects; and that he would do well to think of his own oath, and the concessions he had made in the treaty of pacification<sup>3</sup>. Don Henry, in the fury of his resentment, sent for four canons of the church of Toledo, pursuant to the pope's brief; and, having admitted them into his privy council, formed a process against the archbishop for high treason. The grand master of St. James, however, interposed in behalf of his uncle, the archbishop, and advised his master to have recourse to milder measures. An offer was thereupon made him of an immense sum of money, large grants in favour of his church, and still greater to his two sons; but all without effect; that prelate giving for answer, that as he was at length on the right side he would remain there, and stand or fall with it, let the pope or the king do what they please<sup>4</sup>. As a proof that he was in earnest, he seized three of the four canons in their return to Toledo; but the king making reprisals upon some of his domestics, they were at length discharged. The disturbances throughout the king-

*Which is  
barrased  
by domestic  
broils.*

<sup>1</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire de France. MARIAN. FER. <sup>2</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO. de Palencia. <sup>3</sup> RAINALD. FER. <sup>4</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.

A. D.  
1471.

dom rather increased than diminished; and, to heighten the miseries of the people, the *Moors*, with impunity, made an irruption into and plundered the frontiers<sup>c</sup>. Towards the close of the year, the king, attended by the grand master, had an interview with the king of *Portugal*, to whom he offered the Infanta Donna *Joanna*; but that monarch looked upon things to be then in so unsettled a state, that he declined the proposition; and the king Don *Henry* and his favourite retired exceedingly dissatisfied<sup>d</sup>.

*A scheme  
set on foot  
for marry-  
ing the In-  
fanta Jo-  
anna to  
Don Hen-  
ry of Ar-  
ragon.*

THE grand master was seldom at a loss for expedients; and though his address had failed him upon this occasion, yet he quickly devised a new scheme, more plausible and more likely to be attended with success than the former. This new contrivance was to bring about a marriage between Don *Henry* of *Arragon*, son to the Infant Don *Henry*, who had formerly created so many and great disturbances in *Castile*, and the Infanta Donna *Joanna*, whom the king acknowledged. His master approved this expedient exceedingly, assured him of his full consent, and desired him to leave no step untaken for the speedy accomplishment of this important negotiation<sup>e</sup>. The grand master saw, without any sign of pity, civil war raging in all parts of the kingdom, but he could not hear, without emotion, all these mischiefs attributed to himself. He perceived that the far greater part of the nobility envied and hated him; and that, by the common people throughout his master's dominions, he was held in perfect execration; which induced or rather obliged him to labour with the utmost diligence in bringing this business to perfection, which, with very good reason, he considered as the king's business and his own. With this view he resolved to gain, if it was possible, the marquis *de Santillan*, and the potent family of *Mendoza*, of which he was at the head. He proposed, therefore, an interview with that nobleman and his friends, which was accepted, and there he explained the many advantages that would result from the marriage which he had projected; he observed that it was the highest mark of gratitude they could give to the king and to his family; that Don *Henry* was of the royal blood of *Castile*; that his marriage with the Infanta would divide the house of *Arragon*; that it would infallibly gain the count of *Benavente*, who was Don *Henry's* uncle by the mother's side; and that it would protect them from the resentments of Don *Ferdinand*, and the Infanta

<sup>c</sup> Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FERRERAS. <sup>d</sup> FARIA Y SOUSA. MARIANA. <sup>e</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.



Donna *Isabella*, from whom they had all things to fear. These arguments made a great impression upon the assembly; and the grand master, that he might absolutely determine them to a concurrence in this scheme, offered, as he was lately become a widower, to marry a lady of the house of *Mendoza*; but, as there was no such lady to give him, the confederates proposed that he should espouse Donna *Maria de Velasco*, the daughter of the count *de Haro*, which he accepted, and the marriage was soon after celebrated in the king's presence with great solemnity.<sup>f</sup> The prince Don *Ferdinand*, in the mean time, made a tour into his father's dominions, where he met with the cardinal Don *Roderic de Borgia*, legate from pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who presented him with a dispensation that was necessary to render his marriage valid; and the extraordinary honours that prince and his father rendered to the cardinal, attached him entirely to their interest, in the support of which he was afterwards very serviceable &c. At the same time Don *Ferdinand* acquainted the king Don *Juan* with the new scheme the grand master had formed of marrying Donna *Joanna* to Don *Henry* his nephew, to prevent which, his advice was to secure the person of Don *Henry*, which was in his power; but the king, who had always treated him as his son, could not be prevailed upon to take so harsh a step, as he persuaded himself that he would do nothing in an affair of such consequence without his consent, of which also he received the strongest assurances from Donna *Beatriz Pimentel*, his mother<sup>h</sup>. It appeared, however, from the event, that Don *Ferdinand* had formed a better judgment of the young man's disposition; for his thoughts were so elevated with the prospect of a crown, that he went privately into *Castile*, in order to complete the marriage. He was received there with all possible respect, and treated in so magnificent a manner, that he began to consider himself as the presumptive heir to the crown, and behaved himself with so much haughtiness towards the nobility, as lessened his interest with his friends; at the same time, that, by offering to decide all differences with Don *Ferdinand* in a single combat, and saying, rashly, that he would give the city of *Toledo* if his competitor would accept the challenge, he provoked the house of *Arragon* to an irreconcilable enmity. Before we conclude this year, it is necessary to observe, that, amongst other disturbances, there happened one at *Toledo*, which occasioned a great deal of blood to be spilt<sup>i</sup>.

A. D.  
1472.

<sup>f</sup> FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. FER. & ZURIT. Annal Arragon.  
<sup>h</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.  
<sup>i</sup> Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.

THE arrival of the pope's legate in *Castile* was very acceptable to the king, upon account of that deference and respect which had been always expressed towards him by the court of *Rome*; so that, at his first audience, he treated him with much kindness and esteem. But when the king and his ministers found that this cardinal was entirely in the interest of the princes, and that he approved the conduct of the archbishop of *Toledo*, they were much chagrined. He was suffered, however, to hold a general assembly of the clergy at *Segovia*, where he made many useful regulations, and obtained a subsidy for carrying on the war against the *Turks*, which was his principal business; and which, as soon as he had obtained, he returned into *Aragon*<sup>k</sup>. The seditions and disturbances in all parts of *Spain* were as frequent as ever. The nobility brought armies of several thousands into the field in their private quarrels; towns were sometimes taken by them after regular sieges, but more frequently they revolted or were surprized. In some places the people fell upon the *Jews* upon various pretences; but in many more places the new converts, or, as they are called in *Spain*, the new Christians, were exposed to the worst treatment imaginable, both in their persons and properties. In a sedition of this kind at *Jaen*, the constable Don *Michael Luc* was killed by a shot from a cross-bow, as he was hearing mass in the cathedral; with which, when the king was acquainted, he bestowed that high office upon the count *de Haro*, whose daughter the grand master had married<sup>l</sup>. The duke *de Medina Sidonia* and the marquis of *Cadiz* had made war against each other in *Andalusia* for some years, as if they had been independent princes; but the former, that he might have some colour of authority, thought fit to declare, about this time, for the prince Don *Ferdinand* and the Infanta Donna *Isabella*<sup>m</sup>. While things were in this state, Don *Henry* of *Aragon* expressed great impatience that the match was so long delayed; but the grand master, who perceived this young prince wanted a tutor more than the king, but was of a temper quite opposite to his, resolved to frustrate the match; in order to which, he told the king, that the only way to secure the crown to his daughter was to marry her to a crowned head; that the sending for Don *Henry*, contrary to his expectations, had strengthened the party of the princes, and that therefore the most prudent step he could take, was to delay the

Wars  
maintain-  
ed by pri-  
vate noble-  
men against  
each other.

<sup>k</sup> RAINALD. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.  
FERRERAS.  
de ALONSO de Palencia.

<sup>l</sup> MARIANA.  
<sup>m</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto,

marriage,

marriage, and, if possible, to renew the negotiation with the king of *Portugal*. Other kings were not more accustomed to command than Don *Henry* to obey; he therefore pacified Don *Henry* and his friends as well as he could, by promising them to propose the marriage in the next assembly of the states, which was to be held in a little time, and, during this interval, the grand master convinced his partizans that Don *Henry* was like to give them more trouble than Don *Ferdinand*, and that therefore they must find such a husband for Donna *Joanna* as, with their assistance, might be able to clear the kingdom of both; with which they were well enough satisfied \*.

THE treasures of the king Don *Henry*, which were still very *The grand* considerable, remained in the *Alcazar* at *Segovia*, of which he *master at-* had given the command to Don *Andres de Cabrera*, a very *tempts to* brave man, and his faithful servant. The grand master was very *surprize* desirous of having this place, which was indeed the best, if not *the castle* the only, thing the king had to give; but finding him *more of Segovia,* more tenacious in this respect than in any other, and not-being able to obtain more than half a promise, he resolved to supply the other half by force. He had observed that a great many of the inhabitants of *Segovia* were new Christians; his emissaries were employed to instigate the other inhabitants to fall upon them; and when this disturbance was at the greatest height, the grand master was to come in with a body of regular troops to the assistance of the old Christians, and so make himself master of the place. This scheme was very closely laid, and very briskly executed, but without effect; for *Cabrera* had taken care to arm all those new Christians, and, when the insurrection was highest, issued from the castle, with a numerous body of horse and foot; upon which the grand master retired, much disappointed, to *Escalona* \*. In the assembly of the states few things were regulated; and the king, having obtained a free-gift, gave himself little trouble about the marriage, notwithstanding that the count *de Benavente* had quarrelled with the grand master upon that head. The whole court, in the mean time, being very much alarmed at the great cities declaring gradually for the princes, this increase of danger made the favourite more and more uneasy about the fortress of *Segovia*; so that at length he teased the king into giving an order to Don *Andres de Cabrera* to put it into his hands; which being signified to that old officer, he answered, that his loyalty and affection to the king would not

\* ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. \* MARIAN. FERRERAS.

suffer him to comply with an order which it was not fit for the king to give P. Under this dilemma, the grand master prevailed upon the king to go in person to *Segovia*, and try to persuade Don *Andres de Cabrera* out of the fortress. The king went, and was received with all the duty and submission possible; but when Don *Andres*, and his wife, Donna *Beatrix de Bobadilla*, who had been long about the person of the Infanta *Isabella*, had him by this means to themselves, they very boldly laid before him the true state of his affairs. They told him, that Don *Juan de Pacheco* was a very little gentleman, till the breath of his majesty's favour had swelled him into a great lord; that he had repaid this favour with ingratitude; had displayed his colours in the field against his majesty's royal standard; had assisted in the ceremony when his majesty was deposed, and had placed his sceptre in the hands of the royal Infant; that he had offered the crown to the Infanta *Isabella*, to whose generous refusal his majesty owed the return of his favourite, and that he still wore that crown upon his head. They advised him, therefore, to disgrace a man who had so often sacrificed him to his interest, and to consent to a reconciliation with Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella*, which would restore a legal government to his subjects, and secure to his majesty the peaceable possession of his crown, which, otherwise, he could never expect. The king heard them without any token of displeasure, and at length seemed well enough pleased with the expedient. Donna *Beatrix* went to acquaint her mistress, in the disguise of a peasant; and the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, by the advice of the archbishop of *Toledo*, resolved to put herself upon the fidelity of *Cabrera*, and accordingly, on the 27th of *December*, she came to *Segovia*; upon the first news of which the marquis of *Villena*, son to the grand master, fled out of the town. The king saw her at his return from hunting, and behaved towards her with great civility and respect. He made her a visit the next afternoon in the *Alcazar*, and was so well pleased with her company, that he stayed and supped; the third day they walked together publicly in the streets; and, on the fourth, the king, having presented most of the nobility about him to his sister, obliged her to go out of the *Alcazar* on horseback at the head of them, himself on foot holding the bridle. Such was the strange temper of this

Reconciliation  
between the  
king and  
the Infanta  
Donna *Isabella*.

1473.

P Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. MARIANA. FERR. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

monarch,

monarch, and such an ascendancy over him had all who knew how to comply with his humours while they were about him.

THIS ample and unexpected reconciliation was speedily made known by the Infanta to her husband Don *Ferdinand*, whom she invited to *Ségovia*, and, by the advice of the lords who were about him, he went thither, and was well received by the king<sup>t</sup>. The lords who attended that monarch thought that a more public testimony of the perfect harmony that reigned amongst the royal family was requisite; and therefore the king, the Infant, and the Infanta, went publicly to the cathedral on the feast of the *Epiphany*; afterwards they dined together in public: but, towards evening, the king complained of a violent pain in his side, and was carried to his palace in a very feeble condition; upon which there wanted not many who said he was poisoned<sup>u</sup>. The prince Don *Ferdinand* and the Infanta Donna *Isabella* visited him every day, during his illness. In that space their friends solicited Don *Henry* to renew the declaration he had formerly made in favour of his sister as to the succession: but, tho' this was very artfully and assiduously managed, the king could never be brought to give any other than an evasive answer<sup>v</sup>. As soon as he began to recover, he resumed his private correspondence with the grand master, who had lately compromised all differences, and entered into a strict league with the duke of *Albuquerque* and the count of *Benavente*. The next thing he did was to contrive, as closely as possible, to send troops into the town, to hide them in the church towers, and to dispose every thing for surprising the princess, together with Don *Andrés Cabrera* and his wife Donna *Maria*, in the *Alcazar*. But Don *Andrés* perceiving some motions, easily guessed at the rest, and took his precautions so speedily and so effectually, that the grand master was forced to drop this project<sup>x</sup>. However, by the advice of the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, Don *Ferdinand* left *Ségovia*, under pretence of paying a visit to the amirante: as the archbishop of *Toledo* was the only member of the king's council who openly espoused the cause of the princess, he took it amiss that they seemed to have a greater confidence in cardinal *Mendoza*, who was also of the king's council, and of

<sup>t</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIANA. FERRERAS. <sup>u</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. <sup>v</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. <sup>x</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

their

their party, but secretly. The archbishop wrote his sentiments upon this to Don Juan king of Arragon, and, after expostulating the matter freely, desired to withdraw from their service. The king, and afterwards the princes, did all in their power to satisfy him; and Don Ferdinand, having a mind to see the Infanta, desired his opinion whether it was safe for him to come to Segovia; to which the prelate answered, he might be safe for three days, but not longer <sup>1</sup>. He went thither accordingly, retired at the time prescribed, and afterwards assisted the marquis de Santillan in taking Carrion from the count of Benavente, which, upon the interposition of the king, was done by treaty. About this time the ambassadors of the duke of Burgundy came to pay their respects to Don Ferdinand, and to invest him, by their master's command, with the order of the Golden Fleece: after receiving which he went to pay the Infanta another visit, but made a very short stay <sup>2</sup>. He not long after surprized Tordeillas, which was in the hands of one of the king's favourites, who used the people most cruelly: but tho' he took care to represent this to that monarch in the fullest light possible, Don Henry could not help shewing that he was extremely offended with that action, the news of which he received at Madrid; having left the Infanta at Segovia, to which place Don Ferdinand went for a little time, and then, the affairs of that kingdom requiring his presence, he set out for Arragon <sup>3</sup>.

It was the great object of the grand master's politics, and consequently of the king's, to keep the princes from the succession, from a very strong apprehension that the lofty structure of his greatness would quickly be demolished, if they were once seated on the throne. To prevent this, he judged two things absolutely necessary; first a great and well-conducted strength at home, and next a powerful foreign support. The shortest way to obtain the former appeared to be uniting in his own hands the three grand masterships: as that of Alcantara was then in dispute, he ordered his bastard son Don Alonso Pacheco to reduce, with a good body of troops, most of the places belonging to the order, and to take himself the title of grand master; not doubting that his favour with the king, and his money at Rome, would bear him out. To bring about the latter, he engaged the king in a hunting party towards the frontiers of Portugal, and, being now reconciled to

<sup>1</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

<sup>2</sup> MARIANA. FERRERAS.

<sup>3</sup> ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique, Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

the duke of *Albuquerque*, whose large estate, as well as his own, was derived from the prodigality of the king, he confided him to his care, while he went to press the *Portuguese* monarch to marry the Infanta Donna *Joanna*, which would have rendered his system complete. He managed this as he did every thing of the same kind, with great dexterity and address, and at length brought the king of *Portugal* to promise, that he would take the matter into his serious consideration, and accept the proposition, if he could dispose things so as to afford them a probability of success. When he made a report of this, at his return, to the king Don *Henry*, it did not afford him that satisfaction which he expected; for, finding his health daily decaying, he foresaw that he should not live to receive any benefit from the expedient. He resolved, however, to go to *Madrid*, the air of which was more favourable to him than that of any other place, and, at the pressing instance of his favourite, gave orders to the governor of *Truxillo* to surrender that place into his hands. This order was no sooner received, than the grand master marched with a body of forces to *Santa Cruz*, at a small distance from *Truxillo*, to enforce it; but, finding this method would be equally tedious and uncertain, he laboured to corrupt the governor, in which, at length, he succeeded. Yet, before the bargain was completed, he was suddenly attacked with a sharp pain in the throat, occasioned by an abscess, which quickly brought him, and all his great designs, to an end, on the 4th of *October*. Those who were about his person, and in his secrets, concealed his death till such time as *Truxillo* was surrendered, and then his body was transferred to *Segovia*, and buried there, pursuant to the directions he had given in his illness <sup>b</sup>.

*Death of  
the grand  
master.*

THE news of the grand master's death gave infinitely more disquiet to the king than to any of his subjects: to shew that he not only lived but died in the full possession of his favour, he replaced him immediately by Don *Diego Lopez Pacheco*, marquis de *Villena*, his eldest son, whom he confirmed in the possession of all his father's estates, and requested of the pope a bull that might invest him likewise with the dignity of grand master of *St. James* <sup>c</sup>. But as there were other noblemen who were ambitious of that high dignity, they pressed the knights to hold a chapter immediately, in order to secure to themselves a free election. This, however, was attended

<sup>b</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

<sup>c</sup> *Chronica de los Reys Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar.* FERRERAS.

with

with an unexpected inconveniency ; the knights of the province of *Castile* met at *Tarrancon*, and chose Don *Roderic Manrique*, count of *Paredes*, while those of the province of *Leon* assembled likewise, and chose Don *Alonso de Cardenas* <sup>d</sup>. The marquis de *Villena* applied himself to the count de *Ossorno*, brother to Don *Roderic Manrique*, in hopes of bringing him to a treaty ; and, going to make him a visit, the count took care to be out of the way ; but having given proper instructions to the countess, she caused the marquis to be arrested. This outrage was highly resented by the king, who, by the advice of the archbishop of *Toledo*, caused the fortress in which he was detained to be immediately invested, and, in a short time, the marquis was released upon a treaty, by which he obliged himself to deliver a place which his father had formerly promised to the count de *Ossorno*, but which, notwithstanding, he could never be brought to surrender <sup>e</sup>. The recovery of his favourite's liberty was the last considerable action of the king's life ; for, very soon after his return to *Madrid*, the physicians who attended the king declared, that, from the rigour of the season, the gradual diminution of the king's strength, and the return of his vomitings and pain in the side, he could not last long ; and that therefore they would do well to put him in mind of departing this world in a manner suitable to his rank as a king, and his hopes as a Christian. Cardinal *Mendoza*, the count de *Benavente*, and the marquis de *Villena*, went accordingly to carry this melancholy piece of news ; and the king, having called for the prayer of St. *Jerom*, confessed, and received the sacrament. The prior then asked him whom he declared heir to the crown, who were the executors of his testament, and where he desired to be interred. The king answered, that the Infanta Donna *Joanna* was his sole heir ; that the executors named in his will were cardinal *Mendoza*, the counts of *Placentia* and *Benavente*, and the marquis de *Villena* ; and that he desired his remains should be deposited near those of his mother, in the convent of *Guadalupe*. He fell soon after into an agony, and expired in the middle of the night of the twelfth of *December*. His body was deposited in the convent of St. *Jerom*, at *Madrid*, where his obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, and afterwards cardinal *Mendoza* caused his body to be transported to *Guadalupe*, where, in gratitude for the favours he had received from him, he caused a magnificent monu-

*The king  
dies at  
Madrid.*

<sup>d</sup> Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Placentia,

<sup>e</sup> MARIAN. FERRERAS.

ment



ment to be raised, on the right hand of the high altar, to the memory of that prince, at his own expence<sup>f</sup>.

THUS died *Henry* the fourth, king of *Castile* and *Leon*, with all the dependencies on those crowns, after sitting many years on the throne, without having ever ruled. The *Spanish* writers say, that he was pious and religious, which must be understood of exterior acts of devotion; for his behaviour towards his father, and that indolence and want of application which rendered him contemptible while he wore the crown, were surely no testimonies either of piety or religion. He made the fortunes of a few of his minions, while he ruined those of his subjects: he was not, perhaps, cruel in his nature, and yet he caused rivers of blood to be shed through his indiscretion. It may be, he wished to make a better king; but history has recorded no proofs of his having endeavoured it. He wanted firmness in opposing his brother's usurpation; he wanted gratitude to his sister, who refused a crown, that he might wear it; he wanted spirit, justice, and common sense, in preferring *Donna Joanna* to the *Infanta Isabella*, if he was conscious of his own impotence, as the *Spanish* writers affirm. But in this we agree with *Ferreras*, that if, in the reigns of his predecessors, kings may discover what qualities they ought to acquire, and what methods they must take, to render their subjects happy, and themselves beloved, this reign alone will be a sufficient mirror for them to contemplate whatever they ought to decline or despise. These reflections are due to justice and to truth, and with these we shall conclude a period, fertile in great and glorious events, though, from the errors of this weak and unhappy prince, it ended meanly; for which, however, the splendour of the ensuing reign made full amends.

<sup>f</sup> *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. ZURITA. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. MARIAN. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.*

S E C T.

## S E C T. VIII.

*A general Description of the Kingdom of Arragon, its Situation, Extent, Produce, and Inhabitants; &c.*

*The great power and extensive dominions of the crown of Arragon at the time of its union with Castile.*

THE method we have hitherto pursued of treating the kingdoms erected in *Spain*, after the expulsion of the *Moors*, separately, obliges us, in this section, to give the reader as clear and as concise an account as it is possible of the kingdom of *Arragon*, which, in consequence of the marriage of *Don Ferdinand* king of *Sicily*, heir, and afterwards king, of *Arragon*, became united to the crowns of *Castile* and *Leon*, and the great dominions annexed to them, by the courage and conduct of the monarchs who had governed those realms. At the time this union was made, *Arragon* was one of the most potent sovereignties in *Europe*, and little, if at all, inferior to *Castile*; for, besides the principality of *Catalonia*, and the kingdom of *Valentia*, which had been long united to this crown, the kingdom of *Navarre* belonged to it likewise (in what manner will be hereafter explained), together with the kingdom of *Majorca*, including that island and *Minorca*, and those dependant upon them, as also the kingdom of *Sicily*<sup>a</sup>. So that, in point of territory, of commerce, and maritime power, it was, as we have said, very considerable. Some have carried this so far as to assert, that, till this union, the monarchy of *Spain* was hardly known beyond the limits of the mountains and seas by which it was bounded<sup>b</sup>; which, however, is carrying things much too far; since, as we have already seen, the monarchies both of *Castile* and *Arragon* had a very apparent influence on the affairs of *Europe*; and therefore those who say this, seem rather to reflect on the ignorance of their own nations, than on the crowns for which they express so unjust a contempt<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> CLUVER. *Introduct. Geograph. lib. ii. cap. v.* LUXT *Introduct. ad Geograph. sect. ii. cap. viii.* *Geographie Moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, part i. chap. iii. art. xiii.* <sup>b</sup> THUAN. *Hist. sui Temporis.* HEYLIN'S *Geography, book i.* <sup>c</sup> MARIAN. FERRERAS. *Abbé DE VAYRAC, &c.*

THE kingdom of *Arragon*, properly so called, is bounded *A general description of the kingdom of Arragon, its situation, extent, and produce.* on the north by the *Pyrenean* mountains, on the west by the kingdoms of *Navarre*, *Old* and part of *New Castile*, on the south by the kingdom of *Valentia*, and on the east by part of the same kingdom, and the principality of *Catalonia*. In antient times it was inhabited by the *Celtiberians*, the *Jacetans*, and the *Sedetans*<sup>a</sup>. In length, from north to south, it contains about fourscore leagues, and its greatest breadth is about fifty. The common opinion is, that it derives its name from the river *Arragon*; but whoever considers the smallness of that river, in comparison of several others, but more especially with the *Ebro*, or, as the ancients called it, *Iberus*, will scarce be satisfied with that account, and perhaps will think it more probable, that the denomination of *Arragon* arose from the corruption of *Tarracoenfis*, the name of the *Roman* province, by striking off the first letter<sup>c</sup>. Besides the great river, that is, the *Ebro*, which runs from north-west to south-east, and divides this country almost into two equal parts, it is watered by some other streams that are pretty considerable; such as, on the north of the *Ebro*, the *Cirea*, antiently *Cinga*, the *Gallego*, antiently *Gallicus*, and the *Isuela*; on the south side of that great river, the *Xalon*, antiently *Salo*, and the *Xileca*. We may add to these some that are still less, such as the *Arragon*, *Riguelo*, *Guerva*, *Rio de Aguas*, *Rio Martin*, *Guadalo*, *Guadalaviar*, and the *Alhambra*<sup>f</sup>. But, after all, this country, if we take it in general, is but dry and barren, the soil generally sandy, and, where it is not mountainous and stony, in some parts it is very nitrous, and every-where naturally hard and dry. In the vallies, however, where they have the advantage of rivers or rivulets, and in the plains where the want of these can be supplied by canals, it is very pleasant, and tolerably fertile, producing corn, wine, oil, flax, fruits of different sorts, and in some places saffron<sup>g</sup>. The mountainous country is at present as wild and desert as can be imagined, and consequently useless and poor. It was not, however, always in this condition; for, in antient times, these mountains, that are now so despicable, were rich in gold and silver mines, and it is more than probable may be so still; but here, as in other parts of *Spain*, industry is extinct.

<sup>a</sup> CELLAR. Geograph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 1. CLUVER. Introduct. Geograph. lib. ii. cap. 5. LUYTS Introduct. ad Geograph. sect. ii. c. 8. Geograph. Moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, part i. c. 3. art. xiii. Etat present de l'Espagne, liv. i. <sup>c</sup> ANTON. NEBRIX. JOAN. VASÆI Annal. <sup>f</sup> CLUVER. LUYTS. DU BOIS. <sup>g</sup> Etat present de l'Espagne, liv. i. Tour thro' Spain and Portugal by UDALAP RAYS, p. 236.

*The genius and dispositions of the antient inhabitants, and the reasons why, in a long course of time, they were so little changed.*

WE have already observed that the principal inhabitants of this country, in antient times, were the *Celtiberians*; but concerning the origin of this nation, the most learned authors are very much divided <sup>b</sup>. Some say that the *Celtes* from *Gaul*, having settled on the other side of the *Iberus*, joined the name of that river to their own, and called themselves, or were called by others, *Celtiberians* <sup>i</sup>. But it is at least equally probable that the *Celtæ* were seated on the north, and the *Iberians* on the south, side; and we are told that, after they had for many years wasted each other by obstinate and bloody wars, they at length concluded a peace, and very wisely contrived, in order to render it more lasting, to blend both nations into one by continual intermarriages; and from thence the *Celtes* and *Iberians*, being both lost, this new nation was stiled *Celtiberians* <sup>k</sup>. This seems to be the account hinted at by the poet *Lucan*, who might be well supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with its antiquity, being himself a native of this country. We have been the more particular with respect to this nation, because they were always famous for a kind of supercilious haughtiness, that made them look upon their neighbours with an eye of contempt, which, whatever disadvantages it might be attended with, kept them pure and unmixed; so that their characters answered, for many ages, very exactly to what was recorded of them by the *Latin* writers <sup>l</sup>. They were active, hardy, enterprizing, enthusiastically fond of liberty, very magnificent, but withal very industrious. *Marcellus*, after a short war, taxed them at six hundred talents of gold <sup>m</sup>. These dispositions were little, if at all, altered by their falling under the dominion of the *Goths*, from whom they sometimes revolted, and with whom they had continual struggles for the preservation of their liberties, which never any nation better deserved, since they were never by any nation either longer or better defended <sup>n</sup>.

*In what manner the people of Arragon provided for the preservation of their reli-*

WE may, therefore, justly presume, that when the rest of *Spain* was overborne by that dreadful inundation of *Moors*, these generous people retired in great numbers into their mountains and other inaccessible places, where they might enjoy that freedom which was to them felicity <sup>o</sup>. It is also not at all improbable, that the districts which are still distinguished by the name of the county of *Arragon*, the principality of *Sobrarbe*, and the county of *Ribagorça*, of which we shall

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. Geograph. lib. iii. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. PTOLEM. Geogr. lib. ii. <sup>i</sup> LUCAN. <sup>k</sup> APPIAN in Ibericis.

<sup>l</sup> Epist. LIV. lib. xlviii. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. APPIAN in Ibericis. <sup>m</sup> ZURIT. ABARCA. MORET. <sup>n</sup> MARIAN. FER.

<sup>o</sup> ZURIT. Indic. Ref. ab. Arragon. Reg. gest. lib. i.

take occasion to speak more particularly, were the countries *gion and* to which these brave men retired, and in which, for their own *liberties on* security, they, by common consent, erected such a form of *the irrup-* government, as least diminished their freedom <sup>*tion of the*</sup>. But to en- <sup>*Moors.*</sup>ter into the long and intricate dispute, which has embarrassed the most judicious *Spanish* antiquaries, whether the kings of *Sobrarve* were more ancient than those of *Navarre*, would be fatiguing our readers and ourselves to very little purpose; and, if it is to be discussed at all, it belongs more properly to the history of *Navarre*, where we shall take occasion to resume it<sup>1</sup>. At present it shall suffice to say, that, however this controversy may be determined, it is generally allowed that *Don Sancho the Great*, king of *Navarre*, was also count or earl of *Arragon*, in his own right, and master also of the other two little countries, now esteemed but provinces of this kingdom, as he became afterwards earl of *Castile* by succession; and consequently was the sole sovereign of what the Christians possessed in *Spain*, the kingdom of *Leon* and the earldom of *Barcelona* only excepted<sup>2</sup>. He it was who, by dividing his dominions amongst his four sons, erected three new kingdoms; of one of which, that is, *Castile*, we have already given the reader a long history: our present business is to gratify his curiosity in the like manner with respect to the other two, and this as succinctly as perspicuity will allow.

WE have elsewhere shewn that this potent prince died in the month of *February*, 1035; and we have likewise mentioned *Arragon* the fable of his eldest son's charging the queen his mother *erected into* with adultery, and of the spirit with which his natural son vin- *a kingdom* dicated her innocence<sup>3</sup>. Without recapitulating, therefore, *in favour* these tales, which have been so fully refuted<sup>4</sup>, let us proceed *of his son* to facts that admit of no dispute. The kingdom of *Navarre*, *Don Ra-* with the principality of *Biscay*, and the province of *Rioja*, he *miro, by* left to his eldest son *Don Garcia*; to *Don Ferdinand* he gave *Don San-* the county of *Castile*, which he erected into a kingdom; to *cho the* *Goncales* he gave the counties of *Sobrarve* and *Ribagorça*, with *Great,* the regal title also<sup>5</sup>. These three were his children by *king of* *Donna Munia Major*, daughter to the count of *Castile*: but, be- *Navarre.* sides these, he had another son by a mistress of his, as most writers say, tho' a learned writer of the history of *Navarre* has, with great warmth, vindicated his legitimacy. The name of this son was *Don Ramiro*, and upon him he bestowed

<sup>1</sup> HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. rerum Comment. <sup>2</sup> Etat present de l'Espagne, liv. i. <sup>3</sup> MARIAN. ZURIT. MORET. <sup>4</sup> Historia general de Espana. por MAR. lib. viii. <sup>5</sup> P. MORET Investigaciones de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra, lib. viii. <sup>6</sup> MONACH SILON. PET. MARSIL. FERRERAS.

*Arragon*, of which country, if he was not the first independent prince, he was, undoubtedly, the first king<sup>w</sup>. But, before we proceed to the history of him and his successors, it will be necessary to shew precisely, or at least as exactly as we can, what the territories were, which he and his brother Don *Gonzales* possessed, in virtue of their father's will<sup>x</sup>.

WHAT now assumed the name of the kingdom<sup>y</sup>, must have been, in fact, a country very little, if at all, more extensive, than that which now bears the title of the county of *Arragon*<sup>z</sup>, having the *Pyrenean* mountains on the north, the kingdom of *Navarre* on the west, the territories of the little *Moorish* prince of *Huesca* on the south, and the country of *Sobrarva* on the east<sup>a</sup>. In this little tract there are several fruitful and pleasant vallies, which were, in those days, thoroughly peopled, and exceedingly well cultivated. The city of *Jaca* was its capital, seated very pleasantly on the river *Arragon*, in the midst of a small plain, at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, abounding with corn and fruits, famous for its sheep pastures, and plentifully stocked with wild fowl<sup>b</sup>; a place of great antiquity, and celebrated in those earlier ages for being the capital of the *Jaccitani*<sup>c</sup>. It is for want of this distinction between the bounds of the kingdom of *Arragon*, at the time of its first erection, and those under which it is now comprehended, that many, indeed most, of the histories of that crown are, in a manner, unintelligible, more especially to strangers. But when we remember that the kingdom given to Don *Ramiro* was not above an eighth part of what we now call *Arragon*, the subsequent narration will be, in all respects, consistent and perspicuous.

THE country of *Sobrarva* lies east from the kingdom of *Arragon*, as we have just now defined it, having the *Pyrenees* on the north, the country of *Ribagorça* on the east, and the territories of some *Moorish* princes to the south<sup>d</sup>. The capital is the town of *Anisa*, upon the river *Ara*, not far from the angle which it makes in falling into the *Cinca*<sup>e</sup>. The country of *Ribagorça* has the *Pyrenees* on the north, *Sobrarva* on the west, the territory of the *Moorish* prince of *Huesca* on the south, and *Catalonia* on the east, from which it is divided

<sup>w</sup> Los Reyes de Arragon en Anales Historicos distribuidos por PEDRO ABARCA, l. i. <sup>x</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part i.

<sup>y</sup> ZURIT. ABARC. MAR. &C.

<sup>z</sup> Delices de l'Espagne par Don JUAN ALVAREZ de Colemanar, p. 666.

<sup>a</sup> CLUVER. LUYTS. DU FOIS.

<sup>b</sup> Delices de l'Espagne, p. 666.

<sup>c</sup> STRABO Geog. l. iii. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. P. DE MARCA, M. H. lib. ii.

<sup>d</sup> CLUVER. LUYTS. DU BOIS.

<sup>e</sup> Delices de l'Espagne.

by a river called *Noguera Ribagorzana*: the whole territory is about fifteen leagues in length, and six in breadth, composed of many rugged mountains, and some few pleasant valleys <sup>f</sup>. These countries taken together, and which were not either much bigger or less than the kingdom of *Arragon*, formed the new kingdom that was now erected in favour of *Don Goncales* <sup>g</sup>.

*DON Ramiro*, the year after he was settled in the kingdom *Don Ramiro* of *Arragon*, espoused *Gisberga*, or *Ermisenda*, for we find her <sup>miro</sup> called by both names by cotemporary writers, the daughter of *Bernardo Rogerio*, count of *Vigorra*; a princess much celebrated for her beauty. About two years after, *Don Goncales* <sup>espouses</sup> *Gisberga*, passing over the bridge of *Monclus*, as he was hunting, was <sup>daughter</sup> of the count assassinated by a domestic of his, whose name was *Ramonet*, of *Vigorra*. <sup>1036.</sup> who struck him to the heart with his javelin, but for what cause we no where find <sup>i</sup>. As he died without issue, the people thought fit to proclaim *Don Ramiro*, who, by this means, added the countries of *Sobrarva* and *Ribagorza* to his own, so that now he was master of half that part of the kingdom of *Arragon* which lies on the north of the *Ebro*. By this accession of territory he was become so formidable, that, for fear of a rupture with him, the *Moorish* princes of *Saragossa*, *Huesca*, and *Tudela*, paid him each of them an annual pension, by way of tribute; and the first of these princes consented, at his request, to the establishment of a bishop in his capital, to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of his Christian subjects <sup>k</sup>. This success had, as it too often happens, a bad effect on the mind of this prince; who, forgetting the ties of blood, and the respect due to justice, made, in conjunction with the Infidel monarchs before-mentioned, an irruption into the territories of his brother, *Don Garcia* king of *Navarre*, and laid <sup>Don Garcia king of</sup> siege to the town of *Tafalla*. The inhabitants of that place making a gallant defence, gave the king *Don Garcia* time to assemble his troops, with whom, in the midst of a dark night, he fell upon his enemies so unexpectedly, and with such vigour, that the best part of their forces were cut in pieces, *Don Ramiro* himself narrowly escaping upon a horse without bridle or saddle <sup>l</sup>. *Don Garcia*, pursuing his blow, entered the kingdom of *Arragon* with an army, and reducing a great part of the country, forced his brother to retire into the mountains of *Sobrarva*. On his submission, however, and the interpo-

<sup>f</sup> *Geographie Moderne*, par Du Bois, part i. chap. 3. art. xiii.  
<sup>g</sup> *HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonenf. Rerum Comment.* <sup>h</sup> *Chron.*  
*MONACH. PENNAT.* <sup>k</sup> *ROD. TOLET. rer. Hispan.* *LUCÆ*  
*Tudenfis. FERRERAS.* <sup>i</sup> *RODERIC TOLET. rer. Hispan.*  
*LUCÆ Tudenfis. MAR.*

A. D.  
1057.

sition of some of the clergy, Don *Garcia* consented to a peace, and restored the places he had taken <sup>m</sup>. This harmony subsisted between them during the remainder of their lives; and the great power of Don *Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, being equally formidable to Don *Ramiro* of *Arragon* and to Don *Sancho* the son and successor of Don *Garcia*, in the kingdom of *Navarre*, they concluded a defensive alliance, for their mutual security <sup>n</sup>. About two years after, the king of *Arragon*, being advanced in years, having first settled the affairs of his kingdom and family by his will, made war upon the Infidels, from a principle of devotion, and took from them the town of *Loharia*, which lies about four leagues from *Huesca* <sup>o</sup>.

1060.

The very next year he held the famous assembly of *Jacca*, at which assisted several prelates from the Christian states in this neighbourhood, in which assembly *Jacca* was made a bishop's see, and endowed with very considerable revenues. The king established very strict ecclesiastical discipline throughout his dominions, and, as far as he was able, bound his successors to maintain and support what at this time was established <sup>p</sup>.

1063.

Three years after, finding the king of *Castile* engaged in a war with the *Moors*, he judged it a favourable opportunity to fall upon them likewise; upon which, with a formidable army, he laid siege to *Grao*, which belonged to the king of *Saragossa*. This obliged the *Moorish* prince to demand the protection of the king of *Castile*, to whom he had been for some time tributary. Don *Ferdinand* was at that time in the southern parts of his dominions; but his son Don *Sancho*, at the head of a small body of chosen troops, having the famous *Cid* for his lieutenant, came to the assistance of the *Moors*; and, having surprized the army of *Arragon*, defeated it entirely, made a great number of prisoners, and a dreadful slaughter, the king himself being among the number of the slain <sup>q</sup>. This was the end of Don *Ramiro*, on whom, some say, pope *Gregory* the seventh conferred the title of *Most Christian* <sup>r</sup>, when he had governed his realm twenty-eight years. His body was interred in the monastery of *St. Juan de la Pena*; and he left behind him two sons, Don *Sancho* and Don *Garcia*, and two daughters, Donna *Sancha* and Donna *Theresa*. He had also a natural son Don *Sancho*, to whom he gave the county of *Ribagerca*, but he died without issue <sup>s</sup>.

*Is slain in  
a battle  
with the  
king of  
Castile.*

<sup>m</sup> RODERIC TOLET. rerum Hispan. lib. iii. LUCÆ Tud.  
<sup>n</sup> MONACH PENNAT. <sup>o</sup> Chron. antiq. de rebus Arragon.  
<sup>p</sup> Chron. MONACH. PENNAT. <sup>q</sup> ZURIT. ABARCA. MA-  
 RIAN. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. <sup>r</sup> HIERON.  
 BLANCÆ Arragonens. Commentarii. <sup>s</sup> ZURIT. BLANCA.  
 ABARCA. MAR. FER.



DON *Sancho Ramirez* succeeded his father, with the general acclamations of his subjects. We are told by *Mariana* by his son that he was eighteen years old at the time of his accession, which he places near five years too late, and consequently he could have been but thirteen at the time of his father's demise: but, as he married that very year, this must appear improbable; and, if what a learned historian asserts be true, it is utterly impossible. He says that this was not his first marriage; but that the name of the lady, whose death made way for the prince's he now espoused, was Donna *Beatrix*, whereas she to whom he was married in the first year of his reign was Donna *Felicia*, daughter to *Hilduin* count *de Robey*, though many of the *Spanish* historians say she was the daughter of the count of *Urgel*, which very possibly may arise from his first wife's being the daughter of that count; for of this marriage they take no notice. It is also said, that he abrogated the old *Gothic* code of laws, and introduced those of the empire, which, however, is not very certain. He was a prince of great parts, as well as of a martial disposition; and therefore, having provided for the domestic security of his kingdom, in conjunction with the count of *Urgel*, he undertook an expedition against the *Moors*; in which that count, having gained two victories, was slain. The king *Don Sancho* was, who carried at that time, before the town of *Balbastro*, a place of importance, situated on the little river *Vero*, not far from its confluence with the *Cinca*, the territory of which, being well watered, is very fruitful, in olive trees especially, of which they make very good oil, and in pretty large quantities. The *Moors* made a long and brave defence, but at length the place surrendered, and the king caused it to be strongly fortified, making it also a bishop's see, by transferring the episcopal chair from *Rhoda*. Some years after he would have turned his arms against the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa*; but, when he was ready to take the field, that prince very wisely put himself under the protection of *Don Sancho* king of *Navarre*, in respect to whom the king of *Arragon* dropped his design for that time. Upon the assassination of this good prince, his brother *Don Raymond*, about three years after, at the intercession of the greatest part of his subjects, called *Don Sancho* of *Arragon* to the throne of *Navarre*, tho', at the same time, there was a strong party formed, as hath been already shewn in another place, in favour of the king of *Castile* and *Leon*, which, it was feared, would have produced a war between the *Navarre*.

1066.  
against the  
Moors.

1076.

Makes ac-  
quisition of  
part of the  
kingdom of

\* *Chron. Monach. Pennat. Zurit. Abarc.*

*Blancæ Arragonens. Commentarii.*

*Marian.*

\* *Hier.*

\* *Zurit. Abarc.*

\* *Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon.*

two crowns; but by the great prudence and moderation of Don Sancho of Arragon, it was prevented, and he was left in the quiet possession of that part of *Navarre* that lay on the same side of the river *Ebro* with his own hereditary dominions <sup>1</sup>. At this juncture pope *Gregory* was extremely pressing upon both monarchs to acknowledge themselves feudatories of the holy see; to which end he employed a person of great capacity as his legate, but with no effect: for, being born kings, they could not be brought to become subjects <sup>2</sup>. His power being now much augmented, it was not long before he took several places from the *Moors* of *Saragossa* and *Huesca*, who applied themselves thereupon to all their neighbours, representing it as a religious war, by which they were soon enabled to assemble a numerous army, and to offer Don Sancho battle, which he did not decline; and, having gained a complete victory, contented himself with securing the places he had taken, by which he extended and strengthened his frontier <sup>3</sup>. The next year he took the field again, besieged the town of *Bohea*, and took it by assault. In the summer following he took *Grao*, and repeopled and fortified several places on the confines; to prevent which, the *Moors* ventured another battle at *Piedro Pisida*, in which they were again defeated, and the king Don Sancho left at liberty to accomplish all he had undertaken <sup>4</sup>.

1083. His  
exploits  
against  
the Moors.

1084.

1085.

1092.

As soon as he had perfected his barrier in such a manner as to cover his country from the insults of the Infidels, he began to think of acting again offensively. While he meditated this irruption, the queen Donna *Felicia* died, on the 24th of *April*, which, however did not hinder the king's taking the field and investing *Moncon*, a place very strong both by art and nature, situated on the slope of a hill, and commanding a considerable district round it <sup>5</sup>. The enterprize was difficult: but, being conducted with courage and caution, the king at length became master of it, and rendered it one of the principal fortresses in his territories. These facts, however, shew us plainly, that those authors are probably in the wrong who affirm that he was present this year at the taking of *Toledo*. After allowing his subjects some years of repose, and causing several places to be repaired in *Navarre*, he once more assembled a puissant army, with a design to make a complete conquest of the little principality of *Huesca*; but the *Moors*, discerning his superiority, offered to become

<sup>1</sup> ZURIT. ABARC. FER.

ragon. FER.

FER.

mentarii.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. antiq. de reb. Ar.

<sup>3</sup> ZURIT. ABARC. MAYERNE TURQUET.

<sup>4</sup> HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonensium Rerum Com-

<sup>5</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

his

his vassals, and to pay him a large annual tribute, which he accepted, resolving to turn his arms against *Saragossa* <sup>c</sup>. It was with this view that he caused a strong place, to which he gave the name of *Castellar*, to be erected on the frontier, as near as possible to that city, by which it was, in a manner, always blocked up, and which might at any time be converted into a place of arms, as soon as he found himself strong enough to besiege that important place. As this had a very good effect, he proceeded soon after to take the same method in regard to *Huesca*, which quickly created some disturbances, and these furnished the occasion which he sought of declaring war <sup>f</sup>. His mind being extremely set upon this conquest, it is said that he sent his son *Don Ramiro* into *France*, to take the habit of St. *Benedict*, in hopes this might procure him the Divine assistance in this great and hazardous enterprize <sup>g</sup>. The prince of *Huesca*, being thoroughly apprized of his design, had put the place into an excellent state of defence, raised very large magazines, and drawn numbers of brave men from different parts of *Spain*, to augment his garrison, and had besides a considerable body of auxiliaries from his neighbour of *Saragossa*. This did not hinder *Don Sancho* from executing his design; and sitting down before the city, with a very numerous and well appointed army, he carried on the siege with such vigour, that the place had stood more than one assault, when, in bringing up a body of troops that had been repulsed, the king was, as he extended his arm in giving orders, mortally wounded by an arrow from the wall. Being <sup>Is mortal-</sup>carried to his tent, he expired, as some say, on the first of <sup>ly wound-</sup>June <sup>h</sup>, or, as others assert, on the fourth of that month <sup>i</sup>, in <sup>ed at the</sup>the year of our Lord one thousand and ninety-four, and in <sup>siege of</sup>the thirty-second year of his reign, leaving behind him three <sup>Huesca.</sup>sons, *Don Pedro*, *Don Alonso*, and *Don Ramiro*. The two eldest were with him in the camp; and, before he died, he caused them to be sworn in his presence, never to abandon the design of reducing *Huesca*, which he looked upon as the first step towards driving the *Moors* out of that part of *Spain* <sup>k</sup>.

THE Infant *Don Pedro* was immediately proclaimed king <sup>1094.</sup>by the army; and, having caused his father's body to be re- <sup>Don Pedro</sup>moved to the monastery of *Jesus of Nazareth*, at *Mont Arra-* <sup>proclaimed</sup>*gon*, he turned the siege into a blockade, posting a strong body <sup>king.</sup>of troops in the castle of *Luna*, which the king his father had

<sup>c</sup> ZURIT. MONACH. PENNAT.

<sup>f</sup> HIERON. BLANCÆ.

<sup>g</sup> ZURIT. MONACH. PENNAT.

<sup>h</sup> ROD. TOLET. de reb.

Hispan.

<sup>i</sup> Annal Compstel.

HIERONYMI BLANCÆ.

<sup>k</sup> ZURIT. MARIAN. FER.

built in a very proper situation for that purpose<sup>1</sup>. We are told by some writers, that Don *Pedro* bore the title of king of *Sabrarva* before his father's death; and that, having espoused a lady whose name was *Bearta*, he had by her a son of his own name, and a daughter Donna *Isabella*<sup>m</sup>. He was in the prime of his life, and not at all inferior to his father either in conduct or in courage; and therefore he laboured assiduously, though with as little stir as possible, to draw together an army numerous enough to return to the siege. *Abdaramen* the *Moorish* chief of *Huesca*, suspecting this, repaired his fortifications, and sent to all his neighbours and allies to demand assistance; assuring them that he was but the first sacrifice, and that all the little princes of the *Moors* were in danger of being gradually destroyed; he likewise sent to the king of *Castile*, putting him in mind that, as he paid him an annual tribute, it was but just that he should protect him in the day of his distress. That monarch did not refuse him, but sent a considerable corps, under the command of Don *Garcia* count de *Najera*, and *Albocamen* king of *Saragossa* marched with almost all the troops he had, to his relief<sup>n</sup>. Don *Pedro* of *Arragon*, perceiving the enemy in full march towards him, resolved to leave but a small body before the place, and to advance with the rest of his army into the plain of *Alcaraz*, that the *Moors* might see he had no inclination to decline fighting. Both sides, therefore, being much in earnest, they came to a decisive engagement on the 28th of *November*, in which, though the *Moors* and their auxiliaries did all that could be expected from men of determined courage, yet, after a very obstinate dispute, which lasted many hours, they were totally defeated, with the loss of forty thousand men killed, and the count Don *Garcia*, and most of the forces he commanded, were made prisoners. This was, certainly, one of the most important and most signal victories obtained over the Infidels, and, according to the humour of those times, it was ascribed to St. *George*, the patron of *Arragon*, who was reported to have fought in the first ranks, mounted on a white horse, having on his left arm a broad shield with a bloody cross; whence, though it is not very clear when they were assumed, the arms of *Arragon* are said to have been taken; viz. On a field, argent, a cross of St. *George*, gules, with four *Moors* heads proper<sup>o</sup>. As the price of this victory *Huesca* was surrendered

Defeats  
the Moors  
in the  
plain of  
Alcaraz.

<sup>1</sup> ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan. Chron. MONACH. Annal Compost. <sup>m</sup> Ibidem ibid. <sup>n</sup> ROD. TOL. Hist. Arabum. Luc. Tudensis Chron. <sup>o</sup> Diploma Reg. Arragon. Annal Complut. MAR. Historia general de España. lib. x.

on the 15th, and the great mosque, being cleansed and purified, was consecrated on the 17th of *December*, when the bishop of *Jacca* took possession of it <sup>P.</sup> This city, which stands on the bank of the river *Isuela*, at the distance of thirty leagues north-east from *Saragossa*, is, after that, the fairest and finest in *Arragon*, situate in a fertile plain, well cultivated, and producing the best wine that is made in this country; and the remains of its old fortifications, which are still preserved, shew, that, at the time it fell into the hands of the Christians, its walls were flanked with ninety-nine towers. After this happy success, the king caused his father's body to be carried to the royal monastery of *St. Juan de la Pena*, and to be interred near the body of his consort *Donna Felicia*, under a stately tomb <sup>q.</sup>

THE settling things in the territory of such an important conquest took up some time. This once accomplished, we find the active and victorious prince in the field again, sweeping several places of less consequence from the *Moors*, and at length depriving them of the castle of *Calesans*, after a very stubborn defence, which gave him an opportunity of extending his dominions, and securing his frontiers <sup>r.</sup> He also applied himself to pope *Paschal* the second, in order to obtain a bull for transferring the see of *Rhoda* to *Balbastro*, which was his father's conquest, though most of the historians of this kingdom ascribe it also to him; in which, if there be any truth, the *Moors* must have surprized it again, of which there is not the least hint to be found <sup>s.</sup> After this the king *Don Pedro* seems to have applied himself chiefly to the arts of peace, and to the establishing and improving that extent of country, which, by the blessing of Providence on his own and his predecessor's arms, had been recovered from the Infidels: but the satisfaction he enjoyed from those princely labours was sadly interrupted by the loss of both his children, in the month of *August*, which, partly through grief, and partly through disease, brought himself to the grave, on the 28th of *September*, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and four, in the eleventh year of his reign. His body was interred near those of his father and mother, in the monastery of *St. Juan de la Pena* <sup>t.</sup>

<sup>P</sup> Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. P. MORET Investigaciones Historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra. ABARC. FER. <sup>q</sup> ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan. ZURIT. <sup>r</sup> Annal Complut. Annal Toletan. <sup>s</sup> Chron. var. antiq. HIERONYM. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. <sup>t</sup> MONACH. PENNAT.

His brother  
Don  
Alonso  
succeeds to  
the throne.

1109.  
Marries  
Donna  
Urraca  
daughter  
to the em-  
peror of  
the Spains.

1110.

1111.

He was succeeded in the kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* by his brother *Don Alonso*\*, who, by the active display of his martial virtues, obtained the surname of *il Guerrero*; that is, *the warrior*. He was esteemed, at the time of his accession, one of the handsomest and bravest princes of his time, which induced *Don Alonso* the sixth of *Castile*, who had caused himself to be solemnly crowned emperor of the *Spains*, to cast his eyes upon him, for the second husband of his daughter and heiress *Donna Urraca*, which took place in the second year of his reign<sup>w</sup>; and, considering himself as the successor of that prince, in right of his wife, he stiled himself *Alonso* the seventh, king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and sometimes also emperor<sup>x</sup>: the conclusion of this marriage seemed to promise as great advantages, as, in its consequences, it produced miseries and mischiefs to the Christians in *Spain*. The present possessor of *Castile*, and all the extensive territories lately annexed to it, was a woman, and her heir apparent a child; by which they were grievously exposed to the impressions of the Infidels, more vigilant then than in former times, through the losses they had sustained, the revolutions that had happened in their governments, and several other causes. The marriage of *Donna Urraca* to *Don Alonso* not only repaired the loss of the deceased emperor, and furnished the young heir of *Castile* of the same name with a powerful protector, but created, at the same time, a new and unexperienced authority, which threatened the *Moors* with immediate expulsion; since, except the two counties of *Barcelona* and *Portugal*, this *Don Alonso* was master, in his own and his wife's right, of all the states that the Christians possessed in *Spain*, and so able to bring into the field more numerous and potent armies than hitherto had been ever employed against the common enemy. Besides, it seemed a most happy and effectual provision against those factions that commonly arise in all monarchies, when the throne is occupied either by women or children. But so uncertain are all events in this sublunary state, and so short-sighted is human policy, that the hopes of the Christians and the apprehensions of the *Moors* were equally disappointed; and this, almost as soon as they were excited: for, in a few months after the marriage was concluded, those differences broke out between the king and queen, which could never

\* HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Indices Rerum ab Arrag. Regibus Gestarum. ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan.  
<sup>w</sup> LUCÆ Tudens. Chron. Chron. Adefons Imperat. FER.  
<sup>x</sup> ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan.

afterwar-

afterwards be reconciled; and which, almost as soon as they broke out, threw every thing into confusion; so that through their intestine discords, or rather through the appointment of divine Providence, if the Infidels had not been wanting to themselves, they might have had a fair opportunity of restoring their power, and of recovering a great part, at least, of those countries that the Christians had lately taken from them. But as we have given a full account of those matters in another place, we shall content ourselves with observing here, that, after a great deal of confusion and bloodshed, the marriage between Don *Alonso* and Donna *Urraca* was declared null, in the council of *Palentia*; and the king, thereupon, turned his thoughts entirely to the care of his own hereditary dominions.

THE glory his father had acquired by his victories over the *Moors*, and the reputation raised by his brother by the conquest of *Huesca*, joined to some insults and provocations which himself had received from the *Moors* of *Saragossa*, inflamed the king Don *Alonso* with the desire of adding that noble city to his dominions. He foresaw that this would be a difficult and hazardous enterprize, and, by a policy peculiar to a prince of his disposition, he contrived to obtain the means of carrying it into execution by divulging his project, which had all the effect he proposed, since it brought many of the *French* nobility, eager to obtain honour in a religious war, to his assistance, particularly *Gaston* lord of *Bearn*, *Rotrou* count of *Perche*, the count of *Comminges*, the viscount of *Gavardan*, and the bishop of *Lescar*.<sup>2</sup> He had quickly a specimen of *Reduces* their great military skill, as well as of their bold and enter- *Tudela*. prizing dispositions; for his troops being continually harrassed, and their convoys cut off by excursions from *Tudela*, which the *Moors* were likewise in possession of, he detached *Rotrou* count of *Perche*, with a considerable body of troops, to restrain those people. The count made a sudden and silent march into the neighbourhood of that city, and having posted his forces in such a manner, as that they could not be discerned, he ordered a small party of horse to advance within sight of the place; upon which the *Moors*, supposing them to be the rear guard of a convoy, issued out with their whole force, and upon their retiring, according to their instructions, pursued them beyond the place where the count lay with his forces, who thereupon attacked them in flank, and having

<sup>1</sup> LUCÆ Tuden. Chron. HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. <sup>2</sup> Chron. MONACH. PENNAT. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FER.

gained an easy victory, pursued them with such vigour, that part of his troops entered with them into the town, and having seized an advantageous post, supported themselves while he arrived with the rest of his infantry, and carried the place by assault, to the no small astonishment both of the *Moors* and the Christians<sup>a</sup>. But the king, notwithstanding this unexpected success, being informed that the *Moors* in *Saragossa* had received numerous succours, thought fit to suspend his expedition, in order to make the necessary preparations for rendering it effectual, which took up the remaining part of this and all the succeeding year.

Obtains a  
victory  
over the  
Moors,  
and takes  
possession of  
Saragossa.

THE measure upon which the king principally relied, was disturbing and distressing the inhabitants of that city, from the fortress of *Castellar*, which stood upon the *Ebro*, and gave the Christians an opportunity of disturbing all communication between that city, either by land or water. After many months wearying and harassing them in this manner, which served only to keep his own troops in breath, and gave him leisure to repair and fortify all the places he had taken, he brought a numerous army into the field, and besieged the strongest fortress of *Almadobar*, which, as it in some measure covered *Saragossa*, the *Moors* had provided with a stout garrison, and with all things necessary for a good defence<sup>b</sup>. This he took after a brave resistance, and then turned his arms against *Salici*, *Robles*, *Gurrea*, and *Zucra*, all of which he obliged to surrender. Having thus cleared that side of the river, and established a free communication between his own camp and the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, he at length invested *Saragossa*<sup>c</sup>. The siege was very tedious, the besieged made frequent sallies, and the besiegers were repulsed in more than one assault. This disgusted the *French* lords, who loved to be upon the wing; and therefore, except the lord of *Bearne* and the count of *Perche*, they quitted the camp. The king, Don *Alonso*, upon this, drew his forces nearer the place, and prosecuted the siege with greater vigour than before; however, the inhabitants found means to press the *Moors* of *Tortosa*, *Merida*, and *Valentia*, to come to their assistance, assuring them that the Christian army was much inferior to what it had been. Accordingly they assembled a very numerous army, under the command of *Temin*, and marched speedily to their relief. The king Don *Alonso* was no sooner informed of this, than foreseeing the disadvantages that must attend his

<sup>a</sup> ROD. TOLET. Hist. Arabum. HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonenf. Rerum Comment. <sup>b</sup> Chron. var. antiqu. <sup>c</sup> ROD. TOLET. Hist. Arabum. LUC. TUDENS. Chron.

being



being attacked in his lines, left a small body of troops before the place, and marched with the rest of his forces to give the enemy battle, whom he entirely defeated, killed a great number upon the spot, and made a multitude prisoners, amongst whom was their general. This had the consequence that was expected from it; the place began immediately to capitulate, and on the 18th. of December the king took possession of it with great solemnity<sup>d</sup>. As this was beyond comparison the finest place in his possession, and indeed one of the best built cities in Spain, he not only restored it to its ancient honour of being an episcopal see, but made it also the capital of his dominions. Having rewarded generously those strangers who had assisted in reducing it, he caused it to be repopled with Christians, and then demolished the fortifications, declaring that the seat of his monarchy should have no other defence than the force and courage of its inhabitants<sup>e</sup>. While he was thus employed, he had intelligence that numbers of people began to retire out of *Tarracona*, and other places; upon which, resolving to make a right use of the consternation the *Moors* were in, he marched thither with his army: though a place of strength and consequence, he reduced it with very little trouble, and concluded this glorious campaign with the taking of *Borja*, *Alagon*, and other places on the banks of the river *Galeo*<sup>f</sup>. The next year, while the places he had reduced were repairing, he made another expedition, in which he swept the river *Xalon*, made himself master of the ancient town of *Calatayud*, and took several places of less importance from the Infidels. He found it convenient after this, to remain for some time quiet in his own dominions, in order to provide effectually for their security, notwithstanding the many thousands of *Moors* that were now become his subjects<sup>g</sup>.

A. D.  
1118.

1119.  
*Takes divers strong places from the Moors.*  
1120.

THESE precautions taken, he again assembled his forces; and having signified to the nobility of France, how well pleased he should be to have them again for his companions in arms, they very readily accepted his summons, and joined his troops by that time they were in a state of action. The king Don *Alonso* first ravaged the territory of *Lerida*, afterwards invaded *Valentia*, and at length penetrated as far as the kingdom of *Murcia*, acquiring vast reputation to himself, and

*And designs them in a pitched battle near Alcaraz.*

<sup>a</sup> Annal Toletan. Annal Compostel. Annal Complut. ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan. MONACH. PENNAT. FER.  
<sup>e</sup> Indices Rerum ab Arragonizæ Regibus Gestarum. MARIANA. FERRERAS.  
<sup>f</sup> ROD. TOLET. Hist. Arabum. HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ABARCA. ZURITA.  
<sup>g</sup> ROD. TOLET.

immense

immense riches to those who served under him <sup>b</sup>. The *Moors* had been hitherto so much astonished at the boldness of this enterprize, that they made little or no resistance; but, perceiving that his army was not very numerous, that he was at a great distance from his own dominions, in the very centre of theirs, and that it was impossible for any of his forces to escape, in case of a defeat, they began to recover their spirits, and eleven of their alcaýdes having joined the strength of their respective governments, advanced to give him battle near the city of *Alcaraz*. Don *Alonso*, according to his usual custom, placed all hopes of safety in a frank declaration to his people, that if they were beat they were undone; the sense of which operated so powerfully, that, notwithstanding the inequality of the contest, they gained a very decisive and glorious victory; after which he took winter quarters in the enemy's country, and kept his *Christmas* at *Alcaraz* <sup>1</sup>.

In the spring of the ensuing year, when the *Moors* expected that he would have begun his retreat, he made a fresh irruption into the plains of *Cordova*, and having ravaged all the open country, threw himself next into the territories of *Jaen* and *Granada*, where he committed the like devastation. But after all this success, it is very doubtful how this campaign might have ended, if he had not received an unexpected and almost miraculous succour, which enabled him to return in triumph to *Saragossa* <sup>k</sup>. While his army continued in the field, ten thousand Christian families came down from the *Alpujarros*, and the mountains of *Alcaraz*, where they had maintained themselves from the days of Don *Rodrigo*; and having demanded and obtained his protection, returned with him into *Arragon*, where, having reduced *Malina*, *Ariza*, and some other places, he settled them to their satisfaction, and having dismissed his army, began to apply himself to the arts of peace <sup>l</sup>.

*The Infidels lose another great battle.*

AT the close of the last war, some difference had arisen between the king and the *French* lords, who had served in his army, whom he had rewarded less liberally than formerly, on account of the number of *Mozarabic* Christians, for whom he was obliged to provide; and in this discontented humour the *French* returned home <sup>m</sup>. The *Moors* having intelligence of this, and having received prodigious succours from *Morocco*,

<sup>b</sup> HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. P. DANIEL. FERRERAS.

ZURITA. ABARCA.

LUCÆ Tudens. Chron.

<sup>m</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>i</sup> ROD. TOLET. Hist. Arabum.

<sup>k</sup> ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan.

<sup>l</sup> ZURITA. ABARCA. FEL.

eager to revenge their past losses, resolved to invade his dominions, and assembled a very powerful army for that purpose. The king, on the first intelligence of their design, compromised all matters in dispute with his old friends, and engaged the count of *Perche*, the viscount of *Bearne*, and other lords, to join him with their forces, which, with his own troops, enabled him to secure his frontiers in such a manner as totally disappointed the views of the Infidels<sup>n</sup>. The next spring he made an irruption into the kingdom of *Valentia*, which not only added to the reputation of his arms, but furnished an immense booty to his troops. *Amorga*, the *Moorish* general, endeavoured to give some check to his progress; but the attempt was only fatal to his own troops. However, *Albamin*, at the head of a numerous army, having joined *Amorga*, and having seized the passages in the mountains, the king *Don Alonso* found it impossible to recover his own territories, being in a manner besieged in the midst of a wild and uncouth country, where it was impossible to subsist, and from which it was equally impossible to remove. In this critical situation he ordered three days of solemn humiliation, to implore the favour of heaven; and on the fourth, which was the sixteenth of *August*, he caused his provisions to be equally distributed, and when his army were thoroughly refreshed, he attacked the *Moors* with great fury. The action lasted many hours; was very obstinately fought, and the victory gained by the king, at last, was esteemed one of the most considerable that the Christians ever obtained, and, in consequence of which, he marched without any molestation home<sup>o</sup>. He was engaged the next year in a war with *Don Alonso*, king of *Castile*, which was quickly compromised, as we have shewn in another place; as another rupture of the same kind was, about two years after, in which the king of *Arragon* was the aggressor; but being persuaded by his prelates that a war must be unprosperous that was unjust, he retired in time.

A. D.  
1126.

THE close connections which the king of *Arragon* had entered into with the *French* lords, his neighbours, engaged him in a war on that side, the particular cause of which is nowhere explained: all we know of the matter is, that he made a descent, with a well appointed army, into *Gascony*, where he invested and besieged *Bayonne*. While he was thus employed, the *Moors* of *Lerida*, *Tortosa*, and *Valentia*, taking advantage of his absence, made incursions into his dominions, against whom the bishop of *Huesca* and the viscount of *Bearne*,

Reduces  
Bayonne.

<sup>n</sup> Hieron. Blancæ. Zurita. Abarca. <sup>o</sup> Annal. Complut. Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Comment. Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Fer.

marched

A. D.

1133.

And be-  
sieves the  
capital of  
a Moorish  
govern-  
ment.

marched with a small body of troops; but engaging with a superior force, were defeated and killed P. The king Don *Alonso*, notwithstanding this, continued the siege of *Bayonne* with that vigour and obstinacy which were natural to him; and, having at last taken it, returned with his forces into his own dominions. The disturbances his subjects received from the *Moorish* pirates, who came in small vessels up the *Ebro*, and the mischiefs that were done by a numerous garrison they had in the old town of *Mequinenca*, at the confluence of the *Segro* and the *Ebro*, determined him to besiege that place, though covered by a fortress that hitherto had been esteemed impregnable. He attacked it with great vigour; and though the *Moors* made a gallant defence, he at length carried it by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword. This success encouraged him to invest *Fraga*, which derives that name from the corruption of *Flavia Gallica*, by which it was known in the time of the *Romans*. It stands upon an eminence on the left side of the *Cinca*, three leagues from *Lerida*, on the frontiers of *Catalonia*, strong by its situation in the midst of mountains, having the river beforementioned in front, the banks of which are inaccessible, and covered behind by a craggy mountain, on which there was a good fortress. It was at this time the capital of a *Moorish* government, full of a hardy and martial race of people, well fortified for those days, and, tho' seated in the most sterile parts of *Arragon*, plentifully supplied with provisions. The king remained before it all the remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next; and, as he was not accustomed to desist from his enterprizes, the *French* lords, his confederates, and several of his own prelates, brought him great reinforcements early in the spring. On the other hand, *Aben Gama*, governor of *Valentia*, assembled all the forces of that province, and made two attempts to raise the siege, but without effect, being as often repulsed by Don *Alonso* with great loss.

THE people of *Fraga*, finding themselves extremely pressed, much diminished in their numbers, and without hopes of relief, offered to surrender the place, provided he would suffer them to march out, and retire where they thought proper, which he refused, insisting upon their submitting at discretion. In the mean time, the forces of *Seville*, *Cordova*, and *Granada*, were advanced into *Valentia*, where *Aben-Gama* had likewise received a reinforcement of ten thousand men

P HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ZURITA.  
ABARCA. FER. 9 ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan. LUC.  
Tudens. Chron. \* Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus  
Gestorum.

from

from *Texefin Ben Hali*, king of *Morocco*, and with this numerous and potent army he advanced a third time to the succour of *Fraga*. It happened unfortunately, that, at this juncture, the king *Don Alonso* had detached a corps of his best troops, to secure a great convoy of provisions, so that the dispute was extremely unequal. However, upon the approach of the Infidels, the king quitted his camp, and, having made the best disposition he was able, advanced to give them battle. His forces behaved with great intrepidity, and himself, and the nobility about him, exerted all the skill and courage that could be expected from persons grown old in arms, and enured to victory. But at length, being absolutely overpowered by numbers, the army was defeated, the greatest part slain upon the spot, and amongst them the bishops of *Huesca* and *Roda*, most of the *French* nobility who served as auxiliaries, and many also of the lords of *Navarre* and *Arragon*. The king *Don Alonso* seeing all lost, made a great effort with seven hundred men, and having penetrated thro' the *Moorish* army, continued his route, having passed by *Saragossa*, to the monastery of *St. Juan de la Pena*, where he arrived with ten of his great lords, amongst whom was *Don Garcia Ramirez*; and, falling there into a deep melancholy, died eight days after of pure grief. His body was interred with those of his ancestors, but without any tomb erected to his memory; which, with the concealing of this melancholy event for some days, gave occasion to many strange reports, which, on no better foundation than vulgar tradition, have found a place in some otherwise esteemed histories.

THIS monarch is justly and universally acknowledged to have been, in all respects, one of the greatest princes of this age. He was, though most conspicuous for his military exploits, one of the mildest and most courteous princes that ever sat on a throne; and it was this that gained him, almost at first sight, the esteem and affection of all the *Castilian* nobility, who had the prosperity of their country at heart, and were not bent upon raising fortunes by scandalous intrigues, or base complacencies at the court of queen *Urraca*. He was very religious, according to the notions of that age in which he lived, and very liberal to the clergy, which renders very improbable what the *Castilian* writers say of his plundering the churches during the war in that country. He added

\* *ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ABARCA. MARIANA. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.* † *ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. LUC. Tudenfis Chron. ZÜRIT.*

to his hereditary kingdom of *Arragon*, *Saragossa*, *Tudela*, *Tarrazona*, *Calatayud*, *Daroca*, and a great extent of country on the south side of the *Ebro*; so that he may, with propriety, be stiled the founder of the modern kingdom of *Arragon*, since he rendered it by his victories, and left it at his death, two thirds larger than when it descended to him. Some ancient writers say, that the battle of *Fraga* was the twentieth he had fought against the *Moors*, to whom he was an implacable and terrible enemy<sup>u</sup>. It is certain that this monarch left his dominions in very great confusion; but, tho' it is generally reported, *Mariana* makes no scruple of recording it as a fact out of dispute, that, by a will made at the siege of *Bayonne*, he disposed of all his territories to the knights templars, the knights of St. *John*, and the guardians of the holy sepulchre at *Jerusalem*<sup>v</sup>. Yet the story has such an air of fable, that it has been justly rejected by the best judges of history, as being to the full as improbable as the tale of his going privately to *Jerusalem*, after the battle of *Fraga*, and performing great exploits against the Infidels in the *Holy Land*.

Separation  
between  
the king-  
doms of  
Arragon  
and Na-  
varre.

It is however certain, that, whatever will he made, or was made for him (since forgery was not unknown in those times) his subjects took not the least notice of it; but as soon as they were recovered a little from that consternation into which they were thrown by the irruption of the Infidels after their late victory, they began to consider how to repair this loss, by setting a new prince upon the throne. It is generally agreed, that a meeting for this purpose was held at *Borja*, on the frontiers of both kingdoms, for the electing a king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*; where disagreeing, the former adjourned to *Huesca*, and the latter to *Pampeluna*. But, all circumstances strictly weighed, it seems at least as probable, that *Don Ramiro*, brother to the two last kings, and who was a monk in the monastery of St. *Pons de Tomiers*, in the diocese of *Narbonne*, was proclaimed king at *Huesca*; and that the people of *Navarre* took this opportunity of shaking off a yoke which they had born but very impatiently, and setting up *Don Garcia Ramirez*, who was a direct descendant from their ancient kings. By this means these monarchies were again separated; and this with circumstances which excited great heart-burning and jealousy between the two nations.

Don Ra-  
miro, bro-

At the time of his accession to the throne, it is very clear that *Don Ramiro* the second had been forty-one years a

<sup>u</sup> Chron. var. antiq. ZURIT. ABARCA. FER. general de España, lib. x.

<sup>v</sup> Historia

monk:

monk<sup>2</sup>: some writers assert, that he had been abbot of *Sa-ther to the*  
*begun*, afterwards bishop of *Burgos*, then of *Pampeluna*, and *late king*,  
 at this time of *Balbastro*; but of this there are no clear *ascends the*  
 proofs<sup>2</sup>. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than it was *throne of*  
 judged expedient that he should have a wife, and application *Arragon*.  
 for this purpose was likewise made to *Anacletus*, who then  
 assumed the title of pope at *Avignon*; and, in virtue of a  
 dispensation from him, the king espoused Donna *Ines*, or  
*Agnes*, sister to *William*, duke of *Aquitaine*, who, it appears,  
 from the *French* historians, was a widow<sup>2</sup>. It is somewhat *Don Alonso*  
 doubtful whether, before or after the celebration of this mar- *so, king*  
 riage, *Don Alonso*, king of *Castile*, entered the frontiers of *of Castile*;  
*Arragon*, and advanced towards *Saragossa*. Some authors *enters Ar-*  
 say, that *Don Ramiro* was so much amazed at the approach *ragon as a*  
 of a force which it was not at all in his power to resist, that *friend, and*  
 he retired immediately into the impenetrable mountains and *leaves a*  
 forests of *Sobralva*; but the historians of *Castile*, who lived *garrison in*  
 nearest these times, affirm quite the contrary; and their ac- *Saragossa*.  
 count deserves the more credit, as it is perfectly natural and  
 probable. They say, that *Don Alonso* declared, that he did not  
 enter *Arragon* as an enemy, or as forming any pretensions to  
 the crown; but that, on the contrary, respecting the memory  
 of their late king, whom he had been formerly accustomed to  
 stile father, he came to protect them against the *Moors*, and  
 to prevent their making any lasting advantage of their late  
 good fortune; which act of friendship was very kindly taken,  
 and his offer, so generously made, very thankfully accepted<sup>2</sup>.  
 Upon which *Don Alonso* put a strong garrison into the city of  
*Saragossa*, and then retired. At first sight, this may seem to  
 have been no more than a political feint to get possession of so  
 considerable a place; but, if we consider the situation things  
 were in, the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from  
 the consequences of domestic troubles, and the efforts of a  
 foreign enemy, and that, as soon as the people of *Arragon*  
 were in a condition to keep and defend it, *Saragossa* was again  
 put into their hands, we shall see plainly that *Don Alonso* of  
*Castile* acted like a wise and great prince, and upon motives  
 much more noble than those of a conqueror. It did him  
 great honour to have succoured and protected a neighbouring  
 prince, which was also his interest, for the sake of his own do-

<sup>2</sup> HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ZURITA.  
 ABARCA. <sup>2</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>2</sup> P. DANIEL Histoire  
 de France. HIERON. BLANCÆ. ROD. TOLET. ZURITA.  
<sup>4</sup> ROD. TOL. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ABARCA.  
 FERRERAS.

minions; and it reflected no discredit on Don *Ramiro*, that he was very grateful for so high a favour, and received his benefactor with all possible marks of deference and esteem. This was certainly a more prudent and a more royal manner of proceeding than hiding himself in woods and caverns, and abandoning his country and his subjects to the mercy of a stranger, who, if this had been his conduct, would probably not have treated him so well <sup>b</sup>.

THE distaste which had arisen between the two nations, rose in a short time so high, that it was very near producing a rupture between the crowns of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, tho' against all the rules of policy, and without any just cause on either side; but, by the interposition of the prelates, this difference was compromised, the kings were each of them to hold their respective dominions, to which Don *Ramiro* consented, because he knew himself unable to conquer *Navarre*; and, on the other hand, Don *Garcia* was willing to do homage to Don *Ramiro*, as well on account of his being the brother of his late sovereign and much his superior in age, as because he was in hopes, on his demise without children, he might succeed him in the throne <sup>c</sup>. They were both disappointed in their views, for this was far from producing a settled peace; and, towards the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, the queen of *Arragon* was delivered of a daughter, who was stiled the Infanta *Petronilla* <sup>d</sup>. We have seen that, notwithstanding his claim of right, the accession of Don *Ramiro* to the crown of *Arragon* was, in a great measure, owing to the affection of his people; but, as there is nothing more common than for them to grow quickly sick of their own choice, so it seems Don *Ramiro* very speedily experienced the truth of this observation. Some very ancient chronicles report, with circumstances that render it probable this report was not without some foundation, that he took a

*The king of Arragon causes some of his seditious nobles to be put to death.*

very singular method of recovering the respect due to his authority. In order to this, he directed an assembly of the states at *Huesca*, where he suddenly seized and put to death the most turbulent of the nobility <sup>e</sup>. It is added, according to the custom of this age, that having sent to the abbot of St. *Pons de Tomiers* for his advice, he carried his messengers into the garden of the convent, and with a scymitar cut off the

<sup>b</sup> MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. x. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

<sup>c</sup> Indices Rerum ab Arragoniz regibus Gestarum. HIERON. BLANCÆ. ROD. TOL. de reb. Hispan.

<sup>d</sup> LUC. Tudens. Chron. ZURITA. ABARCA.

<sup>e</sup> Chron. var. antiq.



tops of the highest plants, bidding them report to the king what they had seen him do, from whence *Don Ramiro* took the hint, as indeed it might be easily taken, of this rigorous proceeding. As this circumstance seems to have been invented, or rather copied, for the amusement of the great vulgar, so there was another contrived for the amusement of grosser understandings: the king is said to have given out before this assembly, that he would cause a bell to be made, the sound of which should be heard throughout his dominions: in order to keep his word, he caused the heads of fifteen of the most seditious to be nailed round the bottom of a wooden bell frame, and, having shewn this shocking sight to their nearest relations, told them this was the bell he meant, and that he would toll it at their expence, if they had not wit enough to change their conduct from this example. As this tradition of the bell of *Huesca* subsists to this hour, and as some very ancient writers report, not only the fact of the king's putting the chief of the nobility to death, but mention also their names, and assure us, that there were five of the noble family of *Luna*, though it is easy to conceive the circumstances fabulous, it is very hard to believe the whole a fiction<sup>f</sup>.

It is, however, a glaring mistake that some have committed, who have reported that this bold action had its effect; and that, as before no prince could be more contemned, so afterwards none was ever better obeyed. The truth, however, is directly the reverse; for either this or some other act of that unfortunate prince, or the whole strain of his administration, lost him the affections of his people to such a degree, that he took a sudden, and, in his situation, a wise resolution of resigning the government, which, in all probability, he heartily repented he had ever undertaken. The method he took in doing this was so proper and so prudent, that we may reasonably conclude it was the effects of mature deliberation. When he had digested his design in his own mind, he called an assembly of the states at *Balbastro*, where, on the 11th of *August*, he acquainted them with the resolution he had taken of giving his daughter and heiress *Petranilla*, in marriage to *Don Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, in case she should live to an age fit to become his wife; that in case of her decease before that time, it was his desire that he should enjoy the kingdom; and that, for the present, as he was desirous of leading a life of repose, he would put the administration into his hands, with the title of count or prince, which, with the

A. D.  
1136.

1137.  
*He resigns  
the admin-  
istration  
to Don  
Raymond,  
count of  
Barcelona,  
and retires  
to a con-  
vent.*

<sup>f</sup> ZURITA. ABARCA. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

consent of that assembly, he did, and then retired to *Huesca*, where he lived privately with the clergy belonging to the church of *St. Peter*, for the space of ten years (within five days), without ever shewing the least inclination to recover that diadem which he had so willingly quitted &. Those therefore who have described this prince as a weak or wicked man, seem not to have considered his history attentively. He was a king but three years, and could not in that short space do much to the prejudice of his subjects. He found that a palace was no fit habitation for one who had spent forty years in a convent; a weak man would hardly have found this out. He executed his purpose, which required no small degree of fortitude; and he knew how to set a just value on that quiet, for the sake of which he resigned a crown. If from these circumstances, which is all that we know of his conduct, they can collect that he was either wicked or weak, they must have more penetration than we pretend to. However, leaving this to the reader's reflection, we shall proceed with our history.

*Rupture  
between  
Don Ray-  
mond and  
the king of  
Navarre.*

DON *Raymond*, upon whom the king devolved his whole authority, with the consent of his people, assumed the title of prince of *Arragon*<sup>h</sup>, preserving also that of count of *Barcelona*, which was his own title. As the emperor, Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, had married his sister, and as, in his own right, he possessed dominions little if at all inferior to those of *Arragon*, it does not appear, that, either with regard to himself or his subjects, the old king could have made a better choice. But, from the moment he assumed the government, he had Don *Garcia Ramirez*, king of *Navarre*, for his determined enemy; it may be on account of his having promised himself the good fortune at which Don *Raymond* was arrived. However that may be, their disputes quickly produced a rupture, in consequence of which, the king of *Arragon* entered into a league with Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, and the king of *Navarre* with Don *Alonso* of *Portugal*<sup>i</sup>. The emperor, to shew his affection for his brother-in-law, and to bring the war to as speedy an issue as possible, made an irruption into *Navarre*, and penetrated as far as *Pampeluna*, which he invested. This might possibly have had its intended effect, if in the mean time Don *Garcia* of *Navarre* had not defeated the prince of *Arragon* on the frontiers, with considerable loss, which constrained the

<sup>h</sup> Indices Rerum ab Arragonizæ regibus Gestarum. Hieron. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan. Luc. Tuden. Chron. Abarca. Mariana. Fer. Mayerne Turquet. <sup>h</sup> Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. P. Moret. Zurita. <sup>i</sup> Luc. Tuden. Chron.

emperor to raise the siege, in order to march to Don Raymond's assistance<sup>k</sup>. Before the close of the year, these two princes concluded a treaty, and Don Raymond was left to take what care he could of himself; he had already a war with Navarre, and another with the Moors, upon his hands, when another cross accident happened, which gave him a good deal of trouble. Certain agents from the knights templars came into Arragon to claim the benefit of the late Don Alonso's testament, which the prince of Arragon, by his prudence and dexterity, converted to his own advantage. He told them that such of the knights templars as were willing to repair thither should be amply provided for; and, as a proof that he meant to make good his promise, he gave them the town of Calatayud, where they erected the church of the holy sepulchre. This agreement was ratified by the pope and the patriarch of Jerusalem<sup>l</sup>. Some time after, he held an assembly of the states at Giron, where, with the consent of the nobles and prelates, he made a cession to those knights of six strong castles, with large revenues, upon condition that they should defend his frontier against the Infidels in his wars, with whom he was very successful; but while he was thus employed, the king of Navarre took from him Tarrazona and some other places of less importance<sup>m</sup>.

A. D.

1140.

A. D.

1143.

At the request of the prince Don Raymond, the emperor once more interposed with the king of Navarre; and finding that monarch more stubborn than he expected, had recourse to arms; but he being a widower, and proposing to marry the emperor's natural daughter, that offer was accepted, and a truce only concluded between the crowns of Arragon and Navarre<sup>n</sup>. This was indeed a measure absolutely requisite, since Don Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, brother to the prince of Arragon, had been traiterously killed in his own dominions, it was requisite for the prince Don Raymond to go thither to preserve the succession to his nephew, which he happily performed<sup>o</sup>. The truce was prolonged to another year, on account of the prince of Arragon's assisting the emperor in the famous siege of Almeria, at which he was present, and likewise furnished a considerable naval force<sup>p</sup>. On the 6th of August, this year, died Don Ramiro the second<sup>q</sup>, by

1147.

<sup>k</sup> HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ZURIT. ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan.

<sup>l</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>m</sup> Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. <sup>n</sup> ZURIT.

ABARCA. <sup>o</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>p</sup> LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron.

MARIANA. FER.

<sup>q</sup> ZURITA. HIERON.

BLANCÆ. MAYERNE TURQUET.

*Don Raymond reduces Tortosa, and obtains several other advantages over the Moors.*

1149.

which his daughter, who was yet a child, became queen in her own right. In the next, the prince *Don Raymond* executed the scheme he had formed at the siege of *Almeria*, for depriving the *Mohammedans* of the strong city and convenient port of *Tortosa*, in order to which he had demanded the assistance of the count of *Montpellier*, the republic of *Genoa*, and other maritime powers; which great design he so happily conducted, that on the last day of the year he became master of the place, and very honourably fulfilled the promises he had made to all his allies, giving the *Genoese* and the count of *Montpellier* each a third part of the revenues of the place, and reserving no more to himself<sup>r</sup>. The next year he pushed the war against the *Moors* with such success, that he made himself master of *Fraga* and of *Lerida*, to which last city he restored the episcopal see that had been placed at *Roda*, then in *Balbastro*, while this place remained in the hands of the Infidels; and soon after, by a pragmatic sanction, secured the sees in his dominions from being impoverished by himself or successors<sup>s</sup>.

*Esposes Donna Petronilla, daughter to the late king.*

1151.

As *Donna Petronilla*, heiress of *Arragon*, was now in her fifteenth year, *Don Raymond*, pursuant to the will of her father, married her with great solemnity at *Lerida*<sup>t</sup>, in the presence of the principal nobility and prelates of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*: at the same time he resettled the episcopal see at *Tortosa*, and marked out the ancient boundaries of its diocese<sup>u</sup>. On occasion of the emperor's nuptials, and those of *Don Sancha*, king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Arragon* went to *Soria*, and concluded a truce with that monarch upon his marriage with his niece<sup>w</sup>. This gave him an opportunity of making an irruption into the territory of the *Moors*, where he took several places, and amongst the rest the castle of *Mirabet*, by assault, which he afterwards put into the hands of the knights templars<sup>x</sup>. He also took the *Moorish* king of *Valentia* and *Murcia* under his protection. When the truce was expired,

1153.

which he had made with the king of *Navarre*, he attacked that kingdom with some degree of success; and having concluded an alliance with the emperor, in virtue of which his young son *Don Alonso*, who was yet in his cradle, was to marry the Infanta *Donna Sancha* of *Castile*, he prevailed upon that prince to join with him once more against *Navarre*; the

<sup>r</sup> ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. MARIANA. FER.

<sup>s</sup> HIERON. BLANCÆ

Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ZURITA. ABARCA. FER.

<sup>t</sup> ROD. TOL. de reb. Hispan.

<sup>u</sup> LUC. Tudens. Chron.

<sup>w</sup> ZURITA.

<sup>x</sup> ROD. TOL. Hist. Arabum.

hopes, however, which he had from thence, were speedily dissipated by the death of that monarch<sup>y</sup>. This event produced another, which the prince of *Arragon* did not at all expect. Don *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, had a numerous army in the field, with which he had already recovered the valley of *Rancal*, which Don *Raymond* had taken from him; but, on a sudden changing his measures, he represented to the prince of *Arragon* the folly of their proceedings, offered to bury in oblivion all former grudges, and to restore the city of *Tarrazona*, in order to obtain a solid and lasting peace, to which, as it was all he ever sought, Don *Raymond* readily agreed: and thus this war, which with little intermission had lasted from the separation of the two crowns, was happily concluded to their mutual satisfaction<sup>z</sup>.

*Concludes a solid peace with the king of Navarre.*  
1157.

In a short time after the death of the emperor, his son Don *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, entered into a close alliance with the prince of *Arragon*, his uncle, in which, however, the homage was reserved to the crown of *Castile*, which it is fit we should explain<sup>a</sup>. It is certain that it did not regard the ancient kingdom of *Arragon*, which never had any dependance upon *Castile*, but arose from that transaction which we have before mentioned of the emperor's taking the city of *Saragossa*, and the country on the south side of the *Ebro*, into his protection; for which, according to the custom of that age, he thought fit to exact homage. We shall hereafter have occasion to shew when and how this homage was remitted. As Don *Raymond* had considerable dominions in *France*, which made it requisite for him to be on good terms with *Henry* the second of *England*, who, in right of his wife, was become duke of *Aquitaine*, he accepted an invitation given him by that monarch, which produced an interview at the castle of *Blaye*; and, in consequence of that, a strict alliance between the two princes: amongst other things, it was agreed, that the king's younger son *Richard*, who, by the death of his elder brother *Henry*, became afterwards his successor, should espouse Donna *Berengara*, daughter to count *Raymond*, and should be declared duke

1158.

*Interview between the kings of Arragon and England, at the castle of Blaye.*  
1159.

<sup>y</sup> Chron. Adefons Imperat. FERRERAS. <sup>z</sup> Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Commentarii. P. MORET Investigaciones Historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarre. <sup>a</sup> RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. ABARCA.

of *Aquitaine*<sup>b</sup>. A war breaking out the next year between the king of *England*, as duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Raymond*, count of *Thoulouse*, the prince of *Arragon* went, in person, at the head of a considerable body of troops to the assistance of his allies. The year following he made another campaign in support of his nephew *Raymond*, count of *Provence*; and, upon this occasion, he had an interview with the emperor *Frederic*, with whom he entered into a close alliance<sup>c</sup>. That monarch having formed a design of deposing pope *Alexander* the third, passed into *Italy* for that purpose, and held a kind of congress at *Turin*, to which repaired all the princes of his party. Amongst the rest, Don *Raymond*, prince of *Arragon*, intending to be present, made a journey into *Italy*, but falling sick upon the road, he was carried to a place called *Dalmace*, not far from *Turin*, where he breathed his last, *August* the fifteenth, one thousand one hundred and sixty-two. His body was carried back into *Spain*, and buried with his ancestors, in the convent of the *Benedictines*, at *Ripol*<sup>d</sup>.

Dies in  
Piedmont.  
1162.

An im-  
postor pre-  
tends to be  
Don Alon-  
so who  
died after  
the battle  
of Fraga.

As soon as the funeral honours to her husband were over, the queen Donna *Petronilla* assembled the states at *Huesca*, and there, agreeable to the declaration of the prince Don *Raymond* upon his death bed, she assigned to their eldest son the kingdom of *Arragon*, and the county of *Barcelona*; to their second son Don *Pedro* she gave the county of *Cerdagna*, and all that he possessed besides in *France*, substituting his younger brother Don *Sancho* to that succession, in case he should die without heirs male<sup>e</sup>. She reserved to herself the tutelage of her eldest son, and the government of the kingdom of *Arragon*: she committed the administration of *Catalonia* to Don *Raymond Berengera*, count of *Provence*; and recommended her two younger sons to the protection of king *Henry* the second of *England*: at the same time she renewed the treaty with Don *Sancho* king of *Navarre*<sup>f</sup>. The peace of *Arragon*, notwithstanding all these precautions, was quickly interrupted, by the appearance of an impostor,

<sup>b</sup> ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

<sup>c</sup> ROD. TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. ZURITA. HIERON. BLANCÆ. FER.

<sup>d</sup> ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ABARCA. <sup>e</sup> HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Commentarii. ROD. TOI. de reb. Hispan. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET.

<sup>f</sup> Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. LUC. Tuden. Chron. ABARCA.

who

who took upon him the name of the king Don *Alonso*, pretending, that, after the battle of *Fraga*, he had passed over to *Syria*, had served in the *Holy Land* against the Infidels, and was now returned to govern his own dominions. Some resemblance of person, a steady assurance, and other circumstances, enabled him to gain some credit with the vulgar; but the queen, causing him to be apprehended at *Saragossa*, put him publicly to death, and thereby restored the peace of the kingdom. One sees nothing of weakness or folly in the conduct of this princess, whom it is certain that the historians of *Arragon* treat with great respect and esteem; notwithstanding which, *Mariana* will have it, that, through her want of capacity to administer the government, a resolution was taken to place her son upon the throne. It is certain that such a resolution was taken; but other writers affirm, that it was thro' the queen's free choice, who was desirous of seeing her son acknowledged and fixed on the throne of *Arragon* in her life-time<sup>h</sup>.

It was with this view that she caused an assembly of the *The queen* states to be held at *Barcelona*, where, on the fourteenth of *Petronilla June*, she made a free resignation in favour of the prince *resigns the* her son, whom she carried afterwards, for the same pur- *govern-* pose, to *Saragossa*; upon which occasion public proclama- *ment in* tion was made by the states, that such lords as held either *favour of* castles or fortresses from the crown, should immediately resign *her eldest* their governments into the hands of the king, on pain of *son Don* being deprived of their dignities, having their estates con- *Alonso* fiscated, and their persons banished: and all persons were forbid to violate the treaties subsisting with neighbouring princes, under pain of death, and the confiscation of their estates<sup>i</sup>. It may not be amiss to observe here, that, according to most historians, this young prince was baptized by, and during his father's lifetime bore, the name of *Raymond*, which he now changed for that of *Alonso*, as more acceptable to the people of *Arragon*<sup>k</sup>. It is likewise probable, that his sister, whom most of the historians call *Donna Dulcia*, was likewise called *Berengara*; and, besides her, it will appear that he had another sister, whose name was

<sup>h</sup> Hieron. Blancæ. Zurita. P. Moret. <sup>h</sup> Roderic Toletan de reb. Hispan. Historia general de Espana, lib. x. Abarca. <sup>i</sup> Hieronymi Blancæ Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Fer. <sup>k</sup> Zurita. Abarca. Mariana.

Donna *Leonora*<sup>1</sup>. We may see, from their want of accuracy in matters of this nature, that the ancient memoirs of *Arragon* were very short and imperfect; so that much of those ample histories that are now extant, must have been supplied from conjecture, and from comparison with other *Spanish* histories.

Subject of  
the next  
section.

WE have now completed this section, and have therein traced those accessions, by which, from a very slender beginning, the realm of *Arragon* grew to be what it now is. The reader likewise sees how, in virtue of the marriage between the count of *Barcelona* and the heiress of this monarchy, the noble country of *Catalonia* was annexed to this crown; and, from the accession of power arising from thence, *Abenlope*, the *Moorish* prince of *Valentia*, came to seek the protection, and to own himself the vassal, of the prince of *Arragon*, which afforded the monarchs of *Arragon* the first pretensions to that fruitful kingdom. The making these matters plain, so that the original, the augmentation, and the conjunction of states, may be truly known, and clearly understood, is one principal point of Universal History. It is therefore, in the present case, to render that as complete as possible, we propose, in the next section, to give a succinct history of the principality of *Catalonia*; or, which will be found to amount to the same thing, to trace out the succession of the counts of *Barcelona*, and their gradual acquisitions of power and territory, by which it will be rendered evident what a vast advantage ensued to the crown of *Arragon*, from the annexing of this maritime province to its dominions, which, in process of time, led to far greater things, and enabled these monarchs to make the figure they did; whereas if they had continued to be circumscribed within the bounds of their inland territories, they could have been very little known to the rest of *Europe*.

<sup>1</sup> ROD. TOLET. de reb. Hispan. MARIANA. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.



## S E C T. IX.

*The History of the County of Barcelona, and the County of Catalonia, from the Time of the erecting of that County, at the Beginning of the Ninth Century, to its Conjunction with the Realm of Arragon, by the Marriage of the Count Don Raymond the Fifth with the Infanta Donna Petronilla, Heiress of that Kingdom, the Children of which Marriage enjoyed both Sovereignities.*

THE descriptions in this part of our work are suited to the *Descripti-* history, and are only inserted to render it intelligible. *on of the* As for example; The country of *Catalonia*, of which we are *old country* going to speak, is precisely that which the count Don Ray- *of Catalo-*mond the fifth annexed to the kingdom of *Arragon*, which *nia.* was not only far greater than the antient county of *Barcelona*, the original patrimony of his ancestors, but also considerably more extensive than the principality of *Catalonia*, as it now stands; comprehending in it, besides *Catalonia*, or, as the *Spaniards* always write it, *Cataluna*, the countries of *Roussillon* and *Cerdana*, or *Cerdagna*, best part of which are now in the hands of the *French* <sup>a</sup>. This country, as it then stood, had *Languedoc* on the north, the *Pyrenees*, the country of *Ribagorça*, and the kingdom of *Arragon*, on the west, a corner of the same kingdom, and a part of that of *Valentia*, to the south, with the *Mediterranean* on the east, stretching about seventy leagues from south to north, and, where broadest, not much less from west to east: the air is, generally speaking, pure and wholesome; the climate perfectly pleasant, and not so very hot in the middle of summer as in most other provinces in *Spain*. The greatest part of this country is mountainous; but there are several large and beautiful plains, and more especially those of *Urgel*, *Cerdagna*, *Vic Gironne*, *Taragona*, and *Panades*. The mountains themselves are far from being barren, since they are every-where covered with forests of excellent timber, are not destitute of fruit trees, and abound with odoriferous shrubs and medicinal herbs. There are few countries better watered, though none of its rivers are very large. It is plentifully furnished with edible roots, wine fruit, and corn, as also flax and hemp. There are in it many

<sup>a</sup> CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. lib. i, Geogr. Moderne, par Du Bois, part i. c. 3.

inexhaustible quarries of marble of all sorts, such as alabaſter, &c. and as to ſtones of higher value, jaſper, amethiſts, *lapis Lazuli*, and the *Hematites*, or blood ſtone, are found here in conſiderable quantities <sup>b</sup>. Heretofore, it is ſaid, there were mines of gold and ſilver; and of the former of theſe precious metals, there are ſtill ſome grains found in the ſand of the *Segre*, and ſome other rivers; but there are ſtill mines of tin, lead, iron, allom, vitriol, and ſalt; and on the coaſt, which is near ninety leagues in extent, there is a very valuable coral fiſhery <sup>c</sup>.

*Account of the ancient inhabitants.* As to the ancient inhabitants of this province, they were the *Caſtellani*, *Auxitani*, *Indigites*, *Cofitani*, with part of the *Ibercones* and *Jaccitani* <sup>d</sup>. Some have conceived that it derived its name from the firſt of theſe people <sup>e</sup>; others again think it more probable <sup>f</sup>, that it derived its name from the *Catelauni*, an ancient people in *Gaul*; but the moſt probable account of the matter is this: upon the decline of the *Roman* empire, the *Alani* ſeized the beſt part of this province, of which they were, in ſome meaſure, diſpoſſeſſed by the *Goths*; and at length mixing together and becoming one people, they came to be called *Gothalani*, and their country *Gothalonia*, which, by degrees, was ſoftened into *Catalonia* <sup>g</sup>. The *Moors* pushed their conqueſts hither in the beginning of the eighth century, but they had at beſt but an unquiet poſſeſſion; and the potent emperor *Charlemagne* attacked them frequently, and with ſo much vigour, that the *Mooriſh* governors in moſt of the conſiderable places were content to acknowledge themſelves his vaffals <sup>h</sup>. This, however, as it aroſe from constraint, ſeldom laſted longer than there was a force at hand to keep them within bounds; and in their repeated revolts they were guilty of ſuch exceſſes, that at length *Lewis the Mild* determined to make an abſolute conqueſt, and to leave therein ſuch a competent force as might effectually ſecure this frontier againſt the *Infidels* <sup>i</sup>.

At the opening of the ninth century, the *Moors*, who were in poſſeſſion of *Barcelona*, were under the government of *Zade*, who had more than once abuſed the clemency of *Charlemagne*, and at length ſo irritated, by his perfidious behaviour, *Lewis* king of *Aquitaine*, ſon of that conqueror, that he gave orders to his generals to inveſt *Barcelona*, and not to riſe from before it

<sup>b</sup> Delices de l'Eſpagne, par Don JUAN ALVAREZ de Colemanar.  
<sup>c</sup> Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii.  
<sup>d</sup> STRAB. Geogr. lib. iii. PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. lib. ili.  
<sup>e</sup> HEYLIN'S Coſmography, l. i.  
<sup>f</sup> CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. l. i.  
<sup>g</sup> Delices de l'Eſpagne, par Don JUAN ALVAREZ de Colemanar.  
<sup>h</sup> ROD. TOL. de reb. Hiſpan.  
<sup>i</sup> Vis. Ludovic. Annal Rivipul.

till they had put *Zade* into his hands. The *Moor*, comprehending his danger, made a most obstinate resistance, so that the siege lasted many months; at length, finding it impossible to preserve the city any longer, and that it was in vain to expect any relief, he determined, or rather was compelled by the inhabitants, to go to the Christian camp, and implore the emperor's mercy; where he no sooner arrived, than he was arrested, and sent prisoner to *Charlemagne*, who condemned him to perpetual exile<sup>k</sup>. The people of *Barcelona* gaining nothing by this expedient, continued to hold out for six weeks longer, when the king of *Aquitaine*, having joined his army, took the command of the siege, to whom they made a proposal, that, if he would permit them to march out, and retire whither they pleased, they would surrender the place: to this proposal having given his consent, he made his public entry into *Barcelona*, where he formed a project of extending the bounds of his father's empire as far as the *Ebro*; but, being recalled before he could put this design in execution, he appointed *Bera* count of *Barcelona*, and instructed him in the measures necessary to be taken for the perfecting his plan<sup>l</sup>.

THIS count *Bera* held his government about eighteen years, and in the beginning acted with great vigour and success against the *Moors*, which encouraged the governors of *Huesca* and *Saragossa* to throw off the yoke of *Albacan* king of *Cordova*, and to put themselves under the protection of *Charlemagne*, which, however, did not screen them from the resentment of their old master<sup>m</sup>. After the death of *Charlemagne*, the emperor *Lewis* committed his conquests in *Spain* to the care of his son *Lothaire*; and finding that a peace with the *Moors* was more prejudicial than war, broke it; soon after which count *Bera* was recalled, upon a discovery that, in imitation of the *Moorish* governors, he was carrying on secret intrigues to render himself independent<sup>n</sup>. *Sanila*, a considerable officer under him, who brought this charge against him, offered, according to the custom of those times, to make it good by combat. They fought accordingly on horseback; and *Bera*, being overcome, forfeited his life, according to the laws then in force: but the emperor, naturally compassionate, commuted his punishment, and banished him to *Roan* during his life<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Chron. Barcimon. Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan.

Ludovic. Chron. Barcimon.

vipul.  
lib. ix.

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Ludovic.

<sup>l</sup> Vit. Ludovic. Annal Ri-

<sup>o</sup> Histoire de Languedoc,

HE was succeeded in his government by count *Bernard*, son to *William* duke of *Thoulouse*, who carried on the war against the Infidels with great vigour, which raised him so high in his master's favour, that he made him his lord high chamberlain, and, as some say, his prime minister <sup>p</sup>. This had a bad effect; for he began, immediately after, to oppress the clergy in his government, and had a great hand in the disturbances which broke out in the emperor's family, who thereupon deprived him of his dignities <sup>q</sup>. In resentment of this he induced the people of *Burgundy* to revolt in favour of *Pepin*, and soon after seized *Thoulouse*, depending on the protection of *Pepin*, who, by his advice, declared himself soon after king of

A. D. 828. *Aquitaine* <sup>r</sup>. On the death, however, of the emperor *Lewis*, he reconciled himself to his successor *Charles the Bald*; but, as he still continued his intrigues, that monarch became jealous of him, and summoned him to repair to an assembly of the states, which was held in the neighbourhood of *Thoulouse*.

*Bernard the second count, stabbed with a dagger by the emperor Charles the Bald.*

The count, finding he had not strength enough to execute his design, went boldly thither, in hopes of pacifying that monarch by a feigned submission. But, when he came into his presence, and fell upon his knees to do him homage, the emperor, as he attempted to rise, caught hold of him with his left hand, and, with his right, drawing a dagger out of his bosom, stabbed him to the heart <sup>s</sup>. His son *William* attempted to make some disturbances, and entered, according to his father's example, into a close correspondence with the *Moors* <sup>t</sup>.

844.

848.

*ALDRAN* was declared count of *Barcelona* by the emperor, and kept possession of it for four years <sup>u</sup>; at the end of which space *William*, by the help of his intrigues, formed a strong party there; and, by the assistance of *Abderaman*, king of *Cordova*, made himself master of the place; and of a great part of *Catalonia*, his competitor making his escape with some difficulty <sup>w</sup>. As for count *William*, having procured a strong reinforcement of *Moors*, he undertook the conquest of all that the *French* possessed in those parts, and was at first so fortunate as to seize the counts *Ademare* and *Issembard*, whom he carried prisoners to *Barcelona*, and afterwards, with a potent army, besieged *Gironne*; but miscarrying in

<sup>p</sup> PETR. DE MARCA. Marca Hispanica sive limes Hispanicus, i. e. Zoographica & Historica Descriptio Catalaunicæ; a STEPH. BALUZIO, edita. Paris, 1688, fol. Vitæ Ludovic. <sup>q</sup> Chron. var. antiq. Vitæ Ludovic. <sup>r</sup> Histoire de Languedoc. <sup>s</sup> Annal S. Bertin. <sup>t</sup> Chron. var. antiq. <sup>u</sup> Marca Hispanica. <sup>w</sup> Annal S. Bertin.

this enterprize, and, returning to *Barcelona*, the two counts his prisoners found means to excite a tumult, in which *His son* count *William* was killed, and the place thereupon returned to *William*, the obedience of the emperor <sup>x</sup>. Things, however, were so *the third* ill managed, and so little care was taken of so important a *count, slain* place, that, two years after, it was taken and plundered by the *in a tumult.* famous *Moorish* general *Musa*, governor of *Saragossa*, who might have kept it, if he had not, at that time, meditated a revolt, which induced him to return into his own government <sup>y</sup>. After this we find one *Sunifred* there, with the title of viscount, which implies that he was the deputy of another lord, to whom the government was committed, and who, very probably, was the person we find next mentioned in history with the title of count of *Barcelona* <sup>z</sup>.

THIS person was *Hunfrid*, or *Wifrid*, who, it is said, had also the title of marquis of *Gotia*, and duke of *Septimania*; which implies, that, besides *Barcelona*, he was intrusted with the administration of all that belonged to the empire in these parts; so that a considerable district in the southern provinces of *France*, with part of *Navarre*, *Arragon*, and *Catalonia*, were under his jurisdiction <sup>a</sup>: yet, it seems, he was not satisfied, because king *Charles*, surnamed *the Bald*, had bestowed *Thoulouse*, and the places adjacent, upon count *Raymond*, and of which, notwithstanding, he despoiled him, upon pretence that they belonged to his government. This so provoked the king, that he removed *Wifrid* from his employment, in the succeeding year, or at least divided this large government into two, restraining him to the countries on the other side of the *Alps*; which, it seems, he considered as a great injustice <sup>b</sup>. At this time one count *Solomon* was intrusted with *Cerdagna*, but under the orders of *Wifrid*. This count, *Count Wi-* whether prompted by duty or resentment is not very clear, *frid murdered by* accused him of *Barcelona* of certain crimes, which occasioned his being summoned to *Narbonne*; where, being insulted in a *the populace of* tumult, and a man having had the boldness to pull him by the beard, he, in the first transport of his choler, killed him *Narbonne.* upon the spot; and endeavouring afterwards to force a passage for his escape, was cut to pieces by those who seized him *872.* for the murder <sup>c</sup>. His son, who was of the same name, was conducted prisoner to king *Charles*, who expressed great concern for his father's misfortune; and, promising him his pro-

<sup>x</sup> Chron. var. antiq.

<sup>y</sup> Annal S. Bertin.

<sup>z</sup> AMON.

Annal S. Bertin.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. five Histor. Com. Barcimon a

MONACH. Rivipul. Script.

<sup>b</sup> FRANCISCO DIAGO HISTO-

rica de los antiquos Condes Barcelona. Barcelona 1603. fol.

<sup>c</sup> Marca Hispanica.

tion, sent him into *Flanders*, to be brought up under the care of that monarch's own sister, who had a great respect for him<sup>d</sup>.

His son of  
his own  
name suc-  
ceeds as  
count of  
Barcelo-  
na.

THE county of *Barcelona* was, for the present, bestowed upon *Solomon*, the informer; of whose administration there is not the smallest circumstance to be found; nor does it appear whether he died, or was removed to make way for count *Wifrid* the second, son of *Wifrid* the first; who proving a person of great virtue and piety, as well as of singular charity, was very soon restored to his father's employment, and is considered as the first count of *Barcelona* who had any share of sovereign authority; inasmuch, as he did homage for this city and country, and was to hold it as a fief from the kings of *France*, for himself and his heirs<sup>e</sup>.

885.

*WIFRID II.* surnamed *Velloso*, that is, the *Hairy*, and also the *Warlike*, taking advantage of the dissensions amongst the *Moors*, began to extend his dominions, making himself master of *Solsona* and *Cordona*, both of which he fortified, and established his affairs on so solid a foundation, that he had little to fear from the *Infidels*; who, though they attempted to invade his territories with a great army, were constrained to retire with a considerable loss, and soon after they sued to him for peace<sup>f</sup>. He was the founder of the *Benedictine* monastery of *Ripol*: himself, and his countess *Vinilda*, were present at the consecration, on the twenty-fifth of *July*, and one of his sons became a monk in that house, which was ever after much favoured by the princes of his family<sup>g</sup>. He

890.

He rules  
with re-  
putation,  
and dies in  
peace.

ruled in *Catalonia* thirty-seven years with great reputation, and had by his countess before-mentioned four sons, *Ranulpho*, who became a monk, *Wifrid*, who died in the life-time of his father, *Miron*, who succeeded him, and *Seniofredo*, upon whom he bestowed the county of *Urgel*. His countess dying before him, he espoused a second time a lady who survived him, and whose name was *Garfinda*, and, by his own direction, was interred in the monastery of *Ripol*, which became thenceforward the burying place of the counts of *Barcelona*<sup>h</sup>.

911.

His son  
Miron  
proves an  
inactive  
prince.

*MIRON*, count of *Barcelona*, appears to have been an inactive prince, since we find little or nothing recorded of him in history, though he enjoyed this principality seventeen years; neither do we know whom he married; but at his demise he left behind him three sons, *Seniofredo*, who succeeded him,

<sup>d</sup> Chron. Rivipul. *DIAGO*.<sup>e</sup> Marca Hispan. *ZURIT*.*Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum.*<sup>f</sup> *DIAGO*.*Marca Hispanica.*<sup>g</sup> Chron. Rivipul. *ZURITA*,<sup>h</sup> *DI-**AGO*.

*Oliva*, to whom he gave the county of *Cerdagna*, and *Mira*, upon whom he bestowed that of *Gironne*, though, in his catalogue, *Mariana* makes him bishop of that place: as these children were in their nonage, at the time of his decease, their uncle, the count of *Urgel*, took the administration during their minority <sup>i</sup>.

928.

**SENIOFRED**, count of *Barcelona*, was put in possession of *Is* succeeded his dominions by his uncle, who governed them with great <sup>ed by his</sup> prudence and fidelity, and took the same care of his <sup>son</sup> brethren <sup>k</sup>. This young count married the daughter of Don <sup>fred.</sup> *Sanchez Abarca*, king of *Navarre* <sup>l</sup>, by whom he had no issue, and, after a long reign, in which he did little, deceased, and was buried in the monastery of *Ripol* <sup>m</sup>. Both his brothers were living at the time of his death, and yet he was succeeded by

967.

**BORELO**, his cousin, son to *Seniofredo*, count of *Urgel* <sup>n</sup>; but by what colour of right, or whether by force, as *Mariana* suggests <sup>o</sup>, or by procuring the investiture from the crown of *France*, as *Ferreras* <sup>p</sup> conjectures, is not very clear. This prince made a journey to *Rome*, in order to settle the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his dominions; for, the city of *Taragona* being in the hands of the *Moors*, all the bishops in his territories were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Narbonne*, which was attended with such inconveniencies, that the pope, at his request, declared the bishop of *Ossona* metropolitan of *Catalonia*, till such time as *Tarragona* should be recovered out of the hands of the Infidels <sup>q</sup>. But as the count had not taken the precaution to apply first to his lord paramount, the king of *France*, this regulation did not take effect <sup>r</sup>. He was very assiduous in improving, fortifying, and adorning, the chief towns in his territories, and very fortunate in the defence of them against the *Moors*, till *Mohammed Almanzar*, who conceived some particular dislike to this prince, made an irruption into *Catalonia*, with a prodigious army, in which he committed most horrid depredations. Count *Borelo*, who could not bear to see the miseries of his subjects, advanced, with such an army as he was able to raise, to *Moncada*, where he gave the enemy battle, and where he had the misfortune to be so totally defeated, that, in all probability, no part of his army would have been preserved, if the adjacent moun-

972.  
Count *Borelo* is defeated by *Mohammed Almanzar*;

<sup>i</sup> Marca Hispanica. ZURITA.

<sup>k</sup> Chron. Rivipul.

<sup>l</sup> P. MORET Investigaciones Historicas de los ant- quidades del Reyno de Navarra.

<sup>m</sup> DIAGO.

<sup>n</sup> Chron. Ri-

vipul. ZURIT.

<sup>o</sup> Historia general de Espana.

<sup>p</sup> Hif-

toria de Espana.

<sup>q</sup> DIAGO.

<sup>r</sup> Chron. Rivipul.

Marca Hispanica.

985. *But this city is regained by count Borrel, who dies in the year 993.*

ains and forests had not secured them from the pursuit of a barbarous and implacable enemy<sup>a</sup>. *Mohammed Almanzar* proceeded directly to *Barcelona*, and, finding but a small garrison, attacked and carried it by assault. A great part of the inhabitants was put to the sword; he carried away most of the rest; and, having left a body of troops in the fortress, set fire to the city, in which all the archives, records, and titles, public and private, were consumed, which is the true reason that the history of this principality is so imperfect<sup>c</sup>. Count *Borrel* in this distress, applied for assistance to *Lewis* the fourth of *France*; to whom he represented, that what the Infidels aimed at was to make a road through *Catalonia* into his dominions: upon which suggestion a great corps of troops was immediately sent to his assistance; with whom, having joined the remains of his own army, he returned immediately to *Barcelona*, which he attacked and carried sword in hand; and, having destroyed all the *Mohammedans* he found therein, applied himself, with the utmost diligence, to repair and repeople the place<sup>d</sup>. The rest of his reign was spent in cultivating the arts of peace, and in fortifying his frontier in such a manner, as to prevent his subjects from suffering any misfortune of the like kind in time to come. He deceased in the month of *October*, in the year of our Lord nine hundred and ninety-three<sup>e</sup>, and left several children, but of these we have no distinct account.

1003. *Don Raymond* his son succeeded at the age of twenty-one, and proved a prince of great virtue and valour<sup>f</sup>. The *Moors*, with a prodigious army, attempted to invade his country; but *Don Raymond*, assisted by his brother-in-law, *Don Ermengild*, count of *Urgel*, gave them such a reception, that they were glad to retire: upon which the two counts fell upon their frontiers, and returned with a great booty<sup>g</sup>. Things were now so well settled in *Catalonia*, that the count held an assembly of the states, which is mentioned here, because it seems to be the first which had been held at *Barcelona*, since it was recovered by the Christians<sup>h</sup>; and the fame of *Don Raymond* was so great, that both by the Christians and *Moors* he was equally respected. *Mohammed Almahadi*, being dispossessed of the kingdom of *Cordova* by *Zulima*, applied himself, by the advice of his prime minister *Albamer*, to the count of *Barcelona*, for his assistance, promising to give him some places that lay very conveniently, in

<sup>a</sup> DIAGO.<sup>c</sup> MARIAN. FER.<sup>d</sup> Marca

Hispanica. ZURIT.

<sup>e</sup> DIAGO.<sup>f</sup> Chron. Ri

vapul.

<sup>g</sup> DIAGO.<sup>h</sup> Marca Hispanica. MARIAN.

FERRERAS.



case he would enable him to remount the throne. The count Don Raymond, having consulted his nobility and prelates, accepted this proposition; and, having assembled the whole force of his dominions, he joined the *Moorish* army, and directed their march towards *Cordova* <sup>a</sup>. On the road they were surprized by *Zulima*, who attacked them so vigorously, while they were in disorder, that he killed great numbers, and amongst them *Ermengild* count of *Urgel*, *Aetius* bishop of *Barcelona*, *Arnulph* bishop of *Vich*, and *Otho* bishop of *Gironne* <sup>b</sup>. Don Raymond himself was in the rear, with a good number of his own forces, behind whom he rallied, and formed the flying remains of the broken army; and, when *Zulima* thought there was nothing left but a pursuit, charged him so roughly, that, after a short dispute, he deprived him of that victory which he thought secure, and pushed his success so briskly, that he conducted *Mohammed Almahadi* in triumph to *Cordova*, and seated him again upon the throne <sup>c</sup>. After this he governed his dominions in splendour and peace, till at length he departed this life, in the year of our Lord one thousand and seventeen, leaving his dominions to his son Don Berenger, an infant, under the tutelage of the countess *Ermisenda* his mother <sup>d</sup>.

Don Berenger, count of *Barcelona*, being arrived at full age, and, having assumed the government <sup>e</sup>, married Donna *Sancha*, daughter, as some say, of the count of *Castile*; but, as *Moret* <sup>f</sup> and *Salazar* assure us, the daughter of Don *Sancho* count of *Gascony*. He seems to have been a prince of a very pacific spirit, for which reason none of the *Spanish* historians have given themselves the trouble of recording his actions: all we know of them is, that he deceased in the year of our Lord one thousand and thirty-five, and that he was interred in the monastery of *Ripoli*. He left behind him three sons, *Raymond* his successor, *Guillormo* count of *Manresa*, and *Sancho*, who, in process of time, enjoyed the same county.

Don Raymond the second was a prince of great parts and piety <sup>g</sup>, and not at all inclined to pass his days in the same obscurity that his father had done: he espoused at first Donna *Beatrix*, and afterwards Donna *Almari*, the daughter of the count of *Limoges*; held various assemblies of his states at *Barcelona*, in which he regulated the civil and ecclesiastical dominions; in one of which he amicably compromised some

<sup>a</sup> DIAGO. <sup>b</sup> Chron. Rivipul. <sup>c</sup> ZURIT. <sup>d</sup> Marca Hispanica. <sup>e</sup> Chron. Rivipul. <sup>f</sup> DIAGO. <sup>g</sup> Marca Hispanica. <sup>h</sup> Investigaciones Historicas de los antiquitades del Reyno de Navarra. <sup>i</sup> Chron. Rivipul. <sup>k</sup> Diago.

1056.

differences that had arisen between him and his grandmother the countess *Ermisenda*, and gave her, in lieu of the places she held, one thousand ounces of gold <sup>l</sup>. He took from the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa* *Manresa*, and several other places <sup>m</sup>. The cathedral church of *Barcelona* being old and decayed, the count *Don Raymond* rebuilt it entirely, and caused it to be consecrated with great solemnity on the eighth of *November*, at which time the *Moor Ali*, king of *Denia*, *Majorca*, *Mi-norca*, and *Ivica*, confirmed to the bishop of *Barcelona* his spiritual jurisdiction over the Christians in his dominions <sup>n</sup>. Ten years after this he held a famous council at *Gironne*, in which were present the pope's legate, the archbishop of *Narbonne*, in quality of metropolitan, and all the bishops in his dominions, and in which various canons were made. It was this prince who introduced into his dominions the titles of viscount, baron, and vavasor; and, by several other wise regulations, rendered himself rich and potent, and his people secure and happy: he was by much the most eminent of the princes of this family; and, dying full of years and glory, *May* the twenty-fifth, one thousand and seventy five, was buried in the new church of *Barcelona*, which was of his own foundation <sup>p</sup>.

a wise and  
pacific  
prince,  
who quit-  
ted this  
life in the  
year 1075.

The go-  
vernment  
devolves to  
his two  
sons *Beren-  
ger* and  
*Ray-  
mond*;

His sons *Don Berenger* and *Don Raymond* succeeded, by the express will of their father, jointly <sup>q</sup>, in the county of *Barcelona*; in which his affection as a father certainly prevailed over that great prudence which he had shewn in the government of his dominions. In a short time after his demise, the brothers, as might have been easily foreseen, fell out; upon which pope *Gregory* the seventh sent a legate into *Catalonia*, to try what might be done towards reconciling them, in which, however, he was not very successful <sup>r</sup>: but these disputes did not rise to such a height as to create any considerable disorders in the government; for *Don Raymond*, by the consent of the people, resided at *Barcelona*, and gratified his brother *Don Berenger* with the subsidies that he received from the king of *Saragossa*, and otherwise, so as to afford him a considerable revenue <sup>s</sup>. This *Don Raymond* espoused *Almodia*, or *Matilda*, a lady of the *Norman* race, by whom which last he had a son *Raymond Arnaldo* <sup>t</sup>. He had not governed his principality above five years before he was unfortunately murdered, at a place called *Pertica-de-Ostar*, by certain banditti <sup>u</sup>. Some historians assure us, that these assassins were employed by his brother *Don Berenger*, who, as he was the eldest of the

which last  
is murder-  
ed by ban-  
ditti.

<sup>l</sup> ZURIT.  
var. antiq.

<sup>q</sup> DIAGO.  
<sup>r</sup> DIAGO.

<sup>m</sup> Marca Hispanica.

<sup>p</sup> Marca Hispanica.

<sup>r</sup> ZURITA.

<sup>s</sup> ZURITA,

<sup>n</sup> Chron.

<sup>u</sup> Chron. Rivipul.

<sup>t</sup> Marca Hispanica.

two brothers, was exceedingly offended that his father and the people in general preferred his younger brother *Raymond*; and, while they intrusted him with the government, thought a pension a sufficient equivalent for his pretensions \*. *Mariana* goes much farther; for he affirms that *Don Berenger*, being universally hated and despised, was thrust out of all that had been assigned him; and, not being able to endure the continual reproaches he met with at home, chose to retire out of *Catalonia*, and, in the end, out of *Spain*, under colour of taking upon him the crusade, and fighting against the Infidels in the *Holy Land*. Arriving at *Jerusalem* he was struck dumb, and in that woeful state passed the remainder of his days, in solitude, indigence, and contempt \*. Yet one of the most learned, diligent, and accurate writers of the affairs of *Catalonia*, has taken great pains to shew that all this is the pure invention of later writers; and that, though the brothers had not lived in the strictest harmony, yet *Don Berenger* was so far from having any hand in his brother's murder, or from reaping any benefit by it, that he became the tutor and protection of his nephew, who was then in his cradle, and who, under his care, became as able, and, in process of time, as fortunate as any of the counts of *Barcelona* †. 1082.

*Don Raymond Arnaldo*, or *Don Raymond* the fourth, became the heir of *Don Bernard* count of *Besalu*, in virtue of *Don Raymond* IV. an agreement made between them, during their life-times, which added to his dominions and his territories †. He succeeded as espoused *Donna Aldonça*, or *Dulce*, the daughter of *Gilbert* count of *Provence*, and the heiress of that noble country †. *Barcelona*. 1112. Two years after this he entered into a league with *Aymar* viscount of *Narbonne*, *William* count of *Montpellier*, and other neighbouring princes, against the *Moors* in *Majorca*, who were continually pillaging their coasts, and more especially those of *Catalonia*. When they came to execute their scheme, they found that nothing could be done without a naval force, and they could not altogether muster up so much as a small squadron. By the interposition of pope *Paschal* the second, they prevailed upon the *Pisans* to furnish them with a fleet, on board of which they put as many troops as the vessels of which it was composed could transport, and, being debarked in *Majorca*, took and destroyed that nest of pirates; and it is highly probable that this first put those princes upon aiming at a naval force, which they afterwards accomplished †. *Don Bernard* count of *Cerdagna*, dying

\* FERR.

\* Historia general de España.

† Dr.

AGO.

‡ Marca Hispanica. ZURIT.

\* Chron.

var. antiq.

b Marca Hispanica.

without

1117.

At his  
death the  
title is in-  
herited by  
his son  
Don Ray-  
mond V.  
1131..

without issue, left his dominions to the count Don *Raymond*<sup>c</sup>; and *Mariana* says, that, after some disputes, and even a war, with the count of *Thoulouse*, all differences were terminated, by the two counts reciprocally adopting each other, which, in its issue, brought that county into this family. At length, having lived long, acquired great reputation, and many fair feignories, he deceased, having first taken the habit of a knight templar: his remains, according to his own order, were interred in the monastery of *Ripol*<sup>d</sup>. He had two sons, Don *Raymond* who succeeded him, and Don *Raymond* who inherited the county of *Provence*; and two daughters, Donna *Berengara*, who married the emperor Don *Alonso* of *Castile*<sup>e</sup>, and Donna *Cecilia* who married the count of *Fois*<sup>f</sup>.

DON *Raymond* the fifth, count of *Barcelona*, entered on the government of this principality with great reputation &c. His alliance to the emperor Don *Alonso* made him extremely considerable; and it was upon his doing homage to that prince that Don *Alonso* count of *Thoulouse* was prevailed upon to take the same step<sup>h</sup>. He incorporated the county of *Cerdagna*, to which there were some pretenders, into his own dominions<sup>i</sup>; and was very useful to many of his neighbours, particularly in negotiating that alliance between the crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*, which saved the latter from the *Moors*, after the unfortunate battle of *Fraga*, of which Don *Ramiro the Monk* was so sensible, that he immediately cast his eyes upon him for his son-in-law and successor<sup>k</sup>. Don *Raymond* no sooner found himself presumptive heir to the crown of *Arragon*, than he judged it a convenient season to throw off all marks of dependency in *Catalonia*; in pursuance of which he forbade his subjects to date any longer, as hitherto they had done, by the years of the reigns of the *French* monarchs<sup>l</sup>: which was in plain terms avowing he would be their vassal no longer; tho' in reason and in law this could have no force without the consent of the lord, that is, of the crown of *France*, to whom these countries belonged, in right of conquest; and, as we shall see hereafter, this, at another favourable opportunity, was procured by his marriage with Donna *Petronilla*, heiress of *Arragon*, when that kingdom and the county of *Barcelona* came to be united in the person of the same sovereign, but without any incorporation of territories;

Who, marry-  
ing the  
daughter  
of Don Ra-  
miro the  
Monk,  
united Ca-  
talonia to  
the king-  
dom of Ar-  
ragon.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. Rivipul.<sup>d</sup> Historia general de Espana.

Chron. Rivipul.

<sup>e</sup> Chron. Adefons Imperat.<sup>f</sup> Marca

Hispanica.

<sup>g</sup> DIAGO.<sup>h</sup> Chron. Adefons Im-

perat.

<sup>i</sup> DIAGO.<sup>k</sup> ZURIT. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ

Arragonensium rerum Commentarii.

<sup>l</sup> DIAGO.

the

the *Catalans* and the *Arragonians* being equally inflexible in that particular, and looking upon their respective privileges as invaluable in themselves, and not to be communicated on any consideration <sup>m</sup>; so that it may be truly said the princes of this family reigned over two of the proudest nations upon the earth; and the reader therefore need not wonder, that they did not always reign in quiet.

<sup>m</sup> ZURIT. *Marca Hispanica*. DIAGO. FER.

END of the TWENTIETH VOLUME.

9

Bar.









